

CROWNS AND CORONATIONS

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INAUGURATION OF A KING. From a Greek MS. of the twelfth century.—See p. 184.

CROWNS & CORONATIONS

A HISTORY OF REGALIA

BY

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AUTHOR OF 'FINGER-RING LORE' ETC.



A NEW EDITION

WITH NINETY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS

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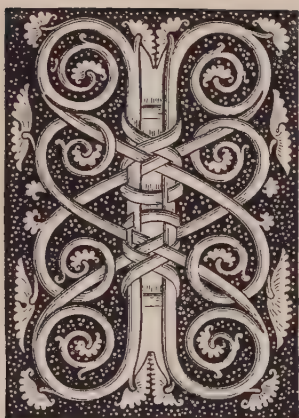
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TO
QUEEN VICTORIA,
WHOSE REIGN
HAS BEEN RENDERED ILLUSTRIOUS
BY HER MANY VIRTUES,
WHICH HAVE ENDEARED HER TO THE HEARTS OF
HER LOVING SUBJECTS,
THIS BOOK
IS,
WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,
DEDICATED.

PREFACE.



VENTURE to think that the present book is the *first* that contains a summary of coronations extending through various ages of the world's history.

There are numerous books and tracts, in different languages, relating to particular royal inaugurations, and some of the former—to which I have alluded in the following pages

—are remarkable for their decorative and costly character, but I have not found in the catalogues of our great libraries, or in those abroad, any work specifically devoted to a general history of regalia.

I claim no merit in providing, to the best of my ability, for what may possibly be considered a deficiency; my chief difficulty has been to retain, as much as possible, whatever might be thought singular and curious in these princely ceremonies, and to avoid tedious antiquarian details that would fill several volumes of the

compass of the present one, and prove wearisome to the general reader.

It must be admitted that the present age is not favourable to the perpetuation of elaborate ceremonies, but the solemnities attending the coronation of sovereigns have a peculiar interest, and, however they may be simplified in minor details, should be retained in their integrity and symbolic character. As landmarks of history they have had a material influence on the destinies of mankind.

CONTENTS.

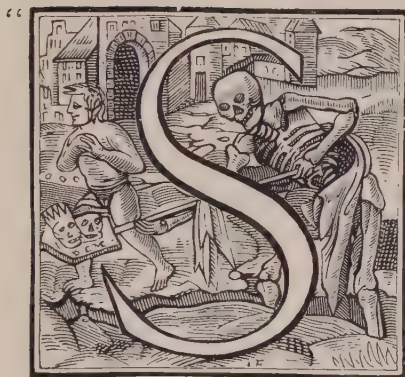
CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xiii
I. ANCIENT CROWNS...	1
II. THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND	28
III. THE REGALIA OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND	49
IV. THE CORONATION CHAIR AND THE KINGSTON STONE	94
V. THE COURT OF CLAIMS	108
VI. CORONATION PROCESSIONS FROM THE TOWER	141
VII. CORONATIONS OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS	173
VIII. THE CORONATION OATH	271
IX. THE ANOINTING	285
X. OMENS AND INCIDENTS AT CORONATIONS	298
XI. CROWNS AND CORONATIONS IN VARIOUS AGES AND COUNTRIES	327
XII. FRAGMENTA REGALIA	455
INDEX	543

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE	PAGE
Inauguration of a king in past times . . . <i>Frontispiece</i>	King Henry V. 209
State crown of England . . . <i>Vignette</i>	King Charles I. 315
Head of the Empress Helena . . 10	Roman emperor, armed . . . 335
The Emperor Justinian and his court 11	Roman emperor in a military tunic 335
The Empress Theodora and her attendants 12	Charlemagne 340
Crown of the Holy Roman Empire 18	Elector of Germany in state dress 343
Iron Crown of Lombardy . . . 22	Ivory sceptre of Louis XII. . . 345
Crown of Hungary 24	Royal crown of Prussia . . . 351
King Edgar 30	Crown of the German Empire . 352
Berengaria, queen of Richard I. 33	Crown of the Empress of Germany 353
Effigy of King John 35	Coronet of the Prince Imperial of Germany 353
King Henry III. 35	Charles V. of France 356
King Henry IV. 37	Gold ornaments supposed to represent bees 365
King Richard III. 40	Crown of Napoleon I. 366
Anne, queen of Richard III. . 40	Crowns of the Bourbons in France 370
Queen Elizabeth 42	Crown of France (Orleans branch). 371
State crown of England . . . 45	Crown of the Emperor of Russia 387
Crown of England 48	Crown of the Empress of Russia 387
The regalia of England . . . 50	Crown of Kiev 389
Jewel Room at the Tower . . . 68	Crowns of Russia 390
The crown of Scotland . . . 90	Crown of the Austrian Empire 394
Sceptre of James V. 91	Crown of Bohemia 399
Sword of state and scabbard . 91	↳ Tiara of the popes 405
The rod of office 92	Pope Nicholas I. 406
Coronation chair in Westminster Abbey 95	Pope Clement IV. 406
John of Gaunt 110	Pope Gregory the Great . . . 407
Crowns of the nobility . . . 113	Pope (from Cotton. MSS.) . . 408
Archbishop's mitre 121	Venetian Doges 410
Bishop's mitre 121	Biretta of the Doge of Venice. 411
Star of the Order of the Bath . 142	
Death of Harold 191	
Coronation of King Edward I. 198	

	PAGE		PAGE
Venetian Doge	412	Lead cramp-ring	475
Doge of Venice in armour	413	Earliest portrait of a king-of-arms	479
Dogaressa of Venice	414	Crown of Sir William Dugdale	480
Crown of the Emperor of Brazil	422	Modern crown of a king-of-arms	480
Indian commemoration medal	456	Star of the Garter	480
Reverse of Indian commemoration medal	458	Sceptres	490
Imperial Order of the Crown of India	459	Sceptres, from Sandford's "Coronation of James II."	491
Coronet of the English princesses	462	Coronation robes of James II.—	
Coronets (<i>temp.</i> Henry VI.)	463	The dalmatic	495
Coronet of Arthur, Prince of Wales	463	The surcoat	497
Coronet of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk	463	The mantle	498
Royal arms of England	467	The stole	499
Star of the Thistle	468	Colobium sindonis	500
Fleur-de-lys	471	Royal sandal	501
Silver cramp-ring	475	Coronation stone at Kingston-on-Thames	539
		Cottage of La Grâce at Honfleur	541

INTRODUCTION.



“SOME men,” remarks Didron in his “*Iconographie Chrétienne*,” “are born to command; others to obey. The former wear distinctive signs—the king is recognized by his crown, the pope by his tiara, the bishop by his mitre. Crowns are much varied, but amongst all nations, whether highly civilized, or in the lowest state of barbarism, the crown has been, and still is, the insignia of supreme power.”

As a symbol of authority the crown dates from the most ancient periods of the world’s history. There are frequent allusions to it, both in a temporal and spiritual sense, in Holy Writ: “Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.” “Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour.” Solomon says: “The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom.”*

The earliest monuments of Christian art represent either divine hands, extended from the highest heaven, proffering crowns to martyrs, or angels descending in like manner from heaven, bringing crowns, by command of God, to all who by their death had been witness to their faith.

The crown was the symbol of victory and recompense. It was the emblem of martyrdom; first, the cross was crowned, and then crowns of laurel, flowers, palm, or precious metal were suspended or carved over the tombs of martyrs and confessors. Sometimes two crowns are offered for a virgin martyr; or doves

* “*Corona sapientiæ timor Domini.*” These words are inscribed within the cupola surmounting the centre of the transept in the chapel of Anet, in France. They surround a crown figured in relief.

carry away crowns of olive, emblems of peace bought by the martyr's triumph; or the palm and cross are associated to represent the merit, the labour, and the prize. Hence came the hanging crown of light, and the "oblations," the representations of the blessed offering their crowns to the Redeemer. The Christian emperors gave their soldiers crowns of laurel adorned with the monogram of Christ.*

Jewish tradition ascribes a heavenly origin to the figure or shape of a crown. Nimrod, the mighty hunter, is said, like Constantine the Great, to have seen a prodigy in the skies, and had a representation of it made by his most skilful workers in gold, a crown so beautiful and brilliant as almost to blind the beholder.

Whatever may have been the origin of this ensign of power, we know how it is associated with some of the saddest, as, also, the most glorious, events in the world's history. Men have waded through oceans of blood, and imperilled both soul and body to obtain the glittering bauble; while others have, by their wisdom and magnanimity, rendered the crown they had worn worthily, illustrious and respected.

How many sovereigns have experienced that—

"A crown,
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns!"

and been willing to renounce the pomp and cares of rule.† "For me," said King Robert of Taranto (who ascended the throne of Naples in 1309) to Petrarch, who has himself recorded the memorable words, "I swear that letters are dearer to me than my crown,

* In a French carving of the sixteenth century on the stalls of the cathedral of Amiens is a representation of the Holy Ghost, as man, assisting at the coronation of the Virgin. Such representations are common in the thirteenth and even the fourteenth centuries; the Son crowns His mother. In a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris the Son blesses the mother, whom two angels are about to crown.

In paintings of the Middle Ages in France, God the Father appears habited in the costume of a king, prior to His appearance as that of a pope. The Divine King wears a regal crown just as we see it worn by Philip of Valois, John the Good, and Charles V. Like the Emperor Charlemagne He grasps the golden orb, or sphere, and is arrayed in the long robe or mantle; His head is encircled by a cruciform nimbus, and the feet are bare, because He is God. The *nimbus*, in the West especially, is regarded as an attribute of holiness; a king is adorned with a crown, a nimbus marks the saint. It is not thus in the East; it is there a characteristic of physical energy no less than of moral strength, of civil and political power as well as of religious authority. A king is equally entitled to a nimbus with a saint. In a Turkish manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is a figure of Aurungzebe, mounted on horseback and reading. The aged descendant of Timour is preceded and followed by an escort on foot. The Grand Mogul alone, among all the persons there, is represented wearing a circular, or radiating, nimbus on the head. It is an insignia borne by the mighty and powerful alone.

† When Harrison reproached Cromwell for taking the crown from the head of Jesus, and putting it on his own, Oliver replied, "You speak of a crown of thorns; as yet I have found no other, and I expect no other."

and were I obliged to renounce the one or the other, I should quickly tear the diadem from my brow."

But even the *laurel* crown which King Robert, in his burst of enthusiasm, would have changed for the golden diadem of sovereignty, and which was so worthily bestowed on PETRARCH, was a source of anxiety to the poet. "I blush," he said, on receiving it, "at the applauses of the people, and the unmerited commendations with which I was overwhelmed." He said modestly afterwards, "These laurels which encircled my head were too green: had I been of riper age and understanding, I should not have sought them. Old men love only what is useful; young men run after appearances without regarding their end. This crown rendered me neither more wise nor eloquent; it only served to raise envy, and deprive me of the repose I enjoyed. From that time tongues and pens were sharpened against me; my friends became my enemies, and I suffered the just effects of my confidence and presumption."

So Tasso, when he heard of the pope's intention publicly to confer upon him the laurel crown at the Capitol, two hundred years after the crowning of Petrarch, being convinced of his approaching dissolution, said, "You must order me a coffin and not a triumphal car. If you wish to give me a wreath, you must reserve it for my tomb. All this pomp and circumstance will add nothing to the value of my works, and cannot give me happiness." And thus the laurel crown, which was to have adorned his brow, was deposited on his coffin.

One summer evening Mahomed (a king of Mahomedan Spain in the ninth century) was seated in his garden, conversing with several of his ministers and servants. "How happy is the condition of kings," exclaimed Haxem ben Abdelasis, the courtly wali of Jaen; "for them the pleasures are expressly made. Delightful gardens, splendid palaces, immense riches, the instruments and means of luxury—everything in short, has been granted to them by the decrees of fate!" "The path of kings," replied the more experienced monarch, "is, indeed, in appearance, strewed with flowers; but thou seest not that these roses have their thorns. And is it not the destiny of the mightiest prince to leave the world as naked as the poorest peasant? The term of our lives," he added, "is in the hands of God, but to the good that term is the commencement of everlasting bliss." While thus speaking, adds the Arabian chronicler, the king little thought that his own end was so near. He retired to rest, but woke no more on earth.

In the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho, is a tablet to the memory of Theodore, King of Corsica, who died in that parish (1756) soon after his liberation, by the Act of Insolvency, from the King's Bench prison. He was buried at the expense of an oilman in Compton Street, Soho, of the name of Wright. Horace Walpole paid for the tablet and wrote the inscription:—

"The grave, great teacher, to a level brings
Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and kings,

But Theodore this moral learn'd ere dead ;
 Fate poured its lesson on his living head,
 Bestowed a kingdom, and denied him bread."

"Kings, princes, monarchs, and magistrates," says Burton, "seem to be most happy, but look into their estate, you shall find them to be most encumbered with cares, in perpetual fear, agony, suspicion, jealousy." But, as Valerius said of a crown, if they knew all the discontents that accompany it, they would not stop to take it up. *Plus aloës quam mellis habet*, it has more bitters than sweets belonging to it. Cowper says—

"To be suspected, thwarted, and withstood,
 E'en when he labours for his country's good,
 To see a band called patriot for no cause,
 But that they catch at popular applause ;
 Careless of all the anxiety he feels,
 Hook disappointment on the public wheels,
 With all their flippant fluency of tongue,
 Most confident, when palpably most wrong,
 If this be kingly, then farewell for me
 All kingship ! and may I be poor and free."

The transient splendour of the crown is finely moralized by Shirley :—

"The glories of our birth and state
 Are shadows, not substantial things,
 There is no armour against fate :
 Death lays his very hands on kings.
 Sceptre and crown must tumble down,
 And in the dust be equal laid
 With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

Shakspeare, in matchless language, describes the cares of kings :—

"What infinite heart's-ease must kings neglect,
 That private men enjoy ? and what have kings,
 That private have not too—save ceremony, save general ceremony ?

* * * * *

What are thy rents ? What are thy comings in ?

* * * * *

Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form ?—

I am a king, that find thee, and I know

'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,

The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,

The intertissued robe of gold and pearl,

The farcèd title running 'fore the king,

The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp,

* * * * *

No, not all these, thrice-gorgeous ceremony,

Not all these, laid in bed majestical,

Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave :

And (but for *ceremony*) such a wretch,

* * * * *

Winding up days with toil, and nights with sleep,

Hath the fore-hand and vantage of a king."

We have, too, the affecting language of a royal sufferer, expressed by Charles I. in the time of his deep afflictions—lines dated “Carisbrook, 1648,” and entitled “Majesty in Misery.” An imploration to the King of kings thus commences :—

“Great Monarch of the world, from whose power springs
 The potency and power of kings,
 Record the royal woe my suffering sings;
 And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
 Its faculties in truth’s seraphic line,
 To track the treasons of Thy foes and mine.
 Nature and law, by Thy divine decree
 (The only root of righteous royalty),
 With this dim diadem invested me :
 With it the sacred sceptre, purple robe,
 The holy unction, and the royal globe,
 Yet am I levelled with the life of Job.

* * * * *
 Felons obtain more privilege than I—
 They are allow’d to answer ere they die ;
 ’Tis death for me to ask the reason why,” etc.

It is recorded of the Emperor Charles V. that he became weary of his sovereign dignities, and felt his cares weigh heavily upon him. One day, passing through a village in Spain, he met a peasant with a tin crown on his head, and bearing a spit in his hand for a sceptre, as the “Easter King,” according to the custom of the people. The man, who did not know the king, ordered him peremptorily to take his hat off to him, which Charles did, good-humouredly observing at the same time, “My good friend, I wish you joy of your new dignity ; you will find it a very troublesome office.”

History records the abdication of the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 305). This sovereign acquired the glory of giving to the world the first example of a resignation, which has not been frequently imitated by potentates generally. The ceremony of his abdication was performed in a spacious plain, about three miles from Nicomedia. The emperor ascended a lofty throne, and in a speech full of reason and dignity declared his intention both to the people and the soldiers who were assembled on this extraordinary occasion. As soon as he had divested himself of the purple, he withdrew from the gaze of the multitude, and, traversing the city in a covered chariot, proceeded without delay to the favourite retirement he had chosen in his native country of Dalmatia. On the same day Maximian, as had been previously concerted, made his resignation of imperial dignity at Milan. Diocletian was solicited by the latter, a restless old man, to re-assume the imperial purple. He rejected this temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing that, if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should be no longer urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness to the pursuit of power.

The abdication of Diocletian resembles, in some respects, that of the Emperor Charles V. Both had not arrived at a very advanced period of life, since the latter was only fifty-five, and the other was no more than fifty-nine years of age; but the active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares of royalty, and their application to business, had already impaired their constitutions and brought on the infirmities of a premature old age.

Diocletian, in his conversations with his friends, frequently acknowledged that, of all arts, the most difficult was the art of reigning. How often was it the interest of four or five ministers to combine together to deceive their sovereign! Secluded from mankind by his exalted dignity, the truth was concealed from his knowledge; he could only see with their eyes, and heard nothing but their misrepresentations. By such infamous arts the best and wisest princes were sold to the venal corruption of their courtiers.

Justin II., the nephew of Justinian I., resigned his sovereignty to Tiberius, his captain of the guard. This ceremony was performed (A.D. 573) in the portico of a palace, in the midst of an illustrious assembly of priests, senators, and soldiers, and almost the entire city. The speech delivered by Justin on this occasion is said to have been literally reported, and we have his very words in the following translated form, as handed down by the sophist Theophylactus Simocatta:—"You behold," said the deposed emperor, "the ensigns of supreme power. You are about to receive them, not from my hands, but from the hand of God. Honour them, and from them you will derive honour. Respect the empress, your mother. You are now her son; you were, before, her servant. Delight not in blood; abstain from revenge; avoid those actions by which I have incurred the public hatred; and consult the experience rather than the example of your predecessor. As a man, I have sinned; as a sinner, even in this life, I have been punished; but these servants"—and he pointed to his ministers—"who have abused my confidence and influenced my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal of Christ. I have been dazzled by the splendour of the diadem: be thou wise and modest. Remember what you have been; remember what you are. You see around us your slaves and your children; with the authority assume the tenderness of a parent. Love the people like yourself; cultivate the affections; maintain the discipline of the army; protect the fortunes of the rich; relieve the necessities of the poor."

When the prayers and gorgeous service of the Church had been concluded, Tiberius advanced to the seat where Justin was enthroned, and which he was about to abdicate. The new Augustus knelt before the old emperor, who then placed the diadem, by which the latter had been so much dazzled, on his brow.

One of many affecting episodes in the career of sovereigns was that attending the resignation of one of the most illustrious monarchs that ever graced the pages of history, Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden. After a singularly eventful life and reign, the

grand old monarch, subdued by sickness and age, resolved to retire from power, the event taking place June 25, 1560. The king was supported into the hall of assembly, where his three sons and all the senators were present. Here he caused his last will and testament to be publicly read before him. This arranged, he took an affecting farewell of his states. "I have passed," he remarked, "through many dangers during my forty years' reign, but by these grey locks, and the furrows time has planted in this countenance, I swear to you that the love of my people has been the end and aim of all my actions. If I have done aught acceptable in my government, be the glory to God; for such faults as my human weakness may have fallen into, they are mine alone; but you, my beloved subjects, will forgive me for them. My weakened body gives me many a proof that I am now speaking to you for the last time, and must shortly appear before the King of all kings, to give an account of my stewardship. Follow me with your prayers; do not forget me in your assemblies, and when my eyes are closed in death, leave my dust uncensured and undisturbed to its repose."

Having concluded his address with these words, Gustavus stretched out his hands and blessed his whole people. All present were in tears. The king departed, leaning on his two elder sons, but looking often backwards, renewing his farewells to his grieving senate. The members crowded around him, kissing his footsteps as he passed out among them, and invoking blessings with one voice on his honoured head.

This was the last public act of Gustavus, who did not, indeed, make any formal resignation of the crown, but from that day all matters of government were made over to Eric. On the 29th of September in the same year, the great king breathed his last, at the age of seventy-one.

Perhaps no sovereign ever quitted crown and state with greater satisfaction than that strange personage, Queen Christina of Sweden, who resigned the reins of power to her cousin, Charles Gustavus. This remarkable event happened June 10, 1654. As if to show her impatience for the coming of that day, the queen appeared before the senate at seven o'clock in the morning. In the presence of all assembled she signed the deed of resignation, and then arose, the crown on her brow and the royal mantle hanging from her shoulders. The sceptre was still grasped in one hand, and the symbolic orb was in the other. With a crowd of brilliant officials around her, and two ministers of state on either side bearing the sword and the golden key, Christina entered the great hall of the palace, and took her seat on a silver throne. The acts signed in the senate were then read aloud, and the hereditary prince, whose chair was a little in the rear of the massive low throne occupied by the queen, placed the deeds in her hands. Then feeling that all was over, Christina stood erect and beckoned Count Brahé to approach and take the crown from her head. The high official drew back, unwilling to do so, turning aside to conceal his emotion. The queen then lifted the

crown from her head and held it to the count, who received it kneeling. She then took off all her remaining royal adornments, which were placed on a table near the throne, and remained standing in a simple dress of white taffeta. She advanced a few steps, and spoke during a full half-hour on the past struggles and glory of Sweden, and on its prospects. Christina was eloquent in her address, and the whole assembly were deeply moved.*

While some monarchs have thus voluntarily laid aside their crowns, others have exulted in the possession of theirs to the latest hours of life. Thus the Emperor Frederick, who died in 1250, had in the course of his career secured seven crowns—of the Roman empire, Germany, Lombardy, Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem. A short time before his death he had them placed before him. "I still possess them all," he exclaimed, exultingly. "No pope shall deprive me of one of them!"

Our Henry IV. also clung with characteristic fondness to his splendid crown, although it was so indirectly obtained. He endeavoured to soothe his last hours by ordering it to be placed on the pillow of his death-bed. Few monarchs could adhere to the outward display of power with greater pertinacity and more unfeigned delight than Henry. Under this influence he adopted for his motto the word "*soverayne*," frequently repeated on his tomb. Exquisite is the dialogue which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Henry IV. and his son, who had taken the crown from his dying father's pillow.

The gloomy and bigoted Philip II. of Spain displayed in his last moments a strange contrast of feeling to that of the Emperor Frederick, just mentioned. He ordered his coffin to be brought, and a *dead man's skull*, surmounted with the imperial crown, to be placed beside him.

"Within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court; and there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp."

An instance of self-abnegation and modesty in the refusal of a

* Horace Walpole has some severe, but not altogether unmerited, strictures on the character of this singular woman, and alludes to her abdication as an affectation of spirit in one who quitted a crown to ramble over Europe in a motley kind of masquerade. When Dahl was painting her picture, she asked what he intended she should hold in her hand. He replied, "A fan." Her Majesty, whose ejaculations were rarely delicate, vented a very gross one, and added, "A fan! Give me a lion; that is fitter for a Queen of Sweden."

The ex-queen, when at Rome after her conversion to the Romish faith, was said to have deposited in the church of Our Lady of Loretto a crown and sceptre, signs of a majesty she had ever abandoned. She was previously heard to say, "So people will have it that I shall go to Loretto and deposit my crown and sceptre at the feet of the Virgin Mary. I gave up those symbols of royalty in Sweden, and if I had any other to dispose of, I would present them to the poor King of England!"

crown is exemplified in the case of Godefroy de Bouillon, when elected sovereign of Jerusalem, on the taking of the Holy City by the Crusaders, in 1099. He refused to wear a crown of jewels on the spot where the Saviour of the world had bled beneath one of thorns,* and would only accept the title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre."

The Emperor Constantine had his principal standard, the "Labarum," surmounted by a gold crown, which enclosed the mysterious monogram at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ.

At the coronation of the Emperor of Germany, Rudolph I. of Hapsburg, in 1273 (who had been elected unexpectedly to him),

* In the church of St. Catherine of Sienna, at Sienna, is a mural painting representing the Saviour offering to the saint two crowns, one of diamonds and the other of thorns. She is choosing the latter and kissing it.

On the degradation of Baldwin II., one of the Latin emperors of the house of Courtney, in the thirteenth century, great efforts were made by him to raise money. In the imperial chapel at Constantinople was preserved the crown of thorns which superstition declared had pressed the brow of Christ. In the absence of the emperor the barons of Roumania borrowed the sum of 13,134 pieces of gold on the credit of the holy crown, but they failed in the performance of their contract. A rich Venetian undertook to satisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property if it were not redeemed within a short term. The barons apprised their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss, and as the empire could not afford a ransom of £7000 sterling, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and vest it with more honour and emolument in the hands of the Most Christian King Louis IX. His ambassadors, the Dominicans, were despatched to Venice to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of Vataces. On opening a wooden box, they recognized the seals of the doge and the barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver, and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded it, and the court of France advanced as far as Troyes, in Champagne, to meet with devotion this inestimable relic. It was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot and in his shirt, and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin to his loss. About the middle of the last century but one, an inveterate ulcer was said to be touched and cured by the power of the holy crown. It was performed, in 1656, on the niece of Pascal. The miracle confounded the Jesuits and saved Port Royal.

Among the paintings in the church of St. Louis, at Versailles, is one by François Lemoyne, of St. Louis adoring the cross and the crown of thorns. The king is represented on his knees on the steps of an altar, and appears in a profound ecstasy at the spectacle of the vivid light, which shines from the cross and the crown of thorns, which he is about to place in the holy chapel at Paris.

Among the precious gifts sent to Athelstan, in 926, by Hugh le Grand, was a particle of the crown of thorns. Long after the Conquest the monks of Malmesbury (to which monastery it had been given) believed that this relic preserved their abbey from calamities and misfortunes.

It is observable that representations in the catacombs at Rome show the soldiers crowning our Saviour, not with thorns, but with flowers, as if the early Christians regarded the triumphant, rather than the mournful, aspect of His great sacrifice.

the crown jewels were dispersed. When the princes present, according to ancient custom, rendered homage to their new sovereign, there was no sceptre at hand. Rudolph removed the difficulty by snatching up a crucifix, and employing that instead—"for," he remarked, "a symbol by which the world was redeemed may well supply the place of a sceptre."

The Emperor Lothaire retired to a monastery at Prüm, between Aix and Trèves, and took the cowl. He converted his crown into a crucifix, which was preserved down to the time of the French Revolution, when all the property of the monastery was confiscated.

In the royal chapel of the castle of Frederichsberg, where the kings of Denmark were crowned, is a painting by Reinhold Timm, a drawing-master of Sorre, of Christian IV., who is represented clad in a shroud, praying before our Saviour, who appears in the clouds above. The artist had first portrayed the king in his robe of state, but Christian ordered it to be changed, and the crown and sceptre may still be discerned from beneath the paint.

The inaugural address of Varahan III., king of the Neo-Persian empire (A.D. 292), is reported in these noble words: "I ascend this throne by right, as the issue of your kings; but the sole end which I propose to myself in ruling, is to obtain for the people who shall be subject to me, a happy and quiet life. I place all my trust in the goodness of God, through whose help all may end happily. If God preserves my life, I will conduct myself towards you in such a way that all who hear me spoken of will load me with blessings. *If, on the contrary the Angel of Death comes and carries me away,* I hope that God will not forsake you or suffer you to perish."

The dignity and the virtues which should distinguish the wearer of a crown were well put forth by Lord Chancellor John Stafford, who in 1436, before King Henry VI., who was seated in his chair in the Painted Chamber, delivered a discourse from the words "Corona regni in manu Dei," in which he demonstrated that "three sorts of men are crowned, viz. all Christians in their baptism, in token whereof they are anointed; all clerks in their orders, in token whereof they are shaven; and all kings in their coronation, who in token thereof wear a crown of gold set about with flowers and precious stones. The erecting and standing of the flowers in the upper part of the crown denoted the king's pre-eminency over his subjects; which ought to be garnished with four cardinal virtues. That is to say, in the forepart ought to be wisdom, adorned with three precious stones; namely, memory of things past, circumspection of things present, and prudence in all things to come. On the right hand ought to be fortitude, accompanied with courage in attempting, patience in suffering, and perseverance in well-meaning. On the left side ought to be justice distributing her arms three ways to the best mean, lowest. On the hinder part ought to be temperance, with her trinity: viz. restraint of sensuality in fear, silence in speech, and mortification in will; all which,

proceeding from God, fully proved that the crown of the king was in the hand of God."

When Niels Kaas, the virtuous chancellor of Frederick II. of Denmark, was dying, the young King Christian, who esteemed him greatly, visited him some hours previous to his decease. The chancellor told him he had promised his father, when on his death-bed, that he would do his best to see the crown firmly seated on his son's head, "but death," he said, "prevents me from satisfying my desire. I am, however, proud before I leave to give to your Majesty the key of the cabinet where, since the death of your father, the crown, orb, and sceptre are preserved. As I am about to quit the world I will hand them over to your Majesty alone. Receive them as from God. Wear the crown with honour and glory; hold the sceptre with wisdom; bear the sword with justice; and preserve the orb with judgment."

Christian was greatly affected at the time, but, later, forgot the good advice of the young chancellor.

At the burial of Charles IX., Axel Oxenstjerna, taking the crown from the hand of Magnus Brahe, exclaimed, "As this crown is of the best gold, set with precious stones and beautiful pearls, which the sovereign has worn in his lifetime, so should a king be firm and sensible, pure and unalloyed as gold." He then made an address to the sceptre before placing it in the dead king's hand; a third to the orb, symbolic of perfection and rotundity.

In the royal vaults of Strengnas Cathedral, Sweden, it had been the custom to place regalia in the coffins of the deceased. It was Ulrika Eleonora, the gentle queen of Charles XI., who first put an end to the practice. In his "Dagbok" her king notes down: "July 26, 1693. To-day have I lost my dear wife, thirty-six years ten months old. H. M. lay in state at Carlberg; and as she bore no liking for a worldly, only caring for an eternal crown, by her order no regalia was placed in her coffin, which was simply lined with fine white linen."

Let us admire the noble generosity of a crowned head in the person of Timour, the great Mogul emperor, who after overcoming Bajazet, the Ottoman prince, instead of putting him to death, or subjecting him to torture and imprisonment, as was the usual custom in those times, invited him to a feast, and placed a crown on the head of the royal captive, and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death.

The crown, so often typical of "overweighing cares and sorrows" has, in a real sense, seared the brows of unanointed victims; thus, Henry VI., of Germany, in trying to secure to his house Naples and Sicily (1192), was guilty of fearful cruelty. He not only took away the gold and silver, jewels, and costly ornaments of the Norman kings, to such an extent that one hundred and fifty animals

were loaded therewith, but he caused the eyes of the grandees who had rebelled to be put out, and, as an insult to their misfortune, and in mockery of their efforts to get possession of the throne, he placed them on seats of red-hot iron, and fastened on their heads crowns of burning iron. Shakspeare's allusion in "Richard III." (Act iv. sc. 1), "Were red-hot steel to sear me to the brain," was probably derived from an incident that occurred in the commencement of the sixteenth century, and of which mention is made in Goulart's "Admirable and Memorable Histories" (1607)—how John, the son of the Vaivode Stephen, having defeated an army of Hungarian peasants in 1514, caused their general, "George," to be stripped naked, and upon his head the executioner set a crown of hot burning iron. This is the "Luke's iron crown" of Goldsmith. In Wyntown's "Chronicle" we have the like punishment assigned to Jak Bouhowne.

A spirit of piety has actuated some wearers of an earthly crown to acknowledge, in a spiritual devotion, their allegiance to the one Power supreme over all. Canute, after the rebuke he gave to his followers, refused, thenceforth, to wear any symbol of royalty :—

"Canute (truth worthy to be known)
From that time forth did for his brow disown
The ostentatious symbol of a crown,
Esteeming earthly royalty
Presumptuous and vain."

Henry III., of Germany, never placed the crown upon his head without having previously confessed, and received from his confessor permission to wear it. So, in our own country, we have the instance of George III., who at the coronation would not wear his crown at the Communion service.

The last days, we are told, of the illustrious Fernando I., King of Leon and Castile (1065), were occupied in extraordinary devotional exercises. On the morning of his death he caused himself to be arrayed in his royal vestments, and carried to the church of St. Isidore, in Leon, accompanied by his bishops and abbots, and the inferior clergy. Kneeling before the altar of St. John, and raising his eyes to heaven, he said, "Thine, O Lord, is the power, Thine the dominion ! Thou art the King of kings, the Supreme alike in heaven and earth ! I return unto Thee the crown which Thou hast given me, and which I have worn during Thy good pleasure. And, now, I only ask that when my soul leaves this body, Thou wilt receive it in Thy celestial mansions !" His royal crown and mantle were then removed, the penitential habit was thrown over him, and ashes were scattered on his head. On the day following he died.

In a spirit of superstitious zeal in former times we have instances of sovereigns making votive offerings of their crowns to the

Virgin.* In 1636 Louis XIII. of France, a monarch sad and morose of manner and habit, before the siege of Corbie, made an offering to Our Lady of a large silver lamp for the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris. The retaking of Corbie appearing to him a special interposition of the Virgin, he determined on placing his crown and kingdom under the protection of the mother of God. By letters patent, under the royal seal, he "consecrated our person, our state, our crown, and our subjects" to the Virgin, decreeing an annual procession in memory of the act. This commemoration, called the "Vow of Louis," continued during one hundred and eighty years. It was suppressed in 1792, re-established in 1814, and was finally abolished in 1830. On one of the sides of the grand altar of the cathedral of Notre Dame may still be seen the statue of Louis XIII. offering his crown and sceptre, and

* In the early ages of Christianity it was by no means unusual for sovereigns and other royal personages to dedicate their crowns to the use of the Church. The gifts thus devoted were known as *donaria*, and were suspended by chains attached to their upper rim, above an altar or shrine, or in some conspicuous part of the church. Other chains were attached to the lower rim, supporting a lamp, from which usually depended a jewelled cross. The crowned cross thus suspended above the altar, was felt to be an appropriate symbol of the triumph of Christianity, and its use became almost universal. In this manner the crowns of Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, and of her second husband, Agilulf, at the beginning of the seventh century (see chapter on "Ancient Crowns"), were dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the cathedral of Monza, as stated in the inscription borne by the latter before its destruction, and there is little reasonable doubt that the celebrated Iron Crown of Lombardy, preserved in the same cathedral, was at one time employed for the same purpose. At a much earlier period, Constantine the Great had dedicated his crown to the service of the Church, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Nicetas. In the time of these writers a crown of remarkable beauty, "*præ cæteris et operis elegantia et lapillorum pretio conspicua*," hanging above the Holy Table, with others, was pointed out as having been offered to God by the first Christian emperor. Tradition asserted that he had received it by the hands of an angel as a present from heaven. With one of these votive crowns, the lamp and chains being removed, in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the new emperor of the East received his inauguration.

Clovis, at the instance of St. Remigius, early in the sixth century, sent to St. Peter's "*coronam auream cum gemmis quæ regnum appellari solet*." The crowns discovered near Toledo (see chapter on "Ancient Crowns") were of the same votive character.

The custom for sovereigns to dedicate their actual crowns to the Church led to the construction of imitative crowns, formed for votive purposes only. A bas-relief now in the south transept of Monza Cathedral, representing a coronation, exhibits several crowns suspended over the altar.

The convenience of the form of these donative crowns for the suspension of lamps doubtless gave rise to the custom of constructing large chandeliers after the same model.

In September, 1852, we find the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier celebrated in the *Tablet*, not only for their charity "in giving three thousand reals in alms to the poor," but especially, and *above all*, "for their piety in presenting the Virgin with a magnificent dress of tissue of gold, with white lace, and a silver crown."

on the other side the statue of Louis XIV. kneeling and joining his prayers and vows to those of his father.

This action, at any rate, was consonant with the religious practices of former times, and different to the conduct of our own King John, who, with a baseness unparalleled, resigned his crown in St. Paul's Cathedral, into the hands of the papal legate, receiving it back as a donation from the pope !

Baronius regards the death of Leo IV., Emperor of the East (780), as an example of divine retribution. There was a splendid crown, which had been placed above the high altar of the cathedral by the Emperor Maurice. It blazed with fiery carbuncles, and Leo so admired the precious stones, that he seized on the votive crown and wore it. The imperial thief, adds Baronius, died of an eruption of carbuncles : "*amans igitur carbunculos ex sacrilegis carbunculos paritur passus est, et his coronatus est mortuis.*"

Saints had the privilege of votive offerings of crowns ; thus Edward I. caused the golden crown of the last Prince of Wales to be hung up on the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

In our day we have the devotional spirit of sovereigns exemplified in the instance of the Empress Eugénie, who, before leaving for Zululand (March, 1880), on her sad mission to the death-place of her son, the late Prince Imperial, gave her crown to the church of Notre Dame des Victoires at Paris. It is of great value, both from its artistic composition, and the number of precious stones it contains.

Superstition, crime, lust of power, and broken faith have, indeed, in all ages and countries, dimmed the attributes of sovereignty, but in many instances the real nobility of worth has impressed the crown with an undying brilliancy.

Nothing is clearer in our early history than the personal agency of the king in everything that is done, and the unspeakable difference between a good and a bad king. The truth is that, in an early state of society, almost everything depends on the personal character of the sovereign.

Confucius gives a definition of the true worth of a king. He held that the government of a country is a test of the virtue of its sovereign. Let but his virtue be daily renewed, and not only the people of the empire, but the subjects of all the neighbouring states, will love him ; but, on the other hand, should he be full of his own will, he will be abandoned by even the nine classes of his kindred. Thus the prince who rules by means of it is like the north polar star, which keeps its place, and all the stars turn towards it. The wild tribes on all sides willingly acknowledge their subjection to him, and his throne will be established in wisdom ; for he who practises virtue is not left to stand alone, but has always at his command the services of the wisest men in the empire.

In some fragmentary papers in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth are moralistic lines on kings and their duties ; thus :—

"Al kynges therfore ought muche y^e more
 To loke vpon ther charge,
 For al the land lieth on ther hande
 Be it neuer so large."

A lesson is given against royal pride and ambition :—

"King Solomon saith al is one
 A poore man and a kynge
 Are first gotten and the boren
 And differ yet nothyng.
 The ar they fed wth milcke and bread
 Boeth licke, boeth wayle and wepe .
 Alike, boeth crie a like, boeth lie
 A lyk, boeth wake an slepe.
 The myghtie Kynge is found nothyng
 Better than the beggar
 For by hys byrth he is but erthe
 The beste is no better."

King Alfred's notion of sovereign power was this : " If then it should ever happen, as it very seldom happens, that power and dignity come to good men, and to wise ones, what is there then worthy of pleasing is the goodness and dignity of those persons : of the good king, not of the power. Hence power is never a good, unless he be good that has it, and that is the good of the man, not of the power. If power be goodness, why then is it that no man, by his dominion, can come to the virtues, and to merit ; but by his virtues and merit he comes to dominion and power ? Thus no man is better for his power ; but if he be good, it is from his virtues that he is good. From his virtues he becomes worthy of power, if he be worthy of it." *

* The Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. The kingdom was hereditary ; but, according to Diodorus, the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions than his own arbitrary will and pleasure. Here kings were under greater restraints from the laws than their subjects. They had some particular ones digested by a former monarch, that composed part of what the Egyptians called the sacred books. In the morning, at daybreak, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received. As soon as they were dressed they went to the daily sacrifice in the temple, where, surrounded by the whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high priest, in which he asked of the gods health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high priest entered into a long detail of his virtues, and spoke next of the faults he might be guilty of ; but supposed, at the same time, that he never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance, and loaded with imprecations such of his ministers as gave evil counsel and suppressed or disguised the truth. After the prayers and sacrifices were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king, out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his kingdom according to their maxims, and maintain the laws.

The poet Kerner, in his fine ballad of "The Richest Prince," has illustrated the true value of a crown :—

- " At ancient Worms' imperial diet
Prince and peer opponent stand,
High in speech, and flush'd with riot,
Boasting each his native land.
- " ' Rich and glorious are my mountains,'
Cried the Saxon prince, ' where shines
Silver bright as sparkling fountains
Bosom'd deep in pregnant mines.'
- " ' Luscious hills, luxuriant valleys,
Golden corn and rosy wine
Burst my garners, brim my chalice,'
Cried the Palzgrave of the Rhine.
- " Louis of Bavaria vaunted :
' Mine are domes and turrets high ;
Minsters where the mass is chaunted,
Munich's might and majesty.'
- " Bearded Everard spake : ' Behold me
Württemberg's well-loved lord ;
No proud city's walls enfold me,
No bright ore my lands afford.
- " ' Yet there flames a jewel treasured
In my father-land, where I,
Safe 'mid woods and wilds unmeasur'd,
On each subject's lap might lie.'
- " Then Bavaria's lord all-glorious,
Saxon proud, and palatine
Cry, ' Thou bearded chief victorious !
Yea, the gem of gems is thine ! ' "

Arsaces, upon ascending the Persian throne, had assumed the name of Artaxerxes, and received the surname of Mnemon, from his great memory. Being near his father's deathbed when he was dying, he asked him what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might follow his example. " It has been," he replied, " to do always what justice and religion required of me." Memorable words, and worthy of being set in letters of gold in king's palaces.

A strange story is related of Charles VII. of France. Our Henry V. had shrunk his kingdom into the town of Bourges. Charles having told a shoemaker, after trying on a pair of boots, that he had no money to pay for them, Crispin had such callous feelings that he refused to let the king have them. " It is for this reason," says Commynes, " I praise those princes who are on good terms with the lowest of their people, for they know not at what hour they may want them."

Queen Elizabeth, in her speech to the last Parliament (November 30, 1601), said, " To be a king and weare a crown, is a thing more

glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that beare it ; for myselfe I never was so much inticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royall authoritie of a queene, as delighted that God hath made me His instrumente to maintaine His truth and glorie, and to defend this kingdome from dishonour, dammage, tyrannie, and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things unto myselfe, or my sexly weaknesse, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hand ; but to God onely and wholly all is given and ascribed.

"The cares and trouble of a crowne I cannot more fitly resemble then to the drugges of a learned physitian ; perfumed with some aromaticall savour, or to bitter pills guilded over, by which they are made more exceptable or lesse offensive, which, indeed, are unpleasant to take ; and for my owne part, were it not for conscience sake to discharge the duty that God hath layd upon me, and to maintaine His glorie, and keepe you in safetie, in mine own disposition I should be willing to resigne the place I hold to any other and glad to be free of the glorie with the labors, for it is not my desire to live or to reigne longer than my life and reigne shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never have had, nor shall have, any that will love you better."

It is said that Queen Elizabeth composed the following prayer as she went to her coronation :—"O Lord Almighty and everlasting God, I give Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast beene so mercifull unto me as to spare me to behold this ioifull daie. And I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt wonderfullie, and as mercifullie with me, as Thou didst with Thy true and faithfull servant Daniell, Thy prophet, whom thou deliveredst out the den from the crueltie of the greedy and roaring lions. Even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, onelie, thanks, honor, and praise, for ever. Amen."

In the "Basilicon Doron. Or His Majesty's Instructions to his dearest sonne Henry, the Prince," James I. thus judges the kingly character in a sonnet from the preface :—

"God gives not kings the style of gods in vain,
For on the throne His sceptre do they sway ;
And as their subjects ought them to obey
So kings should fear and serve their God again.
If then ye would enjoy a happy reign,
Observe the statutes of our heavenly King,
And from His law make all your laws to spring,
If His lieutenant here you should remain,
Reward the just, be steadfast, true, and plain ;
Repress the proud, maintaining aye the right ;
Walk always so as ever in His sight,
Who guards the godly, plaguing the profane,
And so shall ye in princely virtues shine,
Resembling right your mighty King divine."

In the work of King James, "The Trew Law of Free Monarchies,

etc.,” he says, “Kings are called Gods by the propheticall King David, because they sat upon God His throne in the earth, and have the count of their administration to give unto Him.” “By the law of nature the king becomes naturall father to all his lieges at his coronation.”

“Crowns have their compass ; length of days their date ;
Triumphs their tomb ; felicity her fate ;
Of nought but earth can earth make us partaker,
But knowledge makes a king most like his Maker.”

CROWNS AND CORONATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT CROWNS.

“Emblems of sov'reign power, the pomp
And pride of kings, the dread of foes.”



FOR royal and imperial crowns, or diadems,” writes Selden in his “Titles of Honour,” “however these names have been from ancient times confounded, yet the *diadem*, strictly, was a very different thing from what a *crown* now is or was; and it was no other then than only a fillet of silk, linen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other crown was

used for a royal ensign, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman empire.” The *diadema*, not the *corona*, was the emblem of sovereignty.

Such fillets appear to have been worn indiscriminately; the only difference in the head-dress being in *colour*. The prophet Ezekiel alludes to the “dyed attire upon the heads, all of them princes to look to,” pointing out the rich and ornamented head-dress of the Assyrian kings. Crowns are frequently mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, and of this character was the inscribed plate of gold in front of the high priest’s mitre, “the holy crown upon the mitre.” Josephus

says that the mitre was the same in construction and figure with that of the common priest (a turban), but that above it was another with swathes of blue, embroidered, and round it was a golden crown, polished, of three rows, one above another, out of which rose a cup of gold, which resembled the calyx of the herb called by Greek botanists *hyoscyamus*; he ends in laboured description by comparing it to a poppy. "Possibly," observes Jennings ("Jewish Antiquities"), "this might be the crown which Alexander the Great presented to Jaddua, when he went out to meet him, and which was afterwards worn on grand and solemn occasions." The mitres worn by the ancient priests of Egypt resembled those prescribed to the Jews, divested of idolatrous symbols, which were displaced to make way for a simple plate of gold inscribed, "Holiness to Jehovah." This plate extended from one ear to the other, being bound to the forehead by strings tied behind, and further secured in its position by a blue ribbon attached to the mitre.*

The *diadem*, properly so called, originally the linen band or silken ribbon tied round the temples, became afterwards adorned by Eastern luxury, with pearls and precious stones.

* "The Jewish monarch," remarks Dr. Smith, "was chiefly distinguished by the crown that he wore upon his turban, also by the richness and form of the turban itself, and both of them owed their origin to the mitre and lamina of gold bound upon the mitre which adorned the head of the high priest. The name of the regal turban is the same that is given to the mitre of Aaron, and derived from a word expressive of the circumvolutions of the linen by which it was formed. The regal crown and the crown or lamina of gold affixed to the pontifical mitre are both of them expressed in Hebrew by the same word, which signifies to separate or set apart, as the pontiff and the sovereign were separated from the rest of mankind, and appointed to their respective high and authoritative offices. From the name it appears that the crown was the sign of that separation, and the mark of distinguished dignity to both, from which reason we may conceive that it differed in its form from the crown, or diadem, used by the Gentiles.

"The form of the regal crown is nowhere ascertained, but the name of the portion of gold belonging to the pontifical mitre may, possibly, throw some light on the subject. It is called a flower of gold in one place, and in another the flower of the holy crown, and in both passages signifies the crown itself.

"The appellation of the 'flower' would lead us to suppose that it was made in a flower-like, or radiated form, and we may reasonably enough conclude that the regal and pontifical crowns bore some resemblance to each other, when we are assured that they were symbolical in both instances of the same thing."

It is probable that the royal crown of the ancient kings was like the diadem which we see on the heads of the ancient Roman kings on their medals. It was the custom of the Jewish kings, as well as those of the neighbouring nations, to wear their crown constantly when they were dressed. King Saul had his crown on when he was slain in the battle of Gilboa, and the King of the Ammonites when he headed his army in war; for when David had reduced Rabbah, the royal city, he took the crown from the king's head and put it on his own. From this custom it may reasonably be inferred that the ancient crowns were much less in size and weight than those which are now used by European kings. Yet the crown of the King of the Ammonites, just mentioned, is said to have weighed "a talent of gold with the precious stones." Now, a talent being reckoned to be a hundred and twenty-five pounds, such an enormous load on the head no man can be supposed to have carried as a part of his ordinary dress. Bockhart apprehends, with great probability, that the word *mishkal* denotes not the weight, but the value of the crown; for although the verb *shakel* in the Hebrew, like *pondere* in the Latin, related originally to weight—by which, before the invention of coins, metals were exchanged in traffic—yet this came afterwards to be applied to the payment of money, when the custom of weighing it was laid aside.

The word *nezer* is said to denote a diadem, and is used in this sense for that which Saul wore in battle and which was brought to David, and also that used at the coronation of the young King Joash; and as another word, *atarah*, is applied elsewhere to the crown, the probability is that the Hebrew kings wore sometimes a diadem and sometimes a crown. Josephus mentions the diadem of Pharaoh, which (according to him) seems to have been nothing more than a circle or fillet of gold.

Clemens Alexandrinus says generally of the royal crowns used by the kings of Judah and Israel, "I know that the ancient kings of the Hebrews had their diadem (crown) of gold and rich stones, and this was set on their heads at their inauguration by the high priest who anointed them."

Rawlinson describes the tiara of a monarch of Babylon as remarkable. It was of great height, nearly cylindrical, but with a slight tendency to swell out towards the crown, which was ornamented with a row of feathers round its entire circumference. The space below was patterned with

rosettes, sacred trees, and mythological figures. From the centre of the crown there rose above the feathers a projection resembling, in some degree, the projection which distinguishes the tiara of the Assyrian kings, but rounded and not squared at the top. This head-dress, which has a heavy appearance, was worn low on the brow, and covered nearly all the back of the head. It can scarcely have been composed of a heavier material than cloth or felt. Probably it was brilliantly coloured, as was the tiara of the Assyrian monarchs.

In Egypt and Persia there are sculptures of earlier date than the Hebrew monarchies, representing the royal crown in the shape of a distinguishing tiara, cap, or helmet, of metal and of cloth, or partly cloth and partly metal. The bas-reliefs discovered by Layard, at Nineveh, represent the king in a high conical tiara, which distinguishes the monarch on these Assyrian monuments and appears to have been reserved for him alone. "It is impossible," remarks Layard, "to determine from the sculptures the nature of the material of which it was made, but it may be conjectured that it consisted of bands or folds of linen or silk. Such was the head-dress of the Persian monarchs called *cidaris*, which appears to have resembled the Phrygian bonnet, or the French cap of liberty. That worn by Darius was of blue and white, or purple and white."*

* Diodorus states that the Egyptian Pharaohs decorated their crowns with figures of lions, bulls, and serpents, branches of trees, and representations of flames of fire, to inspire fear in the beholders. The Assyrians confined themselves to putting horns on the tiaras of their idols. The tiaras of the ancient Persians are bare, like those of the Parthian monarchs. The custom of ornamenting the royal head-dress with striking objects appears among the Sassanides in the founder of the dynasty. A sphere is seen on the tiaras and the battlemented crowns of Ardeschir Babegau, and is seen up to Djamasp, of Bahram II., of Azermidokht; a pair of wings frequently accompany the diadems. Some coins of Bahram II. give on the side of the effigy of the monarch busts of women of which the head-dress terminates in the head of a wild boar or griffin. Hormuz II. (Hormisdas) wears a tiara in form of a flying eagle, with a pearl in the beak. The crown of the father of Hormuz, Narsi, is composed of tall leaves, which reminds one of the tufts in the great crown of Novo Tcherkask. The tiara of Ardeschir II. displays in front a crescent, which is seen also in several of his successors. Later, under Chosroes II. (Khosrou Parviz), the crescent became an aigrette issuing from a bird's wing. The ancient gemmed *taag* of the Shahs of Persia, and their present *talpak* in furs, have the aigrette in form of a round ensign. The *taag* was no other than the embattled crown of the Sassanides with a circle raised much higher.

On the coins of Sapor I. he is represented with a cap terminating in the head of an eagle, or else a mural crown surmounted by an inflated ball.

Hormisdas I., of the Neo-Persian empire (died A.D. 272), wears a lion-crested cap, with a flower rising from the summit. Narses (abdicated A.D. 301), said to have been named the "hunter of wild beasts," had a head-dress peculiar to him, adorned with horns of the ibex or the stag.

The coins of Sapor III. and his predecessor, Artaxerxes II., represent the head-dress as not remarkable: the latter bears a head which is surmounted with the usual inflated ball, and has the diadem, but is without the crown—a deficiency in which some see an indication that the prince thus represented was regent rather than monarch of Persia.

Isdigerd I., sovereign of Persia (died A.D. 419 or 420), is shown on coins with the inflated ball, above a fragment of the old mural crown, and bears a crescent in front. Zamask (A.D. 498–501) has also the ball and mural crown, but a crescent in place of the front limb of the crown. The ends of the diadem appear over the two shoulders. On either side of the head there is a star, and over either shoulder a crescent. Outside the encircling ring, or "pearl border," we see, almost for the first time, three stars with crescents.

The special royal head-dress of the Assyrian kings was a tall mitre or tiara, which at first took the shape of the head, but rose above it to a certain height in a gracefully curved line, when it was covered in with a top, flat, like that of a hat, but having a projection towards the centre which rose up into a sort of apex or peak, not however pointed, but either rounded or squared off. The tiara was generally ornamented with a succession of bands, between which were commonly patterns more or less elaborate. Ordinarily the lowest band, instead of running parallel with the others, rose with a gentle curve towards the front, allowing room for a large rosette over the forehead and for other similar ornaments. If we may trust the representations on the enamelled bricks, supported as they are to some extent by the tinted reliefs, we may say that the tiara was of three colours—red, yellow, and white. The red and white alternated in broad bands; the ornaments upon them were yellow, being probably either embroidered on the material of the head-dress in threads of gold, or composed of thin gold plates which may have been sewn on. The general material of the tiara is likely to have

been cloth or felt; it can scarcely have been metal, if the deep crimson tint of the bricks and the relief is true.

In the early sculptures the tiara is more depressed than in the later, and it is also less highly ornamented. It has seldom more than two bands, viz. a narrow one at the top, and at bottom a broader curved one, rising towards the front. To this last are attached two long strings or lappets, which fall behind the monarch's back to a level with his elbow.

Another head-dress which the monarch sometimes wore was a sort of band or fillet. This was either elevated in front and ornamented with a single rosette, like the lowest band of the tiara, or else of uniform width and patterned along its whole course. In either case there depended from it, on each side of the back hair, a long riband or streamer fringed at the end and sometimes ornamented with a delicate pattern.

Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, in his "Ancient Egyptians," mentions that the head-dress of the kings of ancient Egypt was the crown of the upper or lower country, or the *pshent*, the union of the two. Every king, after the sovereignty of the Thebaid and Lower Egypt had become once more vested in the same person, put on this double crown at his coronation. The king wore his crown during the heat of battle—sometimes merely a wig; but a helmet (without a crest) made apparently of woollen stuff with a thick nap, not very unlike the modern Persian cap, was generally preferred; and at religious ceremonies he put on a striped head-dress, probably of linen, which descended in front over the breast and terminated behind in a sort of queue bound with ribbon.

When crowned, the king invariably put on the two crowns at the same time, though on other occasions he was permitted to wear each separately, whether in the temple, the city, or the field of battle; and he even appeared in his helmet during the ceremonies in honour of the gods. On some occasions he wore a short wig, on which a band was fastened, ornamented with an asp, the emblem of royalty.

In the British Museum, and also in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool, are representations of Egyptian divinities and sovereigns with characteristic head ornaments. Amen-Ra, the principal deity of Thebes, is seen as a man, wearing as a head-dress the disc of the sun and tall plumes. Ma, allied to Thoth, or Mercury, has for emblem of sovereignty an ostrich feather. Nefer-Atum (Atum), the "regulator of the two

worlds," is sometimes depicted with the lily and plumes on his head. Munt-Ra, or Mars, is represented with plumes and the sun's disc. Pasht, Diana, wears a disc on her head, fronted by a serpent. The royal head-dress of Rameses II., or the Great, is surmounted by a crown of simple form, decorated with small serpents, symbols of imperial authority. The upper part of a statue of the same monarch, in the character of the ineffable Osiris, wears the *pschent* over the royal wig; the flail and the crook of Osiris, symbols of majesty and dominion, crossed, and reaching to the shoulders, are the insignia of his office. Khnum, the principal deity at Elephantine, is represented with the conical cap of Osiris, plumes, and horns. Osiris, the judge of the dead, is seen with the crown of Upper Egypt, with plumes on either side, and sometimes surmounted by a sun's disc. He is also represented wearing a lunar disc. Isis, the wife of Osiris, wears a throne on her head.

The white crown, which was more commonly called the *atef* crown, was a grand head-dress, with disc, plumes, and pendant *uræi*. It was symbolical of the kingdom of Egypt and of the divinity of the gods.

The early Macedonian coins exhibit, some a head with a flat cap or hat, and others the royal bandelet only, such as those of Æropus and Pausanias, three hundred and ninety-four years before Christ. The coins of Antiochus IV., sovereign of Syria a hundred and seventy-six years before Christ, have a radiated crown instead of the usual fillet or bandelet. The crown of rays was assumed by kings who took the title of *epiphanes*, or gods, who manifested themselves to mortals.*

* The radiated crown originated in the solar worship of the East, and was borrowed from thence by the rulers of the West. The influences tending to the increase of the solar worship became still stronger after the reign of Hadrian. The original emblem of the Roman emperors was the laurel or bay-leaf of victory, and it was the policy of Augustus and his first successors to avoid all titles and symbols which savoured of royalty; if a radiated crown was allotted to them, it was after their death, and as gods, not sovereigns. Nero is said to have been the first to assume it in his lifetime; it appears also in coins of Caligula, but only such as were struck in Greek cities. Flattery, however, soon extended, even in Italy, to living emperors. Gallienus wore it in public. Whether considered as a mark of deification or of solar worship it would be equally offensive to Christians. After the time of Constantine we do not find the figure of the sun on coins, and the radiated crown is replaced by a diadem of gems. In some of the coins of Salonina, the

The spikes that shot out from the crown represented the rays of the sun. There were twelve of them, in allusion to the signs of the zodiac. It is the kind of crown which Virgil describes (*Æneid*, lib. xxii.) :—

“ Four steeds the chariot of Latinus bear ;
Twelve golden beams around his temples play
To mark his lineage from the god of day.”

In the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum the king is represented wearing a tall cap, or tiara, nearly conical, with a spike rising from the flattened crown, both cap and spike being jewelled ; two streamers hang from the back of the tiara.

The spiked or radiated crown is exhibited on some of the coins of the Roman emperors in the third century.

The earliest portraits in coins of Artaxerxes, the founder of the new Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ, represent him wearing the high and richly embroidered cap, which is, no doubt, the ancient crown of Persia. It had been previously assumed by some of the Arsacidæ, kings of Parthia. The portraits of Vologeses IV., on coins, display a banded tiara, above which band the crown of the tiara appears to be formed of pearls and a large circular ornament. Sapor, the successor of Artaxerxes on the Persian throne, wears an ornamental head-dress formed of a singular mass of what appears to be drapery of a circular, or rather a pear-shaped, form, which has been suggested to represent a celestial globe ; the crescent, moon, and a star being conspicuous on it. The crescent also appears afterwards on the variously shaped crowns of his successors, sometimes with and sometimes without the star. Some of the coins of Sapor are found with the embroidered crown, such as that worn by his predecessor, Artaxerxes ; but after Varanes I. the cap or crown finally disappears.

Xerxes, a petty prince of Armenia, appears on a coin in a conic cap with a diadem around it. Juba, the father, has a singular crown like a conic cap, hung with pearls.

wife of Gallienus, her bust is represented on a figure of the crescent moon. This appears to be another indication of the Oriental worship of the sun and moon. The first head of an empress placed in this way is that of Julia Domua, the second wife of Septimius Severus, and grand-aunt of Heliogabalus, the high priest of the sun. Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Maximianus, is the last empress on whose coins this peculiarity appears.

There is a connection between the ancient and modern Oriental crowns, the latter consisting either of a cap with a fold or turban, variously enriched with aigrettes, or of a stiff cap of cloth studded with precious stones. The turreted crown appears on a female head on the coins of Tigranes, King of Armenia, about eighty years before Christ. It is also seen on the coins of Trajan, which have the head of the emperor on one side and a female head with a turreted crown on the other. In Roman times the turreted heads formerly belonging to the independent cities of Smyrna, Damascus, etc., were used as a symbol of the entire province of Syria.

The kings upon Greek coins are generally represented wearing the *vitta*, or ribbon, about the head, without any other ornament, tied in a floating knot behind, the simple but superlative badge of sovereign power. In the Roman coins it is seen on the consular medals with Numa and Ancus, but not after until the time of Lucinius. The diadem was introduced to the Romans through their Oriental campaigns and intercourse with Asiatic nations. When first seen at Rome it caused great offence. Though they submitted to the reality of sovereign power, their susceptible minds could not endure its outward symbols. The golden "corona" had raised no alarm. Caligula and Domitian wore it at the public games without objection, and it appears on their coins. The diadem became a recognized mark of sovereign dignity, but it seems to have been chiefly worn on state occasions. The radiated crown * (as I have observed, a mark of deification) appears on most of the emperors' heads in the early centuries of the empire.

Under Constantine the Great, who assumed the empire of the West (A.D. 306), the fillet, or ribbon, was superseded by the diadem of gold and precious stones; additions were made afterwards to various parts that went from ear to ear over the crown of the head, and, at length, over a gold helm on a cap, which made it somewhat like the close crown of later times worn upon caps. In fact, this jewelled helm was the origin of the imperial crown in its present form; the gradual transition from the defensive to the decorated head-

* Tertullian says, "I will acknowledge none such to be gods and emperors too: for if they be not men, they can be no emperors: he that calls himself a god, or allows himself to be so called, plainly shows that he is no emperor."

covering being easily traced in the lapse of after years. The combination to which I have alluded is also seen on the coins of Gratian, Valentin II., Theodosius, Leo the Great, and Basil.



Head of the Empress
Helena.

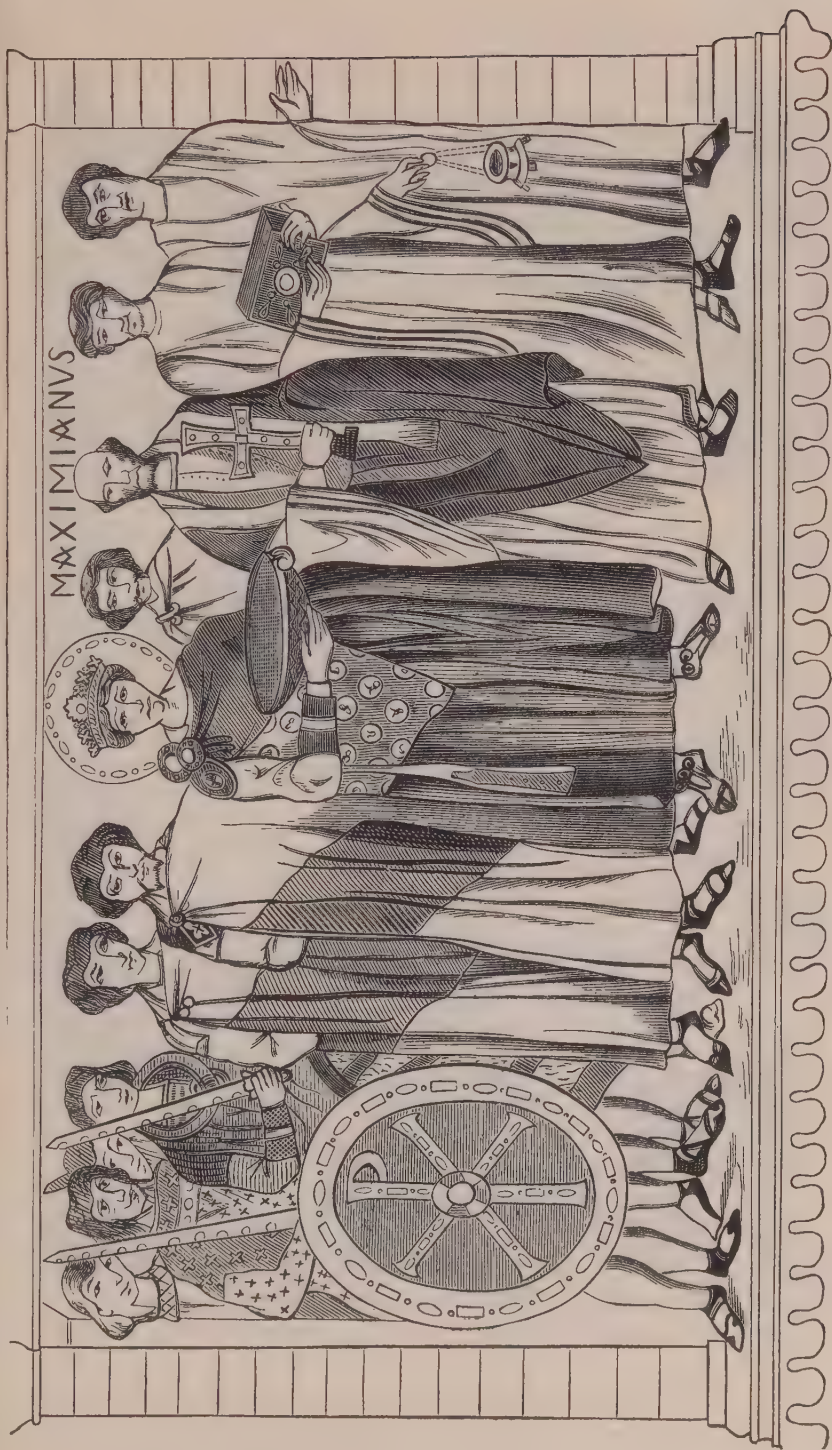
Constantine, who died A.D. 337, is represented with false hair of various colours, a diadem of expensive fashion, a profusion of gems and pearls, collars, bracelets, etc.* Mr. Planché observes "that the crown of the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, throws considerable light on the forms and ornaments of those we see on the heads of the early Anglo-Saxon and Norman monarchs."

In a drawing given by Ferrario, Constantine the Great is represented wearing a helmet surrounded by a diadem, *with a cross in front*; Heraclius (A.D. 610-642) wears a helmet, encircled by a gemmed diadem with pendant ends, and a cross above the forehead.

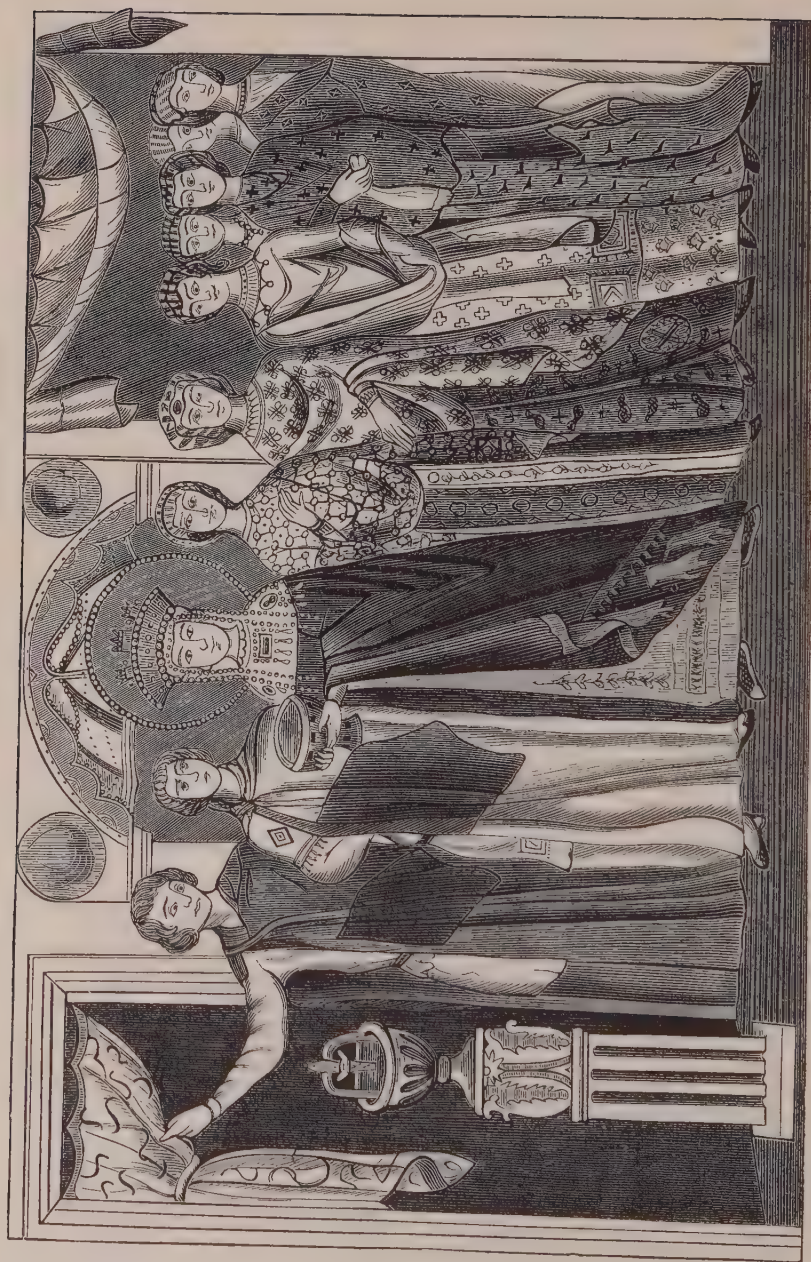
The combination of the diadem with the *cidaris*, or *tiara*, had been in use, as Zenophon informs us, from ancient times. It was worn by Zenobia, and was adopted by her conqueror, Aurelian, Emperor of Rome (died 275). It is seen in medals under the form of a peaked cap, which in later times assumed the popular name of *tuphan*, the origin of the modern "turban."

The diadem, in its original form of a ribbon or fillet, gradually went out of use from the time of Justinian, and

* The emperors of the East, at the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, were remarkable for their splendour. St. Chrysostom alludes in his sermons to the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," he says, "wears on his head a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments, and his purple garments, are reserved for his sacred person alone, and his robes of silk are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold; whenever he appears in public he is surrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses have the substance or the appearance of gold; and the large, splendid boss in the middle of their shield is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpets, the size of the precious stones, etc."



The Emperor Justinian and his court, 6th century. From a mosaic at Ravenna.



The Empress Theodora, wife of Justinian, and her attendants. From a mosaic at Ravenna.

was replaced by a flexible band of gold, sometimes adorned with a band of pearls and precious stones. Justinian, in the mosaics of the sanctuary of San Vitale, at Ravenna, has his head covered with a jewelled cap; while the Empress Theodora wears a tiara surrounded with three circles of gems. Strings of pearls and other gems hang down from each.

In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (died 959) the royal treasury contained circlets, or *stemmata*, of various colours, white, green, and blue, according to the enamels with which they were coated. These circlets, adorned with gems, are mentioned by Claudian in connection with the two sons of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, towards the end of the fourth century: "Et vario lapidum distinctos igne coronas."

Dr. Schliemann, on "Troy and its Remains," thus describes the diadems found in the (supposed) "Treasure" of King Priam: "These consisted of two splendid gold diadems; one consisting of a gold fillet, $21\frac{2}{3}$ inches long, and nearly half an inch broad, from which there hang on either side seven little chains to cover the temples, each of which has eleven square leaves with a groove; these chains are joined to one another by four little cross chains, at the end of which hangs a glittering golden idol of the tutelar goddess of Troy, nearly an inch long. The entire length of each of these chains, with the idols, amounts to ten and a quarter inches. Almost all these idols have something of the human form, but the owl's head with the two large eyes cannot be mistaken; their breadth at the lower end is about nine-tenths of an inch. Between these ornaments for the temples there are about forty-seven little pendant chains, adorned with square leaves; at the end of each little chain is an idol of the tutelary goddess of Ilium, about three-quarters of an inch long; the length of these little chains with the idols is not quite four inches.

"The other diadem is twenty inches long, and consists of a gold chain, from which are suspended on each side eight chains completely covered with small gold leaves, to hang down over the temples, and at the end of every one of the sixteen chains there hangs a golden idol, an inch and a quarter long, with the owl's head of the Ilian tutelary goddess. Between these ornaments for the temples, there are likewise

seventy-four little chains, about four inches long, covered with gold leaves, to hang down over the forehead; at the end of these chains there hangs a double leaf about three-quarters of an inch long."

The same author, in his "Mycenæ," relates the discovery of the "diadems" which form such an interesting portion of the objects unearthed. "On every one of the three bodies, which were found on the opening of the second tomb, in the first and second sepulchres, were five diadems of thin gold-plate, each nineteen inches and a half long, and four inches broad in the middle, from which it gradually diminishes to a point at both ends. The pointed ends have been broken off, but as several of the other diadems have such points, there can be no doubt that all had been fashioned in the same way. All the diadems were piped with copper wires, in order to give them more solidity, and a great many fragments of those copper wires were found. All the fifteen diadems show the very same ornamentation of *repoussé* work, consisting of a border of two lines on either side, between which we see a row of treble concentric circles, which increase or diminish in size, according to the breadth of the diadem, the largest circle being in the middle. Between these treble circles is, on either side, a row of smaller double concentric circles, which likewise increase or diminish in size, in proportion to the breadth of the diadems. As well in the larger treble, as in the smaller double circles, the central or innermost circle is always hammered so as to protrude, which gives to the diadems a splendid aspect." The diadems had at one end a pin, and at the other a tube, by means of which they were fixed round the head; of course, in such a way that the largest treble circle was just in the middle of the forehead.

In the third sepulchre was found, on the head of one of three bodies, a splendid crown of gold, which Dr. Schliemann describes as "one of the most interesting objects collected by me at Mycenæ. It is two feet one inch long, and profusely covered with shield-like ornaments. The work being *repoussé*, all the ornaments protrude and appear in low relief, giving to the crown an indescribably magnificent aspect, which is still further augmented by the thirty-six large leaves, ornamented in a like manner, which are attached to it. It deserves particular attention that the crown was bound round the head, so that its broadest part was just in the middle of the forehead, and, of course, the leaves were standing upright

around the upper part of the head, for had it been otherwise it would have shaded the eyes and the greater part of the face. Near each extremity can be seen two small holes, through which the crown was fastened by means of a thin golden wire. I call particular attention to the curious signs between the shield-like ornaments of the lowest row; five of these signs resemble beautiful flowers, the heads of which give additional proof that the crown was worn with the leaves upwards; and so I found it on the head of one of the bodies. The four other signs resemble the caduceus, the herald's staff of Hermes.

"Around the head of another of the three bodies was found a magnificent golden diadem, to which was still attached part of the skull; it is finely worked. It has a border formed by parallel lines, and a line of protruding points, which is broadest in the middle and gradually diminishes towards both ends. This border is ornamented with spiral signs, accompanied by small lines of deep or protruding points. The space between the two borders is filled up with a row of shield-like ornaments, the size of which varies according to the breadth of the diadem, containing a number of concentric circles around a central boss. The space between the circles is filled up, in the five larger ones, with a circular row of small leaves or of protruding points. At each end of the diadem is a perforation, which must have served to fasten it round the head by means of a thin wire of gold or copper. This diadem being of thick gold plate, it was not piped.

"With the three bodies were five diadems of gold. Two of them have an ornamentation similar to the foregoing, but less rich. Both are piped with copper wire, and have no border; and both consist of two halves, which seem not to have been soldered together, but merely joined by the piping wire. As neither of them has perforations in the extremities, there must have been attached to them thin wires of copper or gold, now broken off, by which they were fastened round the head. Both these diadems have suffered much from the funeral fire, which has blackened them so that the photographs could not take well. The other diadem, though not piped, has no border; it is also ornamented with shield-like circles representing beautiful flowers. We see an ornamentation in the form of a star at each end, and small shield-like bosses on both sides between the circles. At the right extremity is still preserved part of the gold wire with which the diadem

was fastened round the head. On all these six diadems we recognize the fine black ashes of the funeral pyre sticking to the gold. We find round shields with an ornamentation of crescents and stars represented on Macedonian coins; but these can, of course, have no relation whatever to the Mycenæan diadems, which may be twelve centuries older. Although similar diadems, with an ornamentation of rosettes, have never been found before, yet there can be no doubt that they were in extensive use in a remote antiquity, for the British Museum contains six idols of Aphrodité from Cyprus—two of terra-cotta and four of marble—all of which have the head ornamented with similar diadems. In the Assyrian collection of the same museum are four figurettes of ivory, representing Hercules, whose head is likewise ornamented with such diadems.

“There are two other diadems with a still simpler shield-like ornamentation, and having in the middle two vertical rows of spirals. Both these diadems consist of halves, which were seemingly joined only by the copper wire with which they are piped. The thin wires at the extremities are here also broken off.”

Close to the head of another body in the fourth sepulchre, Dr. Schliemann found a beautiful golden crown (represented in Fig. 337, “Mycenæ”), of which he observes “it should be distinctly understood that it is represented in the engraving head downward, because to that side which is shown there as the lower, were attached, with very small pins, of which six can be seen, a number of leaves, a few of which still remain; and if, therefore, the crown had been put round the head as it is shown, the leaves would have hung over the eyes, which could never have been the case. Thus, this crown had on its upper side the leaves, and on its lower a small border with small oblique strokes, the intervening space being filled up in the middle with three rosettes, intersected by vertical rows of very small shield-like circles, and at both ends with similar circles or with larger ones. At each extremity there is a very small perforation, through which the crown was fastened by means of a thin gold wire.

“In the fourth sepulchre were also found four curious golden diadems, two large and two small ones. The larger one is one foot eight inches and a half long, and four inches broad in the middle. Between two borders of zigzag lines it has an ornamentation of shield-like double circles in *repoussé*

work, the space between them being on either side filled up by small circles of the same pattern, whilst both extremities are covered with a beautiful spiral ornamentation. At the one end is a pin, and at the other a small tube, by which the diadem was fastened round the head. The smaller diadems are only one foot five and a half inches long, and two inches and five-fifths broad in the middle, and appear to have adorned a child's forehead. Their ornamentation in *repoussé* work is most varied and curious. Between two borders, each of two lines, we see in the middle a circle, surrounded by thirteen small ones, on either side of which follow two vertical bands, filled with small horizontal strokes; next a vertical row of three circles, and again two vertical bands filled with horizontal strokes; after that a vertical band of spirals, and two concentric circles, surrounded by smaller ones of the same shape; then again a vertical band, filled with horizontal strokes; and, lastly, two vertical bands of concentric circles, between which a horizontal band with oblique strokes goes to the extremity. Only one end, with a perforation, is preserved. The other end, probably, was similarly fashioned, and the diadem was fastened with a fine gold wire round the child's head. None of these diadems were piped.

"There were further found two golden diadems which, like the former, are of thin gold plate, but neither of them is piped. Both of them are so small that they could only fit round the heads of children; one is one foot four inches and a half, the other a foot and one-eighth of an inch long. The former is ornamented, between two borders of points, with five shield-like circles in the middle, of which three represent rosettes, the other two a wheel in motion. The remaining space to the right and left is filled up with small shield-like circles, together with two larger ones, representing again a wheel in motion, and with spirals. The other diadem has, between two borders of concentric circles, in the middle, a shield-like circle representing a wheel in motion, and to the right and left a similar circle representing rosettes. Above the second circle from the middle one to the right of the spectator is represented a bird."

In the church belonging to the monastery of Ghelaty in the Crimea, is preserved in the treasury a superb specimen of Byzantine art: a high bonnet, or crown, of cloth of gold,

woven with subjects from sacred history, and profusely adorned with pearls and rich jewels.

Among ancient crowns of peculiar interest is that erroneously stated to have been made for Charlemagne, now at Vienna. This crown is evidently of a later period than that



Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, commonly called the Crown of Charlemagne.

of the great emperor, and is made up of portions belonging to different epochs. The costumes of the figures in the enamels are Byzantine. The crown is divided into eight parts, made of gold, weighing fourteen pounds. The forepart is decorated with twelve unpolished jewels. On the second part, on the right hand, is our Saviour, sitting between two cherubs, each with four wings, two upward and two downward, with the

motto underneath, "Per me reges regnant." The third part, on the same side, has only gems and pearls. On the fourth part is King Hezekiah sitting, holding his head with his right hand, and by his side Isaiah, with a scroll, inscribed, "Ecce adjiciam super dies tuos 15 annos;" also, over the head of these figures, "Isaias Propheta," "Ezechias Rex." The fifth part, which is behind, contains jewels *semés*. The sixth part has the effigy of a king, crowned, and a scroll in his hand, inscribed, "Honor regis judicium diligit," as, also, over his head, "Rex David." The seventh part is only of gems; but the eighth has a king sitting, crowned, holding in both hands a scroll, inscribed, "Time Dominum," and "Regem aurate," and over his head, "Rex Solomon." On the top of the crown is a cross, the forepart of which contains seventeen jewels, and in the top of the crown are the words, "I.H.S. Nazaremus Rex Judæorum;" also in the arch, or semicircle, stretching over the head to the back is inscribed, "Chvonradus, Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator Aug." (the Emperor Conrad, A.D. 1138).

Among the curious incidents in connection with crowns may be mentioned their discovery after a long lapse of time, and that under peculiar circumstances. One of the most singular *trouvailles* of this description occurred in 1858, which brought to light the celebrated HISPANO-GOTHIC VOTIVE CROWNS, eight of which were purchased by the French

Government for the Cluny Museum at Paris, and the others were obtained by the Spanish Government. An account of these invaluable objects was published in Spain in 1861, with numerous illustrations.

Two leagues from Toledo and a quarter of a league from the village of Guadamur, at a spot called La Fuente de Guarraz, is a copious spring of water, which gradually works away the ground around it, in which it is further assisted by torrents. By the action of the water a vault, probably a part of some building, was gradually denuded, and the top washed away. In August, 1858, there was a great storm with much rain, after which the wife of a labourer at Guadamur accidentally found some fragments of gold. She called her husband, and during the following night they discovered and appropriated a considerable treasure. Another labourer at Guadamur noticed the light of the treasure-seekers, and on the following day made researches on the same spot, and found, two days later, a mass of treasure, which he removed and concealed. Ultimately, at the persuasion of his uncle, the schoolmaster of the village, he presented his treasures to Queen Isabella of Spain, receiving in return a handsome present and a pension. This was in May, 1861. These *trouvailles* consisted of the following objects:—a crown offered to a shrine by the Visigothic King Svintila (reigned 621–631), and a rich cross presumed to have belonged to it; a crown offered by the Abbot Theodosius; the fragment of another crown; a cross offered by Lucetius; an engraved gem; part of another crown; various fragments with jewels, etc.

The person who took the eight crowns first discovered (now in the Museum, of Cluny) to Paris, seems to have been desirous of disclosing as little of the truth as possible, fearing probably, what afterwards happened, that the Spanish Government would claim them. He declined, for some time, to receive the money for them, thinking it was safer in the hands of the French Government than in his own.

In these Gothic crowns false emeralds and opals may be detected among the real stones, evidently intended to pass for such, and particularly to replace the emerald, which appears to have been then excessively rare in Spain, though the jeweller had abundance of most beautiful sapphires at his command.

The crown of Svintila, King of the Visigoths, which is now preserved in the royal armoury at Madrid, is of

massive gold, enriched with sapphires and pearls set, rose-fashion, between two borders set with delicate stones. From the lower rim hangs a fringe of open letters of gold, set with red glass, suspended by chains of double links, with pendent pear-shaped sapphires. The letters form the inscription, "SVINTILANVS REX OFFERT."

A beautifully illustrated work on the crowns in the Museum of Cluny, Paris, has been published by Count Lasteyrie, who, while assigning to them a Gothic origin, considers they were brought into Spain by North-German barbarians. La Barte, on the other hand, attributes them as Spanish work.

The most important of the crowns is that of King Reccesvinthus, who governed Spain 649-672. This consists of a broad circle of fine gold, eight inches in diameter, set with thirty uncommonly large pearls, alternately with as many fine sapphires. This band is edged with a border above and below, fitted with a running pattern of Greek crosses of red paste *cloisonné* in gold. From twenty-four little chains hang the following letters of gold, encrusted with pastes like the borders: "† RECESSVINTHUS REX OFFERET." From the letters are suspended twenty-four *pendeloques* in gold, and five pearls, which support twenty-four pear-shaped sapphires, forming a fringe all round the circumference. Lowest of all comes a very magnificent Latin cross, of truly elegant design, four inches long, set with eight enormous pearls, as large as ordinary cherries, and six equally splendid sapphires of the best colour—those in the middle row as large as pigeons' eggs, all *cabochons*—the centre one very protuberant, and having three pendants from the arms and foot cut out of square pastes. In this cross the gems are set *à jour*, the back of their collets being filled in with a tree ornament in filagree. The settings themselves are exquisite; the claws holding the stones being fleurs-de-lys. This cross is the finest example in existence of ancient goldsmith's work. It has, perhaps, been worn as a fibula or brooch, the acus by which it has been fastened to the royal robes being still visible. The entire length of this combination of ornament, from the gold hook to which the crown is fastened to the lowest pendent sapphire attached to the cross, is about three feet. The crown is composed of the purest gold, the colour of which, with the violet sapphires alternating with the pearls, presents a most gorgeous appearance.

A crown, supposed to have been that of the queen of Reccesvinthus, in form and arrangement corresponds to that of the king, but the enrichments are less gorgeous. Like that, it is formed in two pieces with a hinge, to adapt it to the head of the wearer. The hoop is set with fifty-four gems, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and opals. From the lower ring hang eight sapphires. There is no inscription. The pendent cross is covered with jewels, but less costly than those on the king's crown.

The crown of Theodelinda is a plain circlet, enriched with a vast quantity of gems, of more or less value, chiefly emeralds and pearls, and a great many pieces of mother-of-pearl. A cross is pendent from it, also set with emeralds and pearls.

The other crowns are most simple, and set with but few and inferior stones. Three of these are most singular—an open grating with gems set at each intersection of the bars; from each hangs a flat cross, *patée*, jewelled. One of the crosses bears the dedicatory inscription:— IN DEI NOMINE OFFERET SONNIGA SANCTÆ MARIE IN SORBACES." Three crowns (or coronets) are very light, and are simply ornamented with arcades in *repoussé* work in the common Byzantine style.

The small diameter of the Gothic crowns proves them to have been intended as votive offerings to a church. No lamps were attached to them when they were discovered, but the appendages, as encumbrances of small value, may have been removed when the regalia were buried, most probably to conceal them from the Saracen spoiler.

"Few relics of this period," remarks Mr. Albert Way (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 258), "deserve comparison with this precious regalia, both in barbaric magnificence of enrichment and in the impressive effect of so sumptuous a display of natural gems, remarkable for their dimensions and lustrous brilliancy."

The hopelessly lost treasure, the crown of Agilulf, takes its name from Theodelinda's second husband, chosen by her A.D. 591, on the death of Authar. From its small size (even less than the Iron Crown of Lombardy) it must have been a suspensory votive crown. This is also proved by the inscription it bore: " Agilulf, Grat. D'i, vir. glor. rex. totius. Ital. offeret, s'co Johanni. Baptist. in. Eccl. Modicia." A gold cross depended from it, with a large amethyst in the middle, two gems in each arm, and four large pearls. Seven little chains with pendent acorns hung from the cross. The crown itself

was a circle of gold, decorated with fifteen arched niches of laurel boughs, containing figures of our Lord seated between two angels, and the twelve Apostles standing. It bore a circle of emeralds, carbuncles, and pearls above. The inscription was in enamel. The clumsiness of execution leads La Barte to the conclusion that this, and the crown of Theodelinda, were of Lombard, not of Byzantine workmanship.

The circumstance of so many crowns, and some with inscriptions, reminds us of the fabulous story in the Mohammedan histories of Spain, where Tarik, having taken Merida (711), is stated to have found, among the rich spoils that came into his possession, twenty-five crowns of gold, corresponding with the number of Gothic kings from Alaric to Roderic.

Each crown, we are told, had a separate inscription of the name, age, and reign of the wearer.

The celebrated Iron Crown of Lombardy consists of a broad circle composed of six equal pieces, or plates of beaten gold, joined together by close hinges of the same metal. The face of each plate exhibits two panels divided by spiral threads, one long and squarish, the other tall and narrow. The plafond is covered with emerald-green semi-transparent enamel. The long panels contain a large gem in the centre, surrounded by four gold roses, or floral knobs, from which ramify small stalks and flowers, in red, blue, and opaque white enamels. The tall narrow plaques contain three gems set vertically. One plaque has only one gem and two roses. The two centre plafonds meet without an intervening plaque. The number of gems is twenty-two, of gold roses twenty-six, and of enamels twenty-four. Within the circle is the iron band, giving a name to the whole. The eccle-



Iron Crown of Lombardy.

siaustics who exhibit it in the Cathedral of Monza (where it is kept in an octagonal recess in the centre of an ornamental cross, which is placed in an elevated situation over an altar and closely shut up by folding doors of gilt brass) declare that there is not a single speck of rust upon the iron, although it has been exposed more than fifteen hundred years. This iron ring, which is about three-eighths of an inch broad and one-tenth of an inch in thickness, is said to have been made out of the nails used at the Crucifixion, and given to

Constantine by his mother, the Empress Helena, to protect him in battle.* The traditions of Monza relate that this crown was given by Gregory the Great to Queen Theodelinda, who died A.D. 628, yet nothing is known of its origin, nor was it really used in the coronation of the kings of Italy. Henry VII. (or Henry of Luxemburg) is the first who is known with any certainty to have worn it, in 1311. The crown was carried to Milan for that purpose, in spite of the

* "The iron ring," remarks Dr. Smith ("Dictionary of Christian Antiquities"), "is asserted to be comparatively modern, never being found in the rituals of the churches of Milan and Monza before the time of Otho IV. (A.D. 1175). Before this epoch even its advocate Bellani allows that it appears in the inventories as *corona aurea*. The belief of its being fashioned from one of the nails of the cross, cannot be traced further back than the latter part of the sixteenth century. The existence of the band of iron is mentioned by Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II., died 1464) simply as *lamina quædam*, without a hint of its supposed sanctity, and with an expression of contempt for the allegorical meaning assigned to its employment in the coronation of the emperors as denoting *strength*. According to Muratori, the first author who mentions it is Bagatus (1587). He was followed by Zucchi, whose violations of truth Muratori holds it charitable to attribute to gross carelessness. Two years before the publication of Bagatus's book (A.D. 1585), a letter sent from the arch-priest of Monza to Pope Sixtus V., quoted by Muratori, speaks of the Iron Crown as a most precious possession of his church, as having been used from early times for the coronation of the Roman emperors (even this fact is doubtful), but distinguishes it from the relics, so called, and makes no allusion to its having been wrought out of a nail of the Crucifixion. From the sixteenth century, onwards, the belief gained strength, but having been discredited by the searching historical investigations of Muratori, the worship of the crown as a sacred relic was alternately suspended and re-enforced by decrees and counter-decrees of the ecclesiastical authorities, until in 1688 the matter was laid before the Congregation of Relics at Rome. A process was instituted, which lingered on until 1717, when a diplomatic sentence was pronounced, leaving the chief point—the identity of the iron ring with the nail—undecided, but sanctioning its being exposed to the adoration of the faithful, and carried in procession."

The character of the workmanship of the Iron Crown proves its Byzantine origin. La Barte, who holds this as an incontrovertible fact, remarks that the art of working in enamel had not penetrated into Italy in the time of Theodelinda. The small size of the crown, barely large enough for the head of a child two years old, the internal diameter being six inches (height 2·4 inches), leads to the conclusion that it never was intended for ordinary wearing, but was a suspensory or votive crown, hung over the altar and employed temporarily on the occasion of coronations, for placing on the sovereign's head as a symbol of royalty, and then returned again to its place.

remonstrances of the inhabitants of Monza. Charles V. was the last of the later emperors crowned with it, and the crown remained quietly as a relic in the Tesoro, until Napoleon crowned himself with it. It has been since used at the coronation of the two last emperors of Austria.

The most striking feature in the grand *cortège* which followed King Victor Emmanuel's remains to the Pantheon at Rome (Jan. 18, 1878), was the Iron Crown of Lombardy, one of the most venerable political relics in Europe. Escorted on its journey by the corporation and chapter of Monza, and received with royal honours in its transit through Italy, it rested, not unworthily, on the bier of him whose inheritance had ransomed Lombardy from the yoke of the stranger.

There is no crown that has passed through so many vicissitudes as that of ST. STEPHEN OF HUNGARY. It is a most venerable relic of Byzantine art, and is formed by a broad flat band of fine gold, whence springs an arch supporting a cross. It was sent in 1072 by the Emperor Michael Ducas to Geisa, the first Duke of Hungary, or, as he is strangely styled in the enamel portrait of him upon a plaque rising above the top of the circlet, "Geabitrás, King of the Turks." Next to this comes the portrait of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; then one of Ducas himself; the fourth and largest enamel represents our Saviour



Crown of Hungary.

enthroned. These four portraits are set at the springing of the arches which close the top of the crown. On the front of the band itself are placed four small enamels of the angels Michael and Gabriel, with St. George and St. Demetrius. Over the medallion of Christ is a large heart-shaped amethyst, below it an enormous rough sapphire; four more large sapphires are set at equal distances on the band, all but one being unpolished. The edges of the circlet are bordered with a row of pearls set close together. The large sapphire at the back is surrounded by four green stones cut oblong, but their exact species has not been ascertained. In the deed by which Queen Elizabeth of Hungary pledged the crown to the Emperor Frederick IV., the stones are enumerated as being fifty-three sapphires, fifty rubies, one emerald, and a hundred and thirty-eight pearls.

This remarkable crown, however, really consists of two united ones, for it is recorded that Duke Stephen, after the battle of *Vesprini* (A.D. 1000), having put an end to the conflict between Christianity and Paganism in Hungary, obtained from Pope Sylvester II. permission to assume the title of king, and the present of a crown which the pontiff happened to have by him, intending it for the Polish king Boleslav, but in consequence of a dream it was bestowed upon King Stephen.* This crown Geysa had united to his own, the Roman crown forming the lower part, and the Byzantine one over the upper.† Singular adventures are connected with the crown. It was used at the successive coronations of the twenty kings of the Arpad dynasty. Wenceslas carried it away with him into exile, and is said to have bestowed it upon Duke Otho of Bavaria, who had been elected in his stead. The opposition of the Emperor of Austria made it necessary for Otho to pass through that country in disguise, but he succeeded in conveying the crown, "packed in a wooden box, safely the whole way." He was less fortunate in the next journey, when he went to seek the daughter of the Duke of Transylvania in marriage, and lost the emblem of sovereignty on the way. Without the crown his wooing did not succeed, for the indignant duke imprisoned the luckless pretender to his daughter's hand. The treasure was subsequently found, and taken to the duke, who liberated poor Otho, and accepted his suit. The crown, however, had suffered severe injury in its fall, of which it still bears the marks.

In 1439 King Albert of Hungary died, and his widowed queen, Elizabeth, took possession of the sacred crown, and placed it for safety in her own chamber. The babe to whom she gave birth, not long after his father's death, was named Ladislaus Posthumous, and when only four months old was invested with the crown of St. Stephen as he lay in his mother's arms. The queen trusted that this would secure to him the sovereignty, which was so closely connected in the

* A picture in the Vienna Gallery, and which appears to have been painted for Maria Theresa, represents St. Stephen receiving the crown sent to him by the Pope.

† The gift of papal crowns, frequent in the early ages, did not, however, secure the wearers from reverses. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Stephen Thomas, King of Bosnia, was assassinated, partly for the reason that he had accepted a crown from the Pope.

minds of the Magyars with the possession of the valued crown, but the year afterwards the Parliament bestowed her hand and the crown upon Wladislaus of Poland. An insurrection compelled her to return to Vienna; again she resolved to get the crown into her own keeping, and with the help of some confidential assistants she accomplished it. The ready wit of one of her ladies secured the crown from observation, for inverting it in the child's cradle, the interior was concealed by the bedding around it, and a spoon put in it gave it the appearance of being the baby's saucepan. For the journey the crown was sewn up in a red velvet cushion upon which the same lady sat, and thus it was conveyed over the frozen Danube in a sledge. The crown was pledged (as before remarked), but redeemed in 1458, for sixty thousand gold pieces, by Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary. About seventy years subsequently, after the battle of Mohács, John Zapolya was crowned with the far-famed diadem. He placed it in the custody of Peter Pereny, but the man betrayed his trust, and gave up the crown to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, who used it for his own coronation in 1527, and then removed it to Prague, where it remained for more than half a century, to the great sorrow of the Hungarians. Once only during that time, at the coronation of Rodolph, was the precious treasure used in Hungary. On his abdication, and the accession of his brother Mathias, a law was made which provided for its better security, by appointing Hungarian crown-keepers, in whose custody it was to remain, at Presburg. Other laws referring to its safety were enacted from time to time. In 1784 the imperious mandate of the Emperor Joseph II. impelled the keepers to remove the crown and the rest of the regalia to Vienna, but six years afterwards they were restored to Presburg.

The rapture with which the crown was received was remarkable. Triumphal arches were erected in its passage; every town was a scene of festivity; numbers, flocking from all quarters, swelled the cavalcade, and at Buda exulting multitudes, crowding to the cathedral, welcomed the precious palladium of their national splendour and freedom.

At night the crown was removed into the chapel of the palace, and guarded by two magistrates with drawn sabres. The whole city was illuminated; the streets resounded with cries of joy and exultation, and on every side was heard the exclamation, "Long live the liberties of the Hungarian people!"

The romantic adventures connected with the crown did not end there. In 1849 Kossuth compelled the keeper to deliver it to him. Magyar feeling still clung fondly to the venerated relic, and the people insisted that the dictator should receive it bareheaded. The keeper gave it up with these words: "I hand you the holy crown with which fifty kings have been crowned during eight hundred years." The crown soon disappeared, and all traces of it were lost. A Government commission made inquiry into the matter, which only resulted in disappointment, and popular superstition held that angels had hidden it in the tomb of Arpad. Four years afterwards, an inundation of the country on the Austro-Wallachian frontier gave Kossuth reason to fear that the crown would be discovered, and he laid a plan for its removal to London. He had confided the secret of its hiding-place to some friends; but one of them, in an unguarded moment, made a remark which led to further investigation, and the Austrian Government succeeded in obtaining the required information. On September 8, 1853, the Hungarians rejoiced over the discovery of their crown, which was found hidden in a field near Orsova. It was taken back to Vienna, and subsequently placed at Buda.

CHAPTER II.

THE CROWNS OF ENGLAND.

"The crown of England hath ever been sovereign and independent ; neither conferred nor protected by any federal head, as some have been, but descending from the primitive leaders and chiefs of the nation. In this sense the king may be said to hold his crown 'immediately of the Lord of heaven and earth, without any other meane seyneorie, or attendance of corporall or bodely service or allegiance to any other worldly prince, or potentate.'"—SELDEN.



THE earliest form of a distinctive head ornament for our English monarchs, as represented upon coins, appears to have been a fillet, or head-band of gold and jewels. This is the case with the kings of Mercia ; in some instances, tassels or strings occur, hanging from the back of the head. In Whitaker's "History of Manchester," 1773 (vol. i. p. 347), there is a curious delineation of a British

crown upon the tomb of a sovereign who reigned in the fifth century. The stone was discovered in the Isle of Anglesea, about the time of Charles II., lying six feet under the ground. The edge of it bears an inscription to the memory of Pabo. The plane exhibits the figure of the king dressed in his armour, grasping a sceptre, and wearing a crown ; the former being a strong weapon of iron pointed in the form of a lily, and the latter a circlet studded with stars and decorated with flowers.

The head ornament of the Anglo-Saxon kings is described

by the contemporary biographer of St. Dunstan as "made with gold and silver, and set with precious stones."* On the coins of Egbert and his son Ethelwulf, a round close cap, or helmet, appears, distinct from those of Ethelred and Canute, in the latter of which there is the form of a close helmet, projecting over the forehead, and also of the conical shape, so common to warriors. The most interesting record we have respecting the crowns of early English sovereigns is that connected with Alfred the Great. In the inventory of royal ornaments which were removed from Westminster Abbey to the Tower at the time of the Commonwealth, mention is made of a crown called "King Alfred's," and it is described as of "gould wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and two little bells." That the authentic crown of Alfred should have been preserved through so many ages, may seem almost incredible, yet a tradition of its existence may be found in a very early writer, Robert of Gloucester, in the time of Henry III. The gold, weighing seventy-nine ounces and a half, was valued by the commissioners of the Commonwealth at three pounds per ounce, amounting to £248 10s. Sir Henry Spelman, in his "Life of Alfred," says, "In the arched room of the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, where the ancient regalia of this kingdom are kept; upon a box which is the cabinet to the ancientest crown, there is (as I am informed) an inscription to this purpose:—*hæc est principalior corona cum qua coronabantur reges Ælfredus, Edwardus, etc.*, and the crown is of a very ancient work, with flowers adorned with stones of somewhat a plain setting."

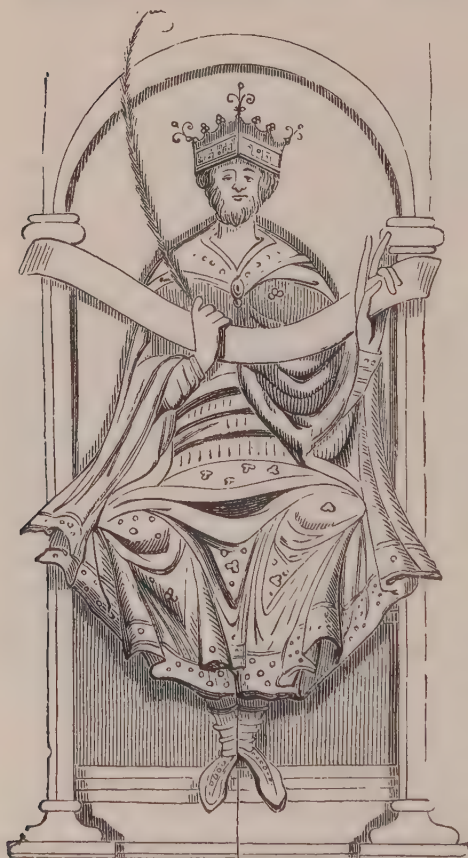
Mr. Planché, in his "Regal Records," says, "Mr. Taylor, who has quoted this passage in his 'Glory of Regality,' as tending to prove the existence of King Alfred's crown, does not seem to have been struck with the fact that if it were indeed that king's, it was also that of Edward the Confessor; a most interesting circumstance, and by no means improbable, as the veneration in which Alfred must have been held by all Anglo-Saxon monarchs would naturally have induced them to preserve his crown, the first crown of England (properly so called, because, previously to the election of Alfred, we hear only of 'election' and 'con-

* Aldhelm ("de Laud. Virg.," 298) remarks that "the gem-bearing belts and diadems of kings, and various instruments of glory, were made from the tools of iron."

secration,' and ever afterwards of 'coronation'), and to be crowned with it themselves; more particularly if there be any truth in the story of that identical crown having been sanctified by Pope Leo the Fourth; a tradition alluded to by Robert of Gloucester, who says, 'the Pope Leon him blessed,' as well as the 'king's crown of this land,' which "he adds, 'in this land yet is,' thereby distinctly asserting that

a crown considered as Alfred's was in existence in the thirteenth century. In my opinion, therefore," remarks Mr. Planché, "the diadem with which it was customary to crown all the kings of England was King Alfred's crown, and only St. Edward's the Confessor, because it had descended to him, and had been entrusted by him to the care of the abbot and monks of Westminster."

Athelstan and some of his successors in the regal dignity, appear in crowns somewhat like the coronets of our earls, with slight differences, such as would occur where each monarch would have his crown made to fit him, to be worn on ordinary state occasions. That there were different crowns



King Edgar. From Cottonian MS., *Iiberius A. iii.*

is evident from illuminations and deeds of these periods. A book of grants made by King Edgar to the Abbey of Westminster, in 966 (preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in

the British Museum, marked *Vespasianus A. viii.*), represents that monarch wearing an open crown, with three foliated pinnacles of the plainest character, without any jewels, and such as are generally seen in Anglo-Saxon illuminations; but varieties are also found, and we cannot now discriminate between the fanciful designs of the artist and a faithful representation of an actual crown of the period. In the Cottonian collection (*Tiberius A. iii.*), Edgar is represented wearing a square crown, of which extremely inconvenient shape many examples are to be met with in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries; but in this instance it is apparently jewelled, and is, otherwise, more tastefully ornamented on the upper rim.

Edward the Martyr, son of Edgar, is represented on his coins with crowns of various shapes. A radiated cap appears first on a coin of Ethelred II., and the trefoil ornament is upon a few of the coins of Canute.* The close, or arched, crown is seen on some of the Confessor's coins; upon his great seal he is shown wearing the *kyne-helme*, or royal helmet; "much," says Spelman, "like that of the Eastern emperors."† Harold II. has a richly decorated crown,

* After the well-known rebuke of this king to his courtiers, who, we are told, flattered him grossly when walking on the sea-shore, he is said from that day to have placed his golden crown upon the altar of Winchester Cathedral, and never to have worn it afterwards. Canute the Great, whose ambition could not be bounded even by three kingdoms, has not retained so much as a grave for himself and his beloved queen Emma. The presentiment of the perishableness of all earthly power that seized him when he deposited his golden crown in the same place has, in truth, been fulfilled. He was first buried in the old convent of St. Peter's at Winchester, but his body was afterwards removed into the grand choir of the cathedral, where both his and his son Hardicanute's tombs are still to be seen. In Cromwell's time the coffins of the kings in the choir were broken open, and the bones dispersed, but they were afterwards collected as far as could be done, and again placed in coffins in the choir.

† On opening the chest containing the body of this monarch, during the reign of James II., the skull was found entire and encircled by a band or diadem of gold, one inch in breadth. According to William of Malmesbury, the diadems at this period were of great richness. He relates that, at the marriage of a daughter of this king to Hugh, Count of Paris, "there was a diadem precious from its quantity of gold, but more so for its jewels, the splendour of which threw sparks of light so strongly on the beholder that the more steadfastly any person endeavoured to gaze, so much the more he was dazzled, and compelled to avert the eyes."

exhibiting the pendants that hung from the back of it; in one illumination he is seen in a square crown. The crown represented in the Bayeux tapestry seems to be one of fleurs-de-lys, which is the form of crown worn by Edward the Confessor on his death-bed, and in the earlier scenes; it differs from that which is shown as being offered to Harold.

"It is worthy of remark," says Dr. Freeman in his "History of the Norman Conquest," "that the crown (represented in the Bayeux tapestry) as offered to Harold is of a different and simpler form from that with which Harold is shown as being crowned the next day. This last is the same as that which Edward is always drawn as wearing, even when supported in the arms of Robert on his death-bed. This last representation is, of course, merely symbolical; it is simply as much as to say, 'This is the king.' The crown thus symbolically drawn is doubtless the crown used at the actual coronation, and also on the great days when the king 'wore his crown' publicly. But this simpler crown, borne, it would seem, immediately from the chamber of the dead king, suggests that such a crown was commonly kept at hand near the king's person. Compare the well-known story of Henry V. trying on the crown which was kept by his father's bedside; a story which may pass as authority for the custom, whether true or not as to the fact. This crown, as easier of access, would be the one offered to the king elect, as the symbol of the kingdom, while the crown of greater ceremony would of course be used in the great rite of the morrow."

William the Conqueror is seen with a crown of singular shape, in a curious manuscript of that period, preserved at Rouen; it is a combination of cap and crown. A new crown enriched with gems was prepared for his coronation. Guy of Amiens says—

*"Auro vel gemmis jubet ut sibi nobile stemma,
Illud quo deceat fiat ab artifice."*

He gives twenty-four lines to a description of the jewels. "Why," inquires Dr. Freeman, "did William have a new crown made? One would have thought that he would have made a special point of being crowned with the crown which had been worn by Edward. Was it held to be desecrated by the irregular coronation of Harold?" The Saxon chronicles describe William as wearing the regal helmet thrice every year when he was in England: at Easter, he wore it at

Winchester; during Whitsuntide, at Westminster; and the Christmas, at Gloucester. The Norman kings were accustomed to wear their crowns on all great occasions, and these were placed on their heads with much solemnity by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or some prelate deputed by him to perform that office.* Upon his great seal the Conqueror wears a circle and three rays, raised very high, their points terminating in crosses, having a pearl, or pellet, at each front of the cross, and two fleurons between the rays. William Rufus is also represented with a radiated crown, with pearls on the points, without fleurons.

The crowns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, the first Norman kings of England, are seen, also, as nearly similar in form to the arched one of the Confessor on his silver coins. Froissart, in his account of the coronation of Henry IV. of England, distinctly describes the crown of St. Edward as "*archée en croix*," which may be translated either "arched across" by a single bar, or "arched in form of a cross" by two intersecting circles, which would render it more like the ancient crowns.

The earliest form of the crown worn by the English kings after the Conquest, which appears from various illuminations closely to resemble the crowns of the Anglo-Saxon princes, is exemplified in the effigies of Henry II. and his queen Alianore; of Richard I.



Berengaria, Queen of Richard I.

* It is reported of King Edward I. that "whereas the kings of England before his time used to wear their crowns upon all solemn feast days, he first omitted that custom, saying, merrily, that crowns do rather *onerate* than honour princes." Afterwards the practice

and Isabella of Angoulême, at Fontevraud; of Berengaria,* at L'Espan, near Mans; and of John, at Worcester. The crown of the latter monarch is a richly jewelled circlet of gold, heightened with what may be entitled heraldic strawberry-leaves. These crowns were, doubtless, enriched with real or imitation jewels, and other adornments.

Henry I., according to his great seal, wears a crown open and round, surmounted by three knobs or pinnacles, and having appendages on either side, thought to have been used for fastening it under the chin. They were distinguishable, more or less, upon the coins of the Williams. Gervase of Canterbury relates a remarkable anecdote of Archbishop Ralph, the successor of Anselm, snatching the crown from the head of Henry I., and breaking the ansula, or clasp, by the fastening of which it was kept on the head. (See chapter on "Omens and Incidents at Coronations.")

According to the seal of Adelicia, queen-consort of Henry I., pendent to the charter she gave Reading Abbey, her crown was simple: a smooth band of gold with rims, in which circlet three large gems are set; three high points rise from it, each terminated with a trefoil of pearls; a cap of satin or velvet is seen just above the circlet.

Stephen is represented, on a silver coin that was in the collection of the late Sir Henry Ellis, with an open crown, richly jewelled, the edges bordered with pearls and surmounted by leaves.

The crown carried before Richard I. at his coronation is stated to have been a large one, set with rich jewels, so heavy that two earls supported it after it was placed on his head.

King John, according to William of Malmesbury, was first crowned Duke of Normandy at Rouen, with a golden circle, or coronet, adorned with roses, curiously wrought. This monarch appears to have had several crowns of state. In 1204, amongst other valuables taken by his order to

became forgotten. When the tomb of this monarch was opened in 1774, the body of the king was discovered, almost entire, with a crown of tin gilt upon his head, a sceptre of copper gilt in his right hand, and a sceptre and dove of the same materials in his left; and in this state he is still lying.

* The effigy of Queen Berengaria at L'Espan represents her with a regal diadem of peculiar splendour, studded with several bands of gems, and surmounted by fleurs-de-lys, to which so much foliage is added as to give it the appearance of a double crown—perhaps because she was crowned Queen of Cyprus as well as of England.

Reading, by the masters and almoner of the New Temple, who had usually, at that time, the crown jewels and regalia in keeping, mention is made of "our golden crown made in London." Four years later, the king received from Germany a present from the Emperor Henry VI. of a large and splendid crown, and other ensigns of royalty, of a very rich character. These "valuables" were, however, swept away, as King John was crossing the Wash between Lincolnshire and Norfolk (October 14, 1216). So complete was the loss, that on the accession of his son, Henry III., a few days afterwards, it was necessary to crown him at Gloucester with a simple fillet of gold, London being at that time in the hands of Louis of France, and the ancient crown of England not being attainable for the purpose.*



Effigy of King John.



King Henry III.

On the monument of King John in Worcester Cathedral he is represented, as before observed, with a crown composed of eight leaves, alternating large and small, and in form they are almost true trefoils. Henry III. appears on his

* This want was but temporary, for Matthew Paris tells us that on the occasion of King Henry knighting William of Valence, Earl of

effigy at Fontevraud with a crown of trefoil leaves of two sizes, a slightly raised point intervening between each pair of the leaves. On his first great seal he has the open crown and plain diadem. In the forty-sixth year of his reign Henry had three gold crowns, which he sent to Paris during the troubles of his sovereignty, and confided them to the care of Margaret, Queen of France. Edward I. is represented with a plain crown, a circle of gold, ornamented with jewels and leaves. In an illuminated manuscript he is delineated with a bishop on each side, extending a hand to sustain the crown—a necessary office where it did not fit the royal head. This was likewise done, probably, over the heads of the crowned children, Richard II., Henry VI., and Edward VI.

The crown on the effigy of Edward II., at Gloucester, is formed of four large and four small oak leaves, rising with graceful curves from the jewelled circlet, and having eight small flowers alternate with the leaves. Edward III. has the coronet and cap on his first great seal, with three strawberry leaves, and an ornament composed of three pearls alternately; but on his second great seal he is represented with an open crown and three flowers. This monarch, on the deposition of his father, received the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of sovereignty from the hands of the commissioners appointed to receive them from the deposed king at Kenilworth. Edward pledged his crown and jewels to the merchants of Flanders in the seventeenth year of his reign to defray his expenses in the French wars. According to Rymer, he frequently pledged his crown, and on one occasion to the Bishop of Treves for twenty-five thousand florins.

In the Westminster portrait of Richard II., "the unhappy, beautiful prince" is represented with a crown highly enriched

Pembroke, he was seated on his throne in a splendid robe, having a coronet of gold upon his head, commonly called a "garland;" and in the inventory of jewels belonging to this monarch, taken in the fifty-sixth year of his reign, mention is made of five "garlands" of gold, of Paris work, valued at £27 13s. 9d. In the same inventory we find a large and valuable crown; and immediately follow three other crowns of gold enriched with precious stones, which are estimated at £336 13s. 4d.; also an imperial cap, or hat, embellished with jewels.

When Isabel, sister of Henry III., was affianced to the Emperor Frederic, she had with her (according to Matthew Paris) a crown of most curious workmanship, made on purpose for her, of pure gold enriched with precious stones.

with precious stones, a circlet with raised pinnacles. A crown which belonged to this monarch was pledged by Henry V. to the Abbot of Westminster. It is simply called "the crown of the late King Richard." Shakspeare alludes to this crown in "Richard II.": "Redeem from broking pawn the blemished crown."

The crown of Henry IV., the first king of the house of Lancaster, as exhibited on his effigy in Canterbury Cathedral, was massive and splendid, highly jewelled and ornamented. The circlet is decorated with eight strawberry leaves and as many fleurs-de-lys, the whole alternating with sixteen groups of pearls, three in each. This may have been the famous "Harry" crown which was broken up by his successor, and the splendid jewels pledged to different parties to raise money for his expedition to France.*

Henry V. appears in the miniature of a book that once belonged to him (now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) with a plain crown, a gold circlet, with, perhaps, six pinnacles—only four of which are visible—surmounted by trefoil ornaments. The head of the king's effigy in Westminster Abbey, having been of silver, was stolen, crown and all, in the reign of Henry VIII.

Selden had read that Henry V. was the first English monarch who wore the *arched* crown; and in a window of Ockholt manor-house, in Berkshire, there remained, until within a few years past, the arms of Henry VI. and his queen,



King Henry IV. From his effigy at Canterbury.

* The names of these persons are recorded:—"To Sir John Colvyll was pledged a great fleur-de-lys of the said crown, garnished with one great balays (ruby of a pink colour), and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and two great pearls. To John Pudsey, Esq., a pinnacle of the aforesaid crown. To Maurice Brune and John Saundish, two other pinnacles of the crown similarly garnished." Henry also pawned a great circle of gold, garnished with fifty-six balays, forty sapphires, eight diamonds, and seven great pearls, weighing altogether four pounds, and valued at eight hundred pounds sterling. Rymer records that the costly fragments of the crown were redeemed in the eighth and ninth years of King Henry VI.

Margaret of Anjou, in separate coats, both surmounted by the arch-barred crowns. Mr. Boutell says that the arched crown was introduced by Henry V. probably when a simpler emblem of royalty was constructed, on the breaking up of the more costly and precious crown of his father.*

In what was called the "Harry" crown was a great fleur-de-lys, "garnished with one great balays, and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and two great pearls," and the pinnacle of the crown was "garnished with two great sapphires, one square balays, and six pearls." It is stated that at Agincourt, after mass, they brought the armour for the head of Henry V., which was a very handsome bascinet, upon which he had a very rich crown of gold (a description and valuation of "*la couronne d'or pur le bascinet*," garnished with rubies, sapphires, and pearls, to the amount of £679 5s., is to be seen in the *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 215), circled like an imperial crown. This was twice struck and injured by the blows of his enemies. The Duke of Alençon struck off part of it with his battle-axe, and one of the points or flowers was cut off by a French esquire, who, with seventeen others, swore to perform some such feat or perish.

A manuscript in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris contains the proceedings in a suit of Gaucourt against Destouteville, in connection with the recovery of the crown and jewels lost by King Henry at Agincourt. Gaucourt had been taken prisoner at Harfleur, and in order to obtain his release offered to return to France and obtain these objects, which also included a cross, containing a piece of the true cross, and the chancery seal. Being permitted, he had the good fortune to find these valuables; but Henry is accused of having broken his word, retaining Gaucourt in imprisonment, and not even paying his expenses. Gaucourt accordingly claimed fourteen thousand crowns, "which the English king's conduct

* The crown of Don Pedro the Cruel was brought to England by the heiresses of that king, one of whom married John of Gaunt, the other the father of the Earl of Cambridge. The latter intended, after a plot for assassinating Henry V., to fly to the borders of Wales, where the Earl of March was to declare his claims to the throne, and be crowned with the royal crown of Spain, which was to pass with the common people for the crown of England, and to be carried in the van of the army on a cushion. This plot was frustrated by the refusal of the earl to assert his rights or dispossess his friend and guardian. Cambridge was the king's near relation, having married Anne Mortimer, the sister of March.

had caused him," and for which he considered Destouteville was answerable with him.

The appearance of the English crown was greatly changed in the reign of Henry VI., by the circlet being arched over with jewelled bands of gold, and surmounting the enclosed diadem with a mound and cross. Crosses occupy the positions filled by strawberry leaves and roses, and fleurs-de-lys the place of the small cluster of pearls. The arched crown at first has the arches elevated almost to a point; after a while the arches are somewhat depressed at their intersection; then this depression is considerably increased, until at length, in the reign of Queen Victoria, the arches which bend over almost at right angles are flattened above at the intersection where the mound rests upon them. At first, also, the arches recede inwards from their spring from the circlet, then they slightly project beyond the circlet, and now they rise almost vertically.

Edward IV. is represented with a crown having six arches springing from a jewelled circlet, adorned with fleurs-de-lys. After the battle of Hexham, when the unfortunate Henry VI. only escaped by the fleetness of his horse, the royal equipage fell into the victor's possession, and he immediately used it by being solemnly crowned at York. Henry's rich cap of maintenance, or *abacot*, having a double crown, was placed upon his head.

The crown of Richard III., so fraught with retributive misfortune, is represented in the Warwick Roll of John Rous (preserved in the College of Arms), with four arches. On his great seal there are four arches, springing from a circlet, adorned with alternate crosses and fleurs-de-lys, surmounted by the orb or mound. On the death of Richard, on Bosworth Field, his crown was hidden by a soldier in a hawthorn bush, but it was found by Sir Reginald Bray, and carried to Lord Stanley, who placed it on the head of his son-in-law, saluting him by the title of Henry VII. It was in memory of this circumstance that the red-berried hawthorn was assumed as a device by the House of Tudor. The loyal proverb of "Cleave to the crown though it hang on a bush" alludes to the same incident. Among the devices on the tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey are crowns in bushes. The same is represented on the hall window at Stene, in Northamptonshire, one of the family estates of the Brays.

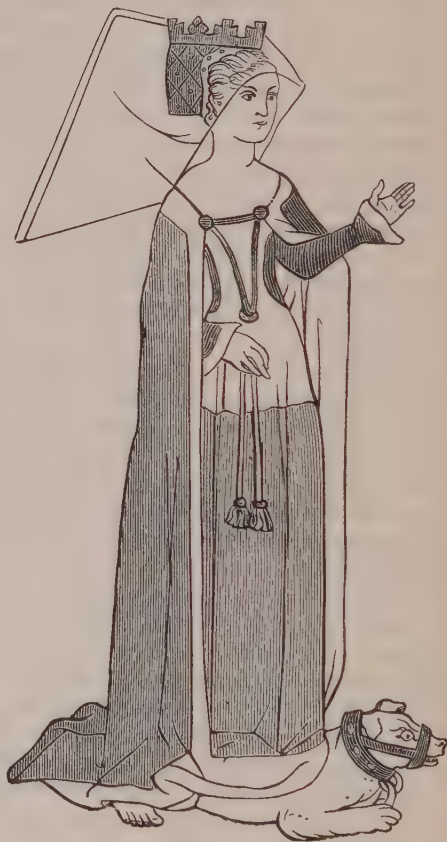
According to the portrait of Rous, Queen Anne wore a

crown circle of alternate crosses and pearl trefoils. It has four plain arches of gold, which meet on the top, under a large pearl, on which is a little cross.

Henry VIII. is represented with a crown of four arches,



Richard III. From the Warwick Roll, College of Arms, A.D. 1484.



Anne, queen of Richard III. From the Warwick Roll.

surmounted by the orb and cross. The velvet cap worn inside the crown appears for the first time on the seals of this monarch. The Tudor crown generally is displayed with eight crosses, and as many fleurs-de-lys.*

* A curious reason for the "close" crown of the English monarchs is given in a letter from Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards Bishop of

The crown of Edward VI. was found in an iron chest in the Tower. It weighed two pounds one ounce, and was enriched with a fine diamond valued at £200; thirteen other diamonds, ten rubies, one emerald, one sapphire valued at £60, and seventy pearls. The gold was valued at £73 16s. 8d., and the whole of the jewels at £355. This was probably the "very rich crown" which, we are told, was purposely made for the king, and the third with which he was crowned at Westminster. On the great seal of this monarch the arched crown, having an ogee curvature, appears for the first time.

Queen Mary wore at her coronation three crowns: one erroneously called St. Edward's, the imperial, and another made purposely for this solemnity.

Queen Elizabeth wore two crowns at her coronation. There are numerous illustrations of the crowns worn by this sovereign, which differed but little from that of her predecessor. On her great seal, however, she is represented wearing a small diadem, having eight arches.

The crown of James I. approximates the nearest in form to the present imperial crown of England. It had eight arches. In a curious inventory of the "jewelles remaining in an yron cheste in the secrete Jewel house wⁱⁿ the Tower of London" is a description of the state crown and coronets of his Majesty. The document was made in 1604, by command of the Earl of Dorset, and its accuracy is authenticated by the royal autograph being at the beginning and end: "fyrst, a crowne imperyale of gold sett about the nether border, with ix^{en} greate pointed dyamondes, and betweene everye dyamonde a knott of perle, sett by fyve perles in a knott in the upper border, eight rock rubies, and xx^{tie} rounde perles, the fower arches being sett eche of them with a table dyamonde, a table ruby, an emeralde, and uppon twoe of the arches xvij^{en} perles; and uppon the other two arches xvj^{en} perles; and betweene everye arche, a greate ballace, sett in a collet of golde, and uppon the topp, a very greate ballace perced, and a little cross of gold uppon the topp enamelled blewe.

Durham) to Henry VIII., who was aiming at the imperial crown: "Oon of the cheffe points in the election off th' emperor, is that he which shal be electyd must be off Germanie, subgiēt to [the] empire; whereas your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Christen faith the kings of Englonde were subgiēt to th' empire. But the crown of Englonde is an empire of hitself, mych bettyr then now the empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close crown."



Queen Elizabeth. From the original in the British Museum.

"A coronett of golde, sett about the nether border wth iiij blew saphyres, iiij ballaces, one emeralde, v roses of dyamondes, and xiiij^{en} round perles; and about the upper border, sett with three blew saphyres, three ballaces, and vj quaters of perles, everye quater having in the middle a small pointed dyamond.

"A circle of golde sette wth a greate ballace rubye, viij table dyamondes, ix^{en} emeraldes, xxxvj rocke rubyes, and lxj rounde perles."

On the great seal of James I. the crown is seen with eight crosses, and eight fleurs-de-lys without any roses.

The state crown of Charles I. contained seven pounds seven ounces of gold, and in one of the fleurs-de-lys was a picture of the Virgin. In the "Antiquarian Repository" there is an account of the valuation of this crown, which was enriched with twenty-eight diamonds at £6 each, £168; sapphires and rubies, £380; two emeralds, £5; two hundred and thirty-two pearls at 15s. each, £174; twenty-one rubies, £16; the gold estimated at £40 per pound, with six ounces abated for stones, £280; making in the whole £1023.

Sir Edward Walker, in his account of the coronation of Charles II., says, "The master of the Jewel-house had orders to provide two imperiall crownes, set with pretious stones; the one to be called St. Edward's crowne, wherewith the king was to be crowned, and the other to be putt on after his coronation before his Maj^{ties} retorne to Westminster Hall." Also "two caps of purple velvett for the two crownes, turned up with ermines." The coronation crown was enriched with pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, with a mound of gold on the top of it, encircled with a band or fillet of gold, garnished also with precious stones, and three very large oval pearls, one at the top, the others pendent to the ends of the cross. The crown was formed of four crosses, and as many fleurs-de-lys of gold, and set with precious stones; from the tops of the crosses rose four arches, which met at the top in the form of a cross, at the intersection of which was a pedestal, on which the mound was placed.

The crown of state was garnished with a profusion of diamonds and other jewels, but was particularly remarkable from being embellished with an emerald seven inches in circumference, a pearl of large size, and a ruby set in the middle of one of the four crosses, esteemed (according to Sandford) at £10,000.

A slight alteration made in the form of the crown, probably at that time, or at the coronation of James II., brought it to the shape in which it is represented in the fine work of Sandford. The crown was taken to pieces, being too weighty, in the reign of Queen Anne, and was, of course, altered, and made suitable for George I. and his successors, George II. and George III.

On the accession of George IV. an entirely new state crown was made. The old one was broken up and another made in 1821, by the court jewellers, Rundell and Bridge. It was larger, loftier, and more splendid than the former crown ; in elevation fifteen inches ; the arches, instead of sinking in their centre, were raised almost to a point, embossed, and edged with brilliants, supporting an orb of brilliants more than six inches in circumference. It was surmounted with a diamond Maltese cross of exquisite workmanship, on the top and sides of which were suspended three remarkably large pearls. In front of the crown was a unique sapphire of the purest and deepest azure, two inches long and one inch broad, and at the back was the famous ruby worn by Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. The sapphire and ruby were each inserted in a Maltese cross of brilliants, and the other parts of the crown were enriched with large diamond flowers. The rim was encircled with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, and rubies of very considerable size, and the whole was surrounded immediately above the ermine with large pearls. This magnificent crown was estimated to be worth £150,000, and the expenses upon it, preparatory to the coronation of George IV., amounted to nearly £60,000 over the addition of the inestimable sapphire. Crowned with this superb ensign of sovereignty, which weighed five pounds and a half, the king returned in the coronation procession from the abbey, but on arriving at the hall his Majesty exchanged it for one half that weight, made also by Rundell and Bridge for the occasion, the jewels being lent for the purpose. This light crown was broken up immediately afterwards, but a private print of it exists, and was distributed at the time by the makers.*

* In the "Greville Memoirs," under the date of August 10, 1831, is the following statement respecting the crown of Queen Adelaide :— "Rode to Windsor to settle with the Queen what sort of crown she would have to be crowned in. . . . She looked at the drawings, meant, apparently, to be civil to me in her ungracious way, and said she would

The crown in which Queen Victoria appeared at her coronation was also made by Rundell and Bridge, in 1838, and is exceedingly costly and elegant; the design is in much better taste than that of the crowns of George IV. and William IV. The crown made for the former of these monarchs was much too large for the queen, and the present one was made with jewels taken from old crowns, and others furnished by command of her Majesty. It consists of diamonds, rubies, pearls, sapphires, and emeralds set in silver and gold; it has a crimson velvet cap, with ermine border, and is lined with white silk. Its gross weight is thirty-nine ounces five pennyweights troy. The lower part of the band, above the ermine border, consists of a row of one hundred



State Crown of England.

have none of our crowns, that she did not like to wear a hired one, and asked me if I thought it was right she should. 'I said, 'Madam, I can only say that the late King wore one at his coronation.' However, she said, 'I do not like it, and I have got jewels enough, so I will have them made up myself.' The King said to me, 'Very well, then *you* will have to pay for the setting.' 'Oh no,' she said, 'I shall pay for it all myself.'"

Haydon, in his "Autobiography" (1830), vol. ii. p. 236, has this odd entry: "The crown at the coronation was not bought, but borrowed. Rundell's price was £70,000, and Lord Liverpool told the King he could not sanction such an expenditure. Rundell charged £7000 for the loan, and as some time elapsed before it was decided whether the crown should be bought or not, Rundell charged £3000 or £4000 more for the interval."

There was a dispute about the will of George III., which he was empowered to make by Act of Parliament in 1776. In the "Greville Memoirs," under the date 1823, we read: "The King (George IV.) conceives that the whole of the late King's property devolves upon him personally, and not upon the Crown, and he has consequently appropriated to himself the whole of the money and jewels. . . . The King has acted in a like manner with regard to the Queen's (Charlotte's) jewels. She possessed a great quantity, some of which had been given her by the late King on his marriage, and the rest she had received as presents at different times. Those which the late King had given her, she conceived to belong to the Crown, and left them back to the present King;

and twenty-nine pearls, and the upper part of the band of a row of one hundred and twelve pearls, between which, in front of the crown, is a large sapphire (partly drilled), said to have been *purchased* for the crown by George IV.* At the back is a sapphire of smaller size, and six other sapphires (three on each side), between which are eight emeralds. Above and below the several sapphires are fourteen diamonds, and around the eight emeralds, one hundred and twenty-eight diamonds. Between the emeralds and sapphires are sixteen trefoil ornaments, containing one hundred and sixty diamonds. Above the band are eight sapphires, surmounted by eight diamonds, between which are eight festoons, consisting of one hundred and forty-eight diamonds. In the front of the crown, and in the centre of a diamond Maltese cross, is the famous ruby, said to have been given to Edward Prince of Wales, son of Edward III., by Don Pedro, King of Castile.†

the rest she left to her daughters. The King has also appropriated the Queen's (Caroline's) jewels to himself, and conceives they are his undoubted property. The Duke (of York) thinks that the ministers ought to have taken the opportunity of the coronation, *when a new crown was to be provided, to state to him the truth with regard to the jewels, and to suggest that they should be converted to that purpose.* This, however, they dared not do, and so the matter remains."

* In the "Autobiography of Miss Knight" that lady mentions (date 1813), that the Prince Regent gave to the Princess Charlotte the centre sapphire from the crown of Charles II., which the Prince had received with the papers of the Stuart family from Rome. In the "Greville Memoirs" the subject of this sapphire is also alluded to: June 24, 1821, "The King dined at Devonshire house last Thursday se'nnight. Lady Conynham had on her head a sapphire which belonged to the Stuarts, and was given by Cardinal York to the King. He gave it to the Princess Charlotte, and when she died he desired to have it back, Leopold being informed it was a crown jewel. This crown jewel sparkled in the head-dress of the Marchioness at the ball. I ascertained the Duke of York's sentiments on this subject the other day. He was not particularly anxious to discuss it, but he said enough to show he has no good opinion of her."

† In the Alcazar at Seville, Pedro the Cruel (1353-1364) received the red King of Granada with a promise of safe conduct, and then murdered him for the sake of his jewels, one of which, a large ruby, he gave to the Black Prince after Navarete, and which is the "fair ruby great like a rocket-ball" which Elizabeth showed to the ambassador of Mary, Queen of Scots, and now adorns the royal crown of England. Mr. Speaker Onslow, observes Walpole ("Anecdotes of Painting"), has a portrait of the Black Prince, which there is great reason to believe was painted at the time. In his hat is represented a large ruby, exactly in the shape of that now in the crown.

It is pierced quite through, after the Eastern practice ; the upper part of the piercing being filled up by a small ruby. Around this ruby, to form the cross, are seventy-five brilliant diamonds. Three other Maltese crosses, forming the two sides and back of the crown, have emerald centres, and contain, each, one hundred and thirty-two, one hundred and twenty-four, and one hundred and thirty brilliant diamonds. Between the four Maltese crosses are four ornaments, in the shape of the French fleur-de-lys, with four rubies in the centres, and surrounded by rose diamonds, containing respectively eighty-five, eighty-six, and eighty-seven rose diamonds. From the Maltese crosses issue four imperial arches, composed of oak leaves and acorns, the leaves containing seven hundred and twenty-eight rose, table, and brilliant diamonds, twenty-two pearls forming the acorns, set in cups containing fifty-four rose diamonds and one table diamond. The total number of diamonds in the arches and acorns is one hundred and eight brilliants, one hundred and sixteen table, and five hundred and fifty-nine rose diamonds. From the upper part of the arches are suspended four large pendent pear-shaped pearls, with rose diamond cups, containing twelve rose diamonds, and stems containing twenty-four very small rose diamonds. Above the arch stands the mound, containing, in the lower hemisphere, three hundred and four brilliants, and in the upper, two hundred and forty-four brilliants, the zone and arc being composed of thirty-three rose diamonds. The cross on the summit has a rose-cut sapphire in the centre, surrounded by four large brilliants and one hundred and eight smaller brilliants.

There is a tradition that the sapphire last mentioned came out of the famous ring of Edward the Confessor, so long treasured up in his shrine, and the possession of which was supposed to give his successors the miraculous power of blessing the cramp-rings. If this is at all probable, the stone must have been recut for Charles II. (See chapter on the "Regalia of England and Scotland.")

The total of the jewels in the imperial crown of England may be thus comprised : one large ruby irregularly polished, one large broad-spread sapphire, sixteen sapphires, eleven emeralds, four rubies, one thousand three hundred and sixty-three brilliant diamonds, one thousand two hundred and seventy-three rose diamonds, one hundred and forty-seven

table diamonds, four drop-shaped pearls, and two hundred and seventy-three pearls.

A pearl from the mouth of the river Conway, where, Suetonius informs us, was a pearl fishery in the time of the Roman occupation, was presented to the queen of Charles II. by Sir R. Wynne, and is said to have found a place among the jewels that now adorn the British crown.

From the time of Henry VII. until the reign of Charles I., no important change took place in the fashion of the crown,



Crown of England.

except the introduction of the velvet cap, which first appears on the great seal of Henry VIII. On the second great seal of Charles, which was brought into use in the year 1640, the imperial crown assumed the shape it continued to bear until the accession of Queen Victoria, except that between the crosses and fleurs-de-lys on the rim there was placed a small ray, having a pearl on the top; a row of pearls sur-

rounding the lower edge in the place of the ermine.

The crown of England (a representation of which is given) is that worn on minor occasions of state. It is of similar design to that last described, but principally goldsmith work, with comparatively few jewels introduced.

CHAPTER III.

THE REGALIA OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

"'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
 The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
 The intertissued robes of gold and pearl,
 The farsed title running 'fore the king,
 The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp
 That beats upon the high shore of this world;
 No, not all these thrice gorgeous ceremonies,
 Not all these, laid in bed majestical,
 Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave."

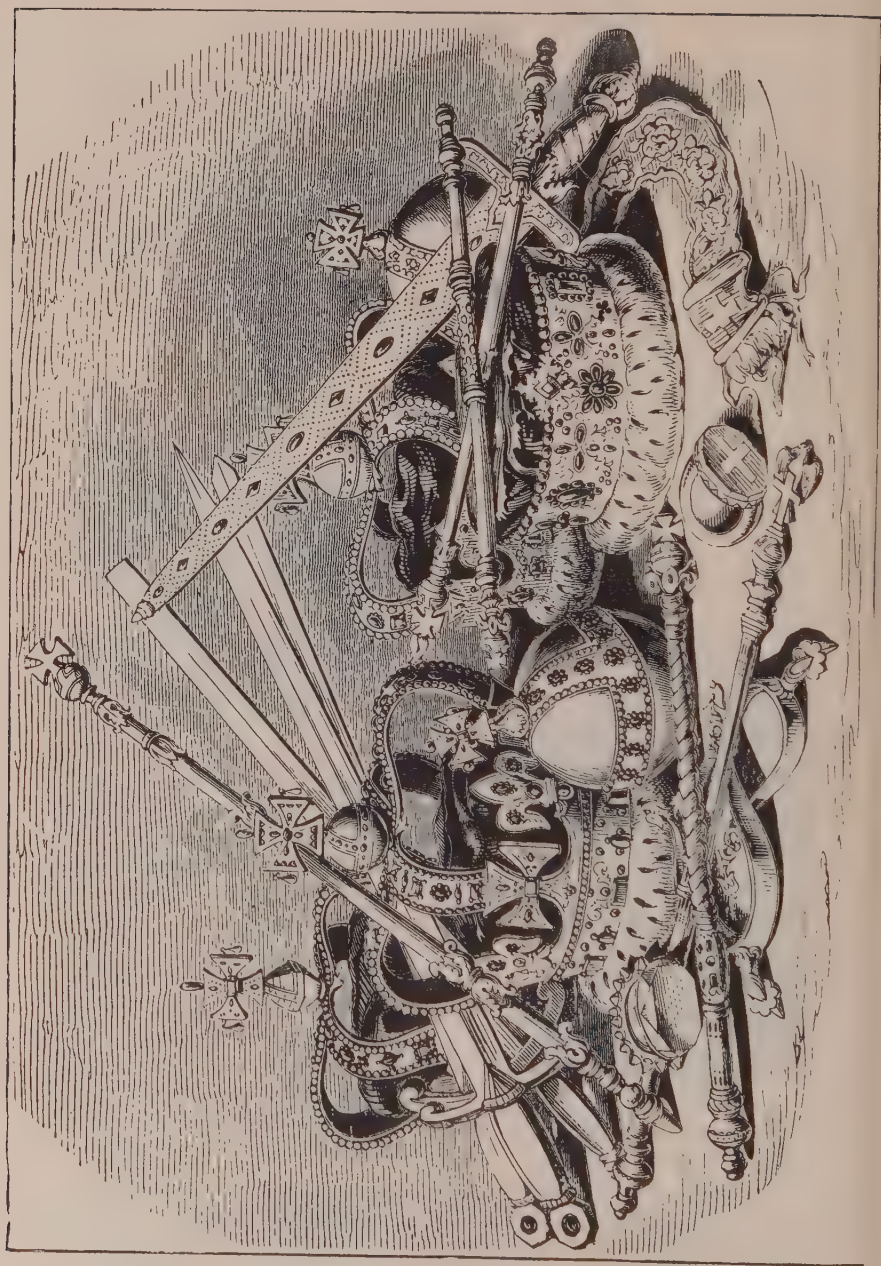
SHAKESPEARE.



N the time of Edward the Confessor the depository of the REGALIA and other State treasures appears to have been in Westminster Abbey,* in what is now called the "Chapel of the Pyx." Hugolin, the chamberlain of that monarch, was entrusted with the charge. Here were lodged the emblems of sovereignty of the Saxon kings: and, at later times, the black rod of St. Margaret (the holy cross of Holyrood), from Scotland; the cross of St. Neot, from Wales, deposited here by Edward I.; the sceptre, or rod,

of Moses; the ampulla of Henry IV.; the sword with which King Athelstan cut through the rock at Dunbar; the sword

* "In the eastern cloister at Westminster," says Dean Stanley, "is an ancient double door, which can never be opened except by the officers of the Government or their representatives, now the Lords of the Treasury (till recently the Comptroller of the Exchequer), bearing seven



of Wayland Smith, by which Henry II. was knighted; the sword of Tristan, presented to King John by the emperor; the dagger which wounded Edward I. at Acre; and the iron gauntlet worn by King John of France when taken prisoner at Poitiers.

At the coronation of the Norman kings the regalia, as connected with Edward the Confessor, were used. They were strictly Anglo-Saxon by their traditional names—the crown of Alfred, or of St. Edward, for the king; the crown of Edith, wife of the Conqueror, for the queen. The sceptre with the dove was a reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days, after the expulsion of the Danes; the gloves were a perpetual reminder of the abolition of the Danegelt—a token that the king's hands should be moderate in taking taxes. The ring with which, as the doge to the Adriatic, so the king to his people, was wedded, was the ring of the "pilgrim." The coronation robe of Edward was solemnly exhibited in the abbey twice a year, at Christmas and on the festival of its patron saints, St. Peter and St. Paul. The "great stone chalice" which was borne by the chancellor to the altar, and out of which the Abbot of Westminster administered the sacramental wine, was believed to have been prized at a very high sum in St. Edward's days.

In the reign of King John the crown jewels appear to have been lodged for security in the Temple and at the Tower. In 1204 some of the regalia were taken to Reading by the master and almoner of the New Temple, and delivered to the monarch preparatory to his celebrating the feast of Christmas in that town. A list of these precious articles, preserved in the State documents formerly in the Tower, commences with "*Coronam nostram auream factam apud London.*"

Henry II., when he was carried forth to be buried (1189), was, we are told, first apparelled in his princely robes, having a crown on his head, gloves on his hand, and shoes on his feet, wrought with gold; spurs on his heels, a ring of gold on

keys, some of them of huge dimensions, that alone could admit to the chamber within. That chamber, which belongs to the Norman substructions underneath the dormitory, is no less than the *Treasury of England*. Here it was, that probably immediately after the Conquest, the kings determined to lodge their treasures under the guardianship of the inviolable sanctuary which St. Peter had consecrated, and the bones of the Confessor had sanctified."

his finger, a sceptre in his hand, his sword by his side, and his face uncovered. But this regalia was of a strange nature; for the corpse of Henry, like that of the Conqueror, had been stripped and plundered, and when those who were charged with the funeral demanded the ornaments in which Henry was to lie in state, the treasurer, as a favour, sent a ring of little value and an old sceptre. As for the crown in which the warlike brow of Henry was encircled, it was but the gold fringe from a lady's petticoat, torn off for the occasion, and in this odd attire the greatest monarch of the world, stripped of his regalia, went down to his last abode.

In the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Henry III. the regalia were sent, sealed up, to the Tower of London. It was customary for the king, when travelling abroad, to have the regalia carried with him. On the return of Henry from France, in 1230, he commanded the Bishop of Carlisle to replace the jewels in the Tower, as they had been before. They were under the care of a keeper appointed by the king's letters-patent, who had a stated salary. During the troubles which embittered the latter part of his reign the crown jewels and his plate were conveyed abroad, and confided to the care of Margaret, Queen of France. They were laid up in the Temple at Paris, and afterwards pledged to certain merchants of that nation in order to raise money, so much was Henry reduced by the rebellion of his barons. In 1272, the year of the king's death, they were redeemed and brought back into England; and we find in the State documents (mentioned in the "*Fœdera*," vol. i. pars 1, p. 482) not only a list of them, but a statement of their respective values.

It would seem that a portion of the regalia at least, was kept in the treasury at Westminster in the reign of Edward I., from a curious circumstance that happened in 1303, during the period when that monarch was engaged in the Scottish wars. A messenger reached him at Linlithgow with the news that the immense hoard of money on which he depended for his supplies had been carried off. The chief robber appears to have been one Richard de Podlicote, a monk of Westminster, who had climbed by a ladder near the palace gate, through a window of the chapter house, and broke open the door of the refectory, whence he carried off a considerable amount of silver plate. The more audacious attempt on the treasury, the position of which he had then ascertained, he concerted with friends partly within and

partly without the precincts. Any one who had passed through the cloisters in the early spring of that year must have been struck by the unusual appearance of a crop of hemp, springing up over the grassy graves, and the gardener who came to mow the grass and carry off the herbage was constantly refused admittance. In that tangled hemp, sown and grown, it was believed, for this special purpose, was concealed the treasure after it was taken out. In two large black panniers it was conveyed away across the river to the king's bridge or pier, where now is Westminster Bridge, by the monk Alexander, of Pershore, and others, who returned in a boat to the Abbot's Mill, on the Mill Bank. The broken boxes, the jewels scattered on the floor, the ring with which Henry III. was consecrated, the privy seal of the king himself, revealed the deed to the astonished eyes of the royal officers when they came to investigate the rumour. The abbot and forty-eight monks were taken to the Tower, and a long trial took place. The abbot and the rest of the fraternity were released, but the charge was brought home to the sub-prior and the sacrist. The architecture still bears its protest against the treason and the boldness of the robbers. The approach from the northern side was walled off, and the treasury reduced by one-third.

After this event the more valuable contents of the treasury were removed elsewhere; the regalia, relics, and records remained at Westminster, but these were after the Restoration removed to the Tower. Edward I. had his full share of imperial regalia. It would seem (Rymer's "*Fœdera*") that the crown, or coronet, of Llewellyn-ap-Griffith, Prince of Wales, became his property on the capture (June 21, 1283), or shortly after, of his brother David-ap-Griffith, Lord of Denbigh, who had assumed the Welsh sovereignty on the demise of Llewellyn; the Princess Catherine, daughter and heiress of the latter, and *de jure* sovereign Princess of Wales, being then an infant. We read that Alphonso, about 1280, offered the crown, and other jewels, at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. That some of the crown jewels were deposited in the Tower in the reign of Edward III. appears from the grant of that monarch of the office of keeper of his jewels, armouries, and other things in the Tower, to John de Flete, during pleasure, with wages of "twelve pence per diem;" and afterwards, in the same reign, it was enjoyed by John de Mildenhall. In the fourteenth year of Edward III., certain

jewels are described as "*en la Blanche Tour deinz la Tour de Londres.*" There is another similar mention in the eighteenth year of his reign, and in the thirtieth year we read of the "*Tresorie deinz la haute Toure de Londres.*"

In the "*Liber Regalis*" we find that the abbot and monks of Westminster had charge of the regalia and coronation robes. The right of the monastery as guardian of the national insignia was established by the foundation charter of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the contemporary bull of Pope Nicholas II., and the subsequent ones of Popes Pascal and Innocent II., under every sanction that ecclesiastical or civil authority could afford; and there is every reason to believe that it was held sacred till the privileges of the religious houses were subverted by Henry VIII.; after which period, the more valuable parts of the regalia were removed to the royal treasury, in the Tower of London, and kept, like the heirlooms of a family, by the possessors of the throne. The precise time at which this removal took place cannot exactly be traced; it is likely, indeed, that during the interval between the Reformation and the Civil War, the regalia were deposited, part in the Tower and part at Westminster Abbey, as convenience or accident might dictate.

Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, was appointed master and treasurer of the jewel-house by Henry VIII., and besides the care of the regalia in the Tower, he had the purchasing and custody of all the royal plate, and other duties connected with the office.*

In public processions he had precedence next to privy councillors; at coronations he wore a scarlet robe, and dined at the barons' table in Westminster Hall; and at opening and closing sessions of Parliament, and on passing of bills, when the king appeared in his robes, he attended to put on

* The salary attached to this appointment of keeper of the jewel-house was only £50 per annum, but his perquisites were very considerable, and in the reign of Charles II., after they had undergone considerable reduction, amounted to £1300 yearly. He was allowed a table of fourteen dishes, with beer, wine, etc., or thirty-eight shillings daily for board wages. Three hundred pounds came to him every year out of the New Year's gift money; and about £300 more he obtained by carrying presents to ambassadors. He had an allowance of twenty-eight ounces of gilt plate yearly, and the small presents sent to the king, anciently valued at £30 or £40; as also the purses wherein the lords presented their gold, which were usually worth £30 or £40 each.

and take off the crown from his Majesty's head. These and other privileges and emoluments were enjoyed by Sir Henry Mildmay, who was master and treasurer of the jewel-house during the interregnum; but on the restoration of Charles II., and the attainder of Sir Henry, the office was given to Sir Gilbert Talbot,* when, at the instance of Lord Chancellor Hyde, many of the perquisites were either abolished, or came into other hands; and since that period all the duties and advantages of the place have either been done away with, or have merged in the office of the lord chamberlain, except the custody of the regalia in the Tower, the appointment to which is, also, in his lordship's gift.

Of the various precious objects comprising the regalia of England in the time of James I., we have the following list of "necessaries to be provided by the M^r. of the Jewell House, the daye of the king and queen's coronacion," as preserved in the Cottonian MSS.:—

"A circle of gold for the queen to weare, when shee goeth to her coronacōn. The king's ringe. The queene's rynge. St. Edward's crowne, if it be in hys custodie. Two other wearing crownes for the king and queen, to be sett readye vpon St. Edward's altar, for the king and queen to put on after theire coronacōn. Two pointed swords. The sword called Curtana. The orbe, the scepter, the armill. And suche other regalls as hee hath in his custodie. Theis are all the particular necessities which for the present I fynd to be provided by the M^r. of the Jewel house." Signed by Willm. Segar, Garter."

In a tract entitled "England's Farewell to the King of Denmark," printed in Nicholls's "Progresses of James the First," the writer gives an account of a royal visit to the jewel-house in 1601: "At the Tower, our gracious sovereign, his dear esteemed brother King James, met his Highness, and with kingly welcomes entertained him, and in his own person, conducted him to the offices of the Jewel-house, Wardrobe, of the Ordnance, Mint, and other places, where to their kingly presence in the Jewel-house, were presented the most rare and richest jewels, and beautiful plate, so that he might well wonder thereat, but cannot truly praise or estimate the value thereof by many thousands of pounds—

* In the "Flagellum Parliamentarian," 1671 (ascribed to Andrew Marvell), Sir Gilbert Talbot is described by the satirist as "the King's Jeweller, a great cheat at bowls and cards, not born to a shilling."

the like in the wardrobe,* whereat for robes beset with stones of great price, fair and precious pearl and gold, were such as no king in the world might compare."

Two years previous to this royal visit, a descriptive inventory of the crown jewels was made, under the authority of a warrant of privy seal; the original of which, signed at the beginning and the end with the king's own hand, is preserved among the records at Westminster. This document is entitled, "a book conteyninge the remayne of all suche Jewells and other p^rcells as are remayninge in the Kinges ma^{ts} secrete Jewel-house wthin the Tower."

"The *Imperial Crown*, which is the first-mentioned article, is thus described: 'A crowne imperyall of golde sett about the nether border w^t ix^{en} greate pointed dyamondes, and betwene everye dyamonde a knott of perle, sett by fyve perles in a knott, in the upper border eight rocke rubies and xx^{tie} rounde perles, the fower arches being sett eche of them wth a table dyamonde, a table ruby, an emeralde, and uppon twoe of the arches xvij^{en} perles, and uppon the other twoe arches xvij^{en} perles, and betwene everye arche a greate ballace sett in a collett of golde, and uppon the topp a verye greate ballace perced, and a lytle crosse of golde uppon the topp enamelled blewe.'

"A 'coronett of golde, sett with sapphirs, ballaces, dyamondes, perles, etc.,' is next described; and, after that, 'a circlett of golde, sette wth a greate ballace ruby, viij table dyamondes, ix^{en} emeraldes, xxxvj rocke rubyes and Lvj rounde perles.' Then follow: 'one circlett, newe made for the quene, conteyninge in the myddest viij fayre dyamondes, of dyverse fashions, viij fayre rubyes, viij emeraldes, and viij saphyrs, garnished wth xxxij smalle dyamondes, xxxij smalle rubyes and Lxiiij^{or} p^rles fixed, and on eche border xxxij smalle dyamondes, and xxxij smalle rubyes.'

"There are also enumerated fifteen golden collars, all of different workmanship, and adorned with precious stones; a great variety of rings, brooches, and buttons, the latter chiefly of gold set with diamonds and pearls; a number of minor pieces of jewellery, and among them 'a lardge agatt, graven wth the picture of Kinge Henrie the viij, and Kinge Edwarde the vjth,' and, 'a greate and ryche jewell of golde called the *Myrror of Greate Brytaine*, conteyninge one verye fayre table dyamonde, one verye fayre table ruby, twoe other lardge dyamondes cut lozenge-wise, th' one of them called the stone of the Ire H. of Scottlande, garnished wth smalle dyamondes twoe rounde perles fixed, and one fayre dyamonde cut in fawcetts, bought of Sauncy.' Besides these, the Jewel-house contained a variety of costly royal ornaments, such as golden

* Of the wardrobe in the Tower, frequent mention is made in early records, not merely as the repository of the royal robes, armour, etc., but as a treasury, where moneys were deposited till they were admitted to the receipt of exchequer.

flowers and feathers, set with diamonds, rubies, etc., ‘dyverse antiquities in a purse of blacke velvett,’ a great two-handed sword, garnished with silver and gilt, and numerous ornaments which had been given by his Majesty to the Queen. Amongst the latter the most curious was, ‘a fayre tablett wth a crosse of xxij dyamondes on the one syde, and a worde conteyninge sixtene l’res of dyamondes, *Dieu et mon droyt* wth a lytle knobb pendaunte, therein two little table dyamondes and twoe rubyes, wth a clocke in it.’”

At the accession of Charles I. there belonged to the crown, “one *Salte* of goulde, called the *Morris Daunce*.” Its foot was garnished with six great sapphires, fifteen diamonds, thirty-seven rubies, and forty-two small pearls; upon the border about the shank, twelve diamonds, eighteen rubies, and fifty-two pearls, and standing about that were *five morris-dancers*, having amongst them thirteen small garnishing pearls and one ruby. The *lady* holding the salt had upon her garment, from her foot to her face, fifteen pearls and eighteen rubies; upon the foot of the same salt were four coarse rubies and four coarse diamonds; upon the border, about the middle of the salt, were four coarse diamonds, seven rubies, and eight pearls: and upon the top of the said salt, four diamonds, four rubies, and three great pearls; the *lady* had upon the tyre of her head, ten rubies, twelve diamonds, and twenty-nine garnishing pearls.

By a special warrant of Charles I., dated at Hampton Court, December 7, 1625, a large quantity of gold plate and jewels of great value, which had long continued, as it were, in a continual descent from the crown of England, were transferred to the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland, ambassadors extraordinary to the United Provinces, who were thereby authorized to transport and dispose of them beyond the seas, in such manner as the king had previously directed these noblemen in private. The splendid gold salt called the *morris dance*, above described, was disposed of among the other precious heirlooms of the crown specified in the king’s warrant.

In Ellis’s “Original Letters” (1st series, vol. iii. p. 151), there is a letter from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated May 16, 1623, stating that “there be jewels gone from the Tower to Spain of six hundred thousand pounds value.” This must have been at the time when Prince Charles made his quixotic expedition into that country, to court the Infanta.

We now arrive at the period of the Commonwealth

when, as might be expected, the regalia would find little mercy from the scorers of kingly dignity. On the 9th of August, 1649, as appears from the "Journals," it was ordered "that those gentlemen who were appointed by this House to have the custody of the regalia, to deliver them over unto the trustees for sale of the goods of the late king, who are to cause the same *to be totally broken*, and that they melt down all the gold and silver, and sell the jewels to the best advantage of the Commonwealth, and to take the like care of them that are in the Tower." There is every reason to believe that this order was executed, and that not only the regalia, but all gold and silver articles, were melted down and sold. At this period an inventory and appraisal was made, with a view to the disposal of the rich objects of the crown. The list is printed in the *Archæologia* (vol. xv. p. 285), from the original manuscript: "A true and perfect Inventory of all the Plate and Jewells now being in the upper Jewell House of the Tower, in the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay, together with an appraisem^t of them, made and taken the 13th 14th and 15th daies of August 1649."

	£	s.	d.
"The imperiall crowne of massy gold, weighing 7 lbs. 6 oz. valued at	1,110	0	0
The queene's crowne of massy gold, weighing 3 lbs. 10 oz. ...	338	3	4
A small crowne found in an iron chest; formerly in the Lord Cottington's charge: *—the gold ...	73	16	8
the diamonds, rubies, sapphires, etc. ..	355	0	0
The globe, weighing 1 lb. 5½ oz.	57	10	0
Two coronation bracelets weighing 7 oz. (with three rubies and twelve pearls)	36	0	0
Two scepters weighing 18 oz.	60	0	0
A long rodd of silver gilt 1 lb. 5 oz.	4	10	8
The foremencion'd crownes, since y ^e inventorie was taken, are, accordinge to ord ^r of parlm ^t totallie broken and defaced.			

The inventory of that part of the regalia which are now removed from Westminster Abbey to the Jewel-house in the Tower.

Queen Edith's crowne, formerly thought to be of massy gould, but, upon trial, found to be of silver gilt; enriched with garnetts, foule pearle, sapphires, and some odd stones, p. oz. 50½ oz., valued at	16	0	0
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* From other accounts this appears to have been the crown of Edward VI.

King Alfred's crowne of goulde wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells, p. oz. 79½ oz. at £3 per oz.	£	s.	d.
A goulde plate dish, enamelled, etc.	248	10	0
One large glass cupp, wrought in figures, etc.	77	11	0
A dove of gould, sett with stones, and pearle, per oz. 8½ oz., in a box sett with studs of silver gilt	102	15	0
The gould and stones belonging to a collar of crimson taffaty, etc.	26	0	0
One staff of black and white ivory, with a dove on the top, with binding and foote of goulde	18	15	0
A large staff with a dove on y ^e top, formerly thought to be all gould, but upon trial found to be, the lower part, wood within, and silver gilt without	4	10	0
Two scept ^{rs} , one sett with pearles and stones, the upper end gould, the lower end silver. The other silver gilt, with a dove, formerly thought gould	2	10	0
One silver spoone gilt, pr. oz. 3 oz.	65	16	10½
The gould of the tassels of the livor cull'd robe, weighing 4 oz. valued at £8, and the coat with the neck button of gould £2, the robe having some pearle, valued at £3 in all	0	16	0
All these according to order of parliament are broken and defaced.	13	0	0
One paire of silver gilt spurres, etc.	1	13	4

*An inventory of the regalia now in Westminster Abbey, in an
iron chest, where they were formerly kept.*

One crimson taffaty robe, very old, valued at	0	10	0
One robe, laced with gould lace, valued at	0	10	0
One livor cull ^d silke robe, very old, and worth nothing.			
One robe of crimson taffaty sarcenett, valued at	0	5	0
One paire of buskins, cloth of silver, and silver stockings, very old, and valued at	0	2	6
One paire of shoes of cloth of gould, at	0	2	0
One paire of gloves, embroid ^{ed} w th gould at	0	1	0
Three swords, with scabbards of cloth of gould	3	0	0
An old combe of horne worth nothing.			

The totall of the Regalia	£612	17	8
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Such was the republican estimation of the time-honoured insignia of royalty! There is no reason for doubting that several of the objects of the regalia here mentioned were of considerable antiquity, corresponding with items in the catalogues of Richard Sporley (who lived about the year 1450) in the Cottonian MSS.*

* A story is told in Wood's "Athenæ," in connection with the seizure of the regalia at this epoch, which does not correspond to the

The royal ornaments and the regalia having been defaced and sold under the Protectorate, a committee was formed at the Restoration to direct the re-making of the regal insignia,* "and to settle," observes Sir William Walker, in his account of the coronation of Charles II., "the form and fashion of each particular; all which doe now retheyne the old names and fashion, altho' they have been newly made and p'pared by orders given to the Earle of Sandwich, Master of the great Wardrobe and Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of the Jewell-

fact that the crown and the principal objects of the regalia were in the Tower at this period, while the sacrilegious scene related is said to have occurred in Westminster Abbey. As the story goes, the notorious republican, Henry Marten, was intrusted with the commission of preparing a list of the regalia. A huge iron chest, in the ancient chapel of the treasury at Westminster Abbey, was opened; the royal crown, sceptres, swords, and robes were taken out, and George Withers, the poet, who had accompanied the fanatical republican, was, by way of a sorry jest, invested with them: "who being thus crowned and royally arrayed, first marched about the room with a stately gait, and, afterwards, with a thousand ridiculous and apish actions, exposed the sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter.

* In a letter to C. R. Weld, Esq., assistant-secretary to the Royal Society, the keeper of the crown jewels (the late Edmund Lenthal Swifte, Esq.) thus alludes to the subject: "You are but too right in your idea of the modern character of our regalia. Whether as an Englishman, a Royalist, an historian, or as a gentleman, or in all these capacities, you must grieve over the annihilation of its ancient memorials. The barbarous spirit which descended on the French revolutionists, when they destroyed even the tombs and the bones of their ancient monarchy, actuated our Puritans to break up and sell the old crown jewels of England.

"The two jewel houses (for then there were *two*, the upper and the lower) were betrayed by my predecessors, Sir Henry and Mr. Carew Mildmay, in 1649, and their precious contents transferred to the usurper. The most shameful part of this afflicting transaction was the breaking up of King Alfred's wire-work gold filagree crown, and selling it for the weight of the metal, and what the stones would fetch.

"A new Regalia was ordered at the Restoration, to which additions and alterations have been made as requisite, constituting that which is now in my charge."

The Sir Henry Mildmay here mentioned lost his character by this dereliction of duty. In the last will and testament of the Earl of Pembroke, a singular and eccentric nobleman, who died in 1650, is a bequest of £50: "Because I threatened Sir Harry Mildmay, but did not beat him, I give fifty pounds to the footman who cudgell'd him. Item, my will is that the said Sir Harry shall not meddle with my jewells. I knew him when he served the Duke of Buckingham, and, since, how he handled the crowne jewells, for both which reasons I now name him the *knave of diamonds*."

House. Hereupon the Master of the Jewell-House had order to provide two Imperiall Crownes, sett with pretious stones; the one to be called St. Edward's crowne, where-with the King was to be crowned, and the other to be putt on after his coronation, before his Ma^{ties} retorne to Westminster Hall. Also, an Orbe of Gold with a Crosse sett with pretious stones: a Scepter with a Crosse sett with pretious stones, called St. Edwards: a Scepter with a Dove sett with pretious stones: a long Scepter, or Staffe of gold, with a Crosse vppon the top, and a Pike at the foote of Steele, called St. Edward's Staffe: a ring with a Ruby: a paire of gold Spurs: a Chalice, and Paten of gold: an Ampull for the Oyle, and a spoone, and two Ingotts of Gold, the one a pound, and the other a Marke for the Kings 2 Offerings. The new insignia that were made cost £31,978 9s. 11d. paid to the King's goldsmith, Sir Henry Viner, in 1662. The Master of the Great Wardrobe had also order to provide the Ornaments to be called St. Edward's wherein the King was to be crowned."

It was soon after the appointment of Sir Gilbert Talbot, as keeper of the regalia in the Tower, that the royal insignia became objects of public inspection, which King Charles allowed in consequence of the reduction in the emoluments of the office.* The profits which accrued from showing the jewels to strangers, Sir Gilbert assigned, in lieu of a salary, to the person whom he had appointed to the care of them. This was an old confidential servant of his father's, Talbot Edwards, who held this office at the period of Blood's notorious attempt to steal the crown (May 9, 1671).† The designer

* In the *Archæologia* (vol. xxii. p. 122) we find the origin of exhibiting the regalia in the Tower: "He (the Master and the Treasurer of the Jewel-House) hath a particular servant in the Tower, intrusted with that great treasure, to whom (because S^r Gilbert Talbot was retrenched in all the perquisites and profits of his place, as is before mentioned, and not able to allow him a competent salary) His Majesty doth tacitly allow him that he shall shew the Regalia to strangers, which furnished him with so plentiful a lively-hood, that S^r Gilbert Talbot upon the death of his servant there, had an offer made to him off 500 old broad pieces of gold for the place.

"Yet he first gave it to old Mr. Edwards freely, (who had been his father's servant) whom Blood murthered, when he attempted to steal the Crown, Globe, and Scepter. Signed May the 20th, 1680."

† The correctness of this date is proved by the official account in the *London Gazette*. Strype and other writers have assigned this transaction to the year 1673. In a letter from S. W. Henshaw to Sir Robert Paston

of this desperate attempt was an Irishman, who had entered the army of the Commonwealth, and rose to the rank of colonel. He was a man of great energy, but of ruffianly character, and having conceived a spite against the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he formed a plot in 1663, for surprising Dublin Castle, and seizing the duke. This attempt was, however, unsuccessful. In 1670, however, he waylaid the duke, in company with some confederates, in St. James's Street, as he was returning from a dinner given to the young Prince of Orange. The duke managed to escape, but not without considerable hurt, from the rough treatment he had experienced. A thousand pounds was offered for the capture of the ruffians, but in vain. Such was the character of the person, who, a few months afterwards, attempted the robbery of the crown. Considerable art was employed in preparing for this adventure, the account of which, derived chiefly from a relation which Edwards himself made of the transaction, is printed in Stow's "*Survey*," by Strype. It appears that about three weeks before the event, Blood came to the Tower, dressed as a parson, accompanied by a woman whom he passed for his wife.

"They desired to see the regalia, and just as their wishes had been gratified, the lady feigned sudden indisposition; this called forth the kind offices of Mrs. Edwards, the keeper's wife, who having courteously invited them into the house to repose herself, she soon recovered, and on their departure they professed themselves thankful for this civility. A few days after, Blood came again, bringing a present of four pairs of gloves from his pretended wife, and having thus begun the acquaintance, they made frequent visits to improve it. After a short respite of their compliments, the disguised ruffian returned again; and, in conversation with Mrs. Edwards, said that his wife could discourse of nothing else but the kindness of those good people in the Tower, that she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. 'You have,' quoth he, 'a pretty young gentlewoman for your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I will bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.'

(May 13, 1671), we read: "The romant of the rose is a story you will find in Thursday's *Gazette*, of one Blood's stealing the crown out of the Tower; as gallant hardy a villain as ever herded in that sneaking sect of the Anabaptists; when he was examined before the King he answered so frankly and undauntedly that every one stood amazed. . . . He thought the crown was worth £100,000 (when crown, sceptre, globe, St. Edward's staff cost the King but £6000). There was found about him 60 signal deliverances from eminent dangers."

This was easily assented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the pretended parson to dine with him on that day; he readily accepted the invitation; and, taking upon him to say grace, performed it with great seeming devotion, and, casting up his eyes, concluded it with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family. After dinner he went up to see the rooms, and observing a handsome case of pistols to hang there, expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young lord who was his neighbour; a pretence by which he thought of disarming the house against the period intended for the execution of his design. At his departure, 'which was a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to see his mistress; which was the very day on which he made his daring attempt.'

"The good old gentleman had got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter was in her best dress, to entertain her expected lover; when, behold, Parson Blood, with three more, came to the Jewel-house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a brace of pocket pistols. Two of his companions entered with him, on pretence of seeing the crown, and the third stayed at the door, as if to look after the young lady, a jewel of a more charming description, but, in reality, as a watch. The daughter, who thought it not modest to come down until she was called, sent a maid to take a view of the company, and bring a description of her gallant; and the servant, conceiving that he was the intended bridegroom who stayed at the door, being the youngest of the party, returned to soothe the anxiety of her young mistress with the idea she had formed of his person."

From the *London Gazette*, Whitehall, May 9, 1671, we learn the result:

"This morning, about seven of the clock, four men coming to Mr. Edwards, keeper of the Jewel-house in the Tower, desired to see the regal crown remaining in his custody; he carries them into the room where they were kept, and shows them; but, according to the villainous design, they, it seems, came upon, immediately they clap a gag of a strange form into the old man's mouth, who, making what noise and resistance he could, they stabbed him a deep wound in his belly, with a stiletto,* adding several other dangerous wounds on the head, with a small beetle, they had with them, as is believed, to beat together and flatten the crown, to make it more portable; which having, together with the ball, put into bags they had to that purpose, brought with them, they fairly walked out, leaving the old man grovailing on the ground, gagged, and pinioned; thus they passed by all the sentinels, till, in the meantime, the son-in-law of Mr. Edwards, casually passing by, and hearing the door shut, and some bustle, went in to look what it might be, when he found his old father-in-law in the miserable condition they had left him;

* The Society of the Literary Fund are in possession, through the bequest of Mr. Thomas Newton, of two daggers, the one used by Colonel Blood in his attack upon Edwards, the keeper of the crown jewels, the other by an accomplice. The inscription on the sheaths of each record the facts.

whereupon running out in all haste, and crying to stop the authors of this horrid villainy, the persons began to hasten more than ordinarily; which the last sentinel perceiving, and hearing a noise, bid them stand; but, instead of standing to give an account of themselves, one of them fires a pistol at the sentinel, and he his musket at them; which gave the alarm, so, as, with the pursuit of Mr. Edwards' son-in-law, two of the malefactors were immediately seized; two more, with another that held their horses without the Tower-gate, escaped. With the two that were taken were found the crown and ball, only some few stones missing, which had been loosened in the beating of the crown together, with the mallet, or beetle spoken of.

"These two, being brought down to Whitehall, by his Majesties command, one of them proves to be Blood, that notorious traytour and incendiary, who was outlawed for the Rebellion in Ireland, eight years ago; and the other one was Perrott, a dyer, in Thames Street. Within two hours afterwards, a third was apprehended, as he was escaping on horseback, who proves to be Thomas Hunt, mentioned in his Majesty's proclamation for the discovery of the persons, who, sometime since, committed that horrid attempt upon his grace the Duke of Ormond, but is, indeed, *son* [son-in-law] to the said Blood, who, with great impudency, confesses, that they two were, with seven others, in that action. They are, all three, sent close prisoners to the Tower, for the present."

The more circumstantial account is that—

"Blood told Edwards that they would not go upstairs until his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown till then; and they had no sooner entered the room, and a door, as usual, shut, than a cloak was thrown over the old man's head, and a gag put in his mouth. Thus secured, they told him that their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre; and if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life; otherwise he was to expect no mercy. He thereupon made all the noise he possibly could, to be heard above; they then knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, 'that if he would lie quietly, they would spare his life; but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him.' Mr. Edwards, however, according to his own account, was not intimidated by this threat, but strained himself to make the greater noise, and in consequence received several more blows on the head, with the mallet, and was stabbed in the belly: this again brought the poor old man to the ground, where he lay for some time in so senseless a state that one of the villains pronounced him dead. Edwards had come a little to himself, and, hearing this, lay quietly, conceiving it best to be thought so. The booty was now to be disposed of, and one of them, named Parrot, secreted the orb; Blood held the crown under his cloak, and the third was about to file the sceptre in two, in order that it might be placed in a bag, brought for that purpose, but, fortunately, the *son* of Mr. Edwards, who had been in Flanders with Sir John Talbot, and, on his landing, had obtained leave to come away, post, to visit his father, happened to arrive while this scene was acting, and on coming to the door, the person who stood sentinel, asked with whom he would speak? to which he answered he belonged to the house; and, perceiving the person to be a stranger, told him that if he had any business with

his father, that he would acquaint him with it, and so hastened up to salute his friends. This unexpected accident spread confusion among the party, and they instantly decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre yet unfiled.

"The aged keeper now raised himself on his legs, forced the gag from his mouth, and cried *treason ! murder !* which being heard by his daughter, who was, perhaps, waiting anxiously for other sounds, ran out and reiterated the cry. The alarm now became general, and young Edwards, and his brother-in-law, Captain Beckman, ran after the conspirators; whom a warder put himself in a position to stop, but Blood discharged a pistol at him, and he fell, although unhurt, and the thieves proceeded safely to the next post; where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood sentinel; but he offered no opposition, and they accordingly passed the drawbridge. Horses were waiting for them at St. Catherine's gate, and as they ran that way along the Tower wharf, they themselves cried out 'stop the rogues!' by which they passed on unsuspected, till Captain Beckman overtook them. Blood fired another pistol at his head, but missed him, and was seized. Under the cloak of this daring villain was found the crown, and although he saw himself a prisoner, he had yet the impudence to struggle for his prey; and when it was finally wrested from him said, 'it was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful; it was for a crown!'"

Parrot, who had formerly served under General Harrison, was also taken; but Hunt, Blood's son-in-law, reached his horse and rode off, as did two other of the thieves; but he was soon afterwards stopped, and likewise committed to custody. In this struggle and confusion the great pearl, a large diamond, and several smaller stones were lost from the crown; but the two former, and some of the latter, were afterwards found and restored; and the balas-ruby, broken off the sceptre, being found in Parrot's pocket, nothing considerable was eventually lost.

The king, when informed of this extraordinary outrage, ordered Blood and Parrot to be brought to Whitehall to be examined in his presence, a circumstance which is said to have saved these ruffians from the gallows. Blood behaved with the utmost effrontery, acknowledged that he was one of the party who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Ormond, and, on being asked respecting his associates, answered that "he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own." He also avowed to the king that he had been engaged in a plot to kill his Majesty with a carbine from among the reeds, by Thames' side, above Battersea, but that his heart was checked by an awe of majesty, and he not only himself relented, but also diverted his associates from the design. He further told the king that

there were hundreds of his friends, yet undiscovered, who were bound by oath to revenge the death of any of their colleagues who might be brought to justice. On the other hand, if his Majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might win the hearts of many; who, as they had been daring in mischief, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, to distinguish themselves in the service of the State.

Thus did the audacious and wary villain partly overawe and partly captivate the good nature of the king. In short, after having been remanded to prison, he and his accomplices were not only pardoned, but the chief offender, Blood himself, was received into favour; had £500 a year conferred upon him; was admitted to the private intimacy of that abandoned court, enjoying the smiles of royalty, and even frequently seen employing his influence as a most successful patron.* “He died,” says Pennant, “peacefully in his bed, on the 29th of August, 1680, fearlessly, and without the signs of penitence, totally hardened and forsaken by heaven.”†

Talbot Edwards, so far from receiving the merited reward of his fidelity, obtained, through the intercession of his friends, a grant from the Exchequer of £200 for himself, and £100 more for his son; but the payment of even these small sums was so long delayed, and the expenses attendant on the old

* Evelyn, in his “Diary” (May 10, 1671), writes: “Dined at Mr. Treasurer’s, where dined M. De Gramont, and severall French noblemen, and one Blood that impudent bold fellow. . . . How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believe he became a spie of severall parties, being well with the Sectaries and Enthusiasts, and did his majesty service that way. The man had not onely a daring, but a villainous unmercifull looke, a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating.”

† In the Luttrell collection of broadsides, in the British Museum, is one entitled, “An Elegie on Colonel Blood, notorious for stealing the crown:”

“Thanks, ye kind fates, for your last favour shown,—
For stealing Blood, who lately stole the crown.”

Rochester, in his “Insipids,” writes—

“Blood that wears treason in his face,
Villain complete in parson’s gown,
How much he is at court in grace
For stealing Ormond and the crown!
Since loyalty does no man good,
Let’s steal the King, and outdo Blood!”

man so great, that they were, at last, obliged to sell their orders for half of their amount in ready money. He died at the age of eighty years and nine months (September 30, 1674), and was buried in the Tower Chapel.

After this event additional precautions were taken to insure the safe custody of the royal insignia, and a sentinel was placed at the door during the hours of inspection.* What robbery might not effect, however, the ravages of fire might consummate, and the imperial regalia had a near chance of falling a prey to the conflagration which took place in the Tower on October 30, 1841. This calamity commenced in the Round or Bowyer Tower, owing to the overheating of a flue. The Great or White Tower was for a time in imminent danger, and the jewel-house was so exposed to the flames, that it was believed impossible to avert its destruction. But, fortunately, both buildings were preserved. On the news of fire having broken out, Mr. W. F. Pierse, superintendent of one of the divisions of the Metropolitan police, proceeded with a detachment of constables to the Tower. Shortly after his arrival, the flames made such rapid advances in the direction of the jewel-house, that it was deemed expedient at once to remove the regalia and crown jewels to a place of safety. Accompanied by Mr. Swifte, the keeper of the crown jewels, and other officials, including several of the Tower warders, Mr. Pierse entered the building. To get hold of the jewels was now the difficulty, as these treasures were secured by a strong iron grating, the keys of which were in the possession of the Lord Chamberlain, or elsewhere deposited at a distance, and not a moment was to be lost. Crowbars were procured, and a narrow aperture made in the grating, so as barely to admit one person. Through this opening Mr. Pierse contrived, with much difficulty, to thrust himself, and hand through from the inside the various articles of the regalia. One of them, a silver font, was too large to be passed thus, and it became necessary to break away an additional bar of the grating. While the warders were effecting this, repeated cries were heard from outside, calling

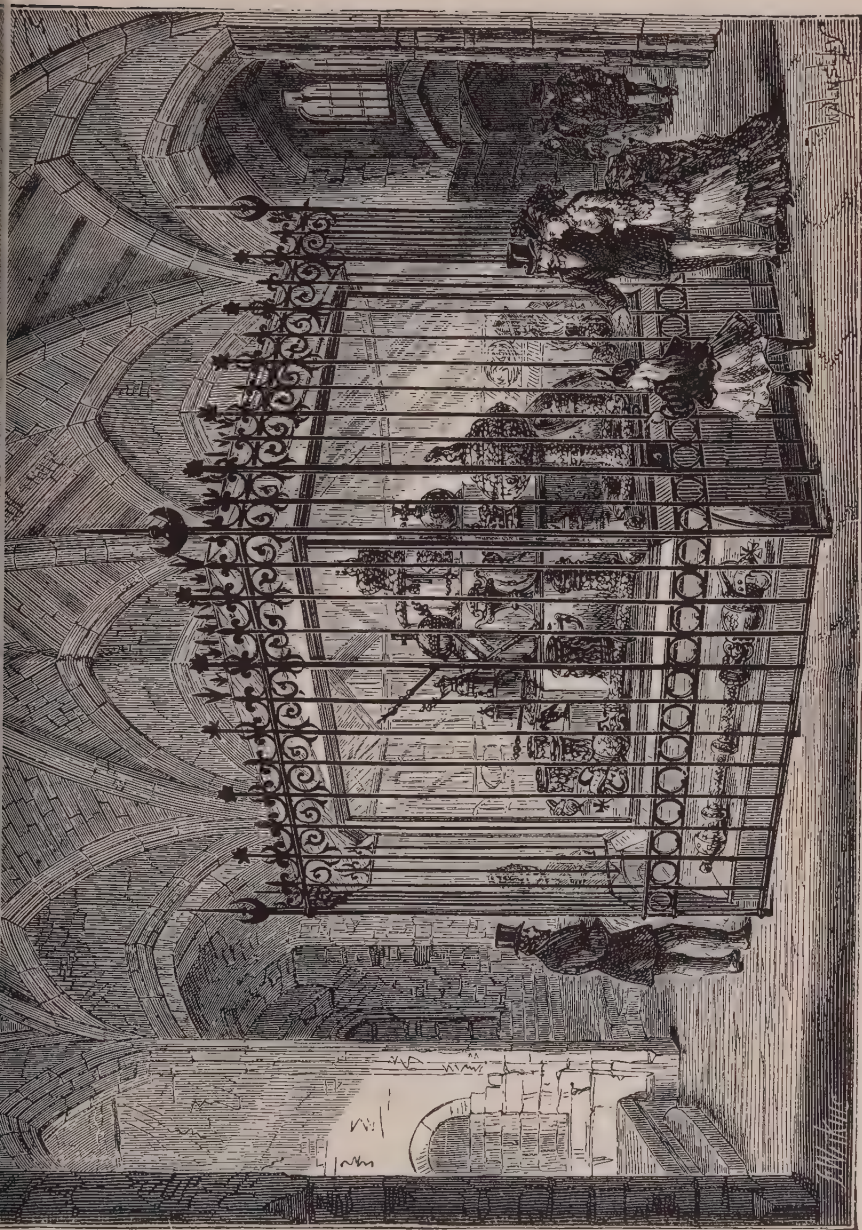
* An instance is on record where some portions of the regalia have undergone a temporary removal, for a special purpose, at the wish of the sovereign. This was in the case of Allan Ramsay (son of the poet of that name), the Court painter to George III., who was entrusted with the crown jewels and regalia at his own house, when he was finishing the portrait of Queen Charlotte, with a guard round the dwelling for security.

to the party within the jewel-house to leave the building, as the fire was close upon them. Mr. Pierse, however, retained his post within the grating, and, at last, succeeded in rescuing the font. The precious articles were all conveyed safely to the governor's house, and a most extraordinary spectacle presented itself in the warders carrying the crowns and other appurtenances of royalty, between groups of soldiers, policemen, and firemen. The heat endured by the party in the jewel-house was such as almost to reduce their garments to a charred state.

The jewel-house in the Tower, until recently, was on the basement floor of the St. Martin Tower. The crown insignia seem to have been removed here soon after 1641, from the south side of the White Tower, then used as a powder magazine, which, it was feared, might be endangered by the adjacent chimneys. The regalia were then shown behind strong iron bars: through these, however, in 1815, a woman forced her hands and injured the royal crown. The regalia were next exhibited at one view by the light of six argand lamps, with powerful reflectors. The present jewel-house was erected in 1842, after the fearful fire of the preceding year, in the Late Tudor style, south of the Martin Tower.

In Scott's "*Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*" it is stated that few persons are aware that the king's jewel-house, built in the time of Richard II., is still standing. The walls are perfect, even to the parapets, and the original doorways remain, their heads being of the form called the shouldered arch, so much used in domestic work throughout the Middle Ages, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. A modern door has been introduced over the first-floor room, probably as a security against fire, this room having had, originally, a wooden ceiling; but fortunately the ground rooms, having been used for a kitchen and offices, and being below the level of the present street, have been preserved intact, with their original groined vaults, with moulded ribs and carved bosses, evidently a part of the same work as the cloisters and other vaulted substructures of Abbot Litlington. This tower is situated to the south of the chapter-house, and at the back of the houses in Old Palace Yard.

In the new jewel-house the regalia are shown upon a pyramidal stand, enclosed within plate glass, and over the whole of it is an open iron frame, or cage, of Tudor design, surmounted by a regal crown of iron.



Jewel Room at the Tower.

THE REGALIA OF ENGLAND, now exhibited to the public in the jewel-house of the Tower, consists of the *Imperial Crown* (described in the chapter on "the Crowns of England"); *St. Edward's Crown*; the *Prince of Wales's Coronet*; the *Queen Consort's Crown*, and the *Queen's Diadem*; *St. Edward's Staff*; the *Royal Sceptre*, or *Sceptre with the Cross*; the *Rod of Equity*, or *Sceptre with the Dove*; the *Queen's Sceptre*; the *Ivory Sceptre*; and a richly wrought golden sceptre, supposed to have been made for Mary, queen of William III. In addition to the crowns and sceptres are the *Curtana*, or point-less *Sword of Mercy*; the *Swords of Justice*, temporal and ecclesiastical; the *Bracelets and Spurs*; the *Ampulla and Spoon*; the golden *Salt-cellar*, used at the coronation banquet; a *Baptismal Font*, employed at the christening of the royal children; various dishes, spoons, and other articles of gold used at the coronation; and a splendid service of sacramental plate used at the same august ceremony.

The crowns of England, as now worn, are described in the last chapter.

ST. EDWARD'S CROWN was made for the coronation of Charles II., in commemoration (says Sandford) of the ancient crown which was destroyed at the Commonwealth. On the accession of William and Mary, in 1689, this crown was reported by the master of the jewel-house as being dismantled of its jewels. It is richly adorned with precious stones of various kinds, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls; with a mound of gold on the top, surmounted by a gold cross *patée*, adorned with jewels, and particularly by three large oval pearls, one of which is on the top of the cross, and the others pendent at each limb. The crown consists of four crosses, and as many *fleurs-de-lys* of gold upon a rim, or circlet, of gold adorned with precious stones, from the tops of which crosses rise four circular bars, ribs, or arches. The cap within the crown is of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine.

THE QUEEN CONSORT'S CROWN is of gold, set with diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, and was made for the queen of William III.

THE DIADEM, or circlet of gold, was used for the coronation of Marie d'Este, consort of James II., at a cost of £110,000.

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S CORONET is of pure gold, plain, without jewels, and is placed on a velvet cushion in the

House of Lords, before his seat, when the sovereign opens or prorogues Parliament.*

The ROYAL SCEPTRE, or *Sceptre with the Cross*, which is placed in the right hand of the sovereign in the coronation, is of gold, the handle plain, and the upper part wreathed; in length, two feet nine and a quarter inches. The shaft is enriched with rubies, emeralds, and small diamonds. The ancient fleurs-de-lys, with which the sceptre was adorned, were replaced, previous to the coronation of George IV., by golden leaves, surrounding the large amethyst, each bearing the rose, the shamrock, and the thistle. The magnificent amethyst, at the top, forms a globe, which is encircled with diamonds, and surmounted by a cross *patée* of precious stones, with a table diamond in the midst.

The sceptre of Charles II. was adorned with "a fair ballas ruby," which was found in the pocket of Parrot, one of Blood's accomplices. It is not particularized by Sandford.

The SCEPTRE WITH THE DOVE is of gold, three feet seven inches in length, three inches in circumference at the handle, and two inches and a half at the top. The pommel is garnished with a circle or fillet of table diamonds, and in several places with precious stones of various kinds. At the top is a mound surmounted by a cross, sustaining a dove with expanded wings, enamelled white; the mound is encompassed by a fillet of diamonds.†

* Charles II. ordered an arch to be added to the coronet of the Prince of Wales, which was previously only the rim of the crown; and by the same warrant (issued in February, 1660) assigned to the other princes and princesses—sons and daughters of a sovereign, and to their sons and daughters—the coronets now borne by them. As there was no Prince of Wales acknowledged in England from that period until the birth of George II., the first representation of the arched coronet occurs in 1751. But it is worthy of remark that in a print of the reign of James I., representing the catafalque of Henry, Prince of Wales, his effigy is depicted with an imperial crown of four arches; and also that in a manuscript in Vincent's collection at the College of Arms, known as "Prince Arthur's Book" (in consequence of the arms of that prince, in whose time it was executed, being painted on the first page), the coronet over the shield, as well as that on the head of the lion, the dexter supporter, has evidently had an arch to it, which was subsequently expunged.

† "The dove," remarks M. Didron, in his "Iconographie Chrétienne," "was typical, from the earliest times, of the Holy Ghost. In several fresco paintings, various manuscripts, and particularly miniatures, amongst the Italians, a white dove, the Holy Ghost, is seen escaping from the flowering staff of Joseph (mentioned in the apocryphal history

The **QUEEN'S SCEPTRE WITH THE CROSS** is of gold, adorned with precious stones, and, in most part, is very like the king's, but not wreathed, nor quite so large.

The **QUEEN'S IVORY ROD**, which was made for Queen Mary, consort of James II., is a sceptre of white ivory, three feet one inch and a half in length, with a pommel, mound, and cross of gold, and a dove on the top.

In the year 1814 a sceptre was discovered at the jewel-house, lying at the back of a shelf, covered with dust. It was found to be a rod of gold, with its emblem, the dove, resting on a cross. It is of elegant workmanship, and adorned with coloured gems. This nearly assimilates with the king's sceptre with the dove, and it is conjectured to have been made for Queen Mary, consort of William III., with whom she was jointly invested with the exercise of the royal authority.

ST. EDWARD'S STAFF, which is carried before the sovereign at the coronation, is a staff, or sceptre, of beaten gold, four feet seven inches and a half in length, and about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with a pike or foot of steel, four inches and a quarter long, and a mound and cross at the top.

The **AMPULLA, or GOLDEN EAGLE** (to which I have alluded in the chapter on "Anointing"), containing the consecrating oil, is of gold finely chased. The head screws off at the middle of the neck, for the convenience of putting in the oil, and, the neck being hollow to the beak, the holy oil is poured out into the spoon through the beak. The height of the ampulla, including the pedestal, is about nine inches, the diameter of the pedestal about three inches and a half, and the breadth between the furthest points of the wings about

of the nativity of the Virgin) at the time of his marriage. The dove is regarded, even amongst pagans, as a medium of instruction, an organ communicating the will of deity. Mahomet taught a pigeon to perch upon his shoulder, and made it pass for a celestial messenger, commissioned to reveal to him the pleasure of the Almighty. The Holy Ghost was thought to direct the actions of kings. In Montfaucon is a design representing Charlemagne carrying a sceptre surmounted with a dove, which is evidently intended to symbolize the Holy Ghost. If the sceptre be regarded as a staff to assure the steps of the sovereign, the dove is a spirit to direct his course.

"At the ceremony of the consecration of the kings of France, after the rite of unction, white doves were let loose in the church, indicating that as the captive birds regained their liberty, so the coronation of the king restored independence to the similarly captive people, or, more probably, the custom conveyed an idea analogous to that of the sceptre on which the Holy Ghost rests."

seven inches; the weight of the whole about eight or ten ounces, and the cavity of the body capable of containing about six ounces.

There is no mention of the ampulla in previous inventories of the regalia, to which allusion has been made, and it is said that the eagle now existing is the real original ampulla. It was first used at the coronation of Henry IV. (October 13, 1399).

The SPOON, from its extreme thinness, appears to be ancient. It has four pearls in the broadest part of the handle. The bowl has an arabesque pattern engraved on it. The handle was originally decorated with enamel, but this has been destroyed, leaving an uneven surface. It seems probable that this spoon may have been used at the coronation of our monarchs since the twelfth century. The Parliamentary Commissioners at the Commonwealth mention in the "list" of the regalia a silver-gilt spoon, weighing three ounces, and valued at sixteen shillings. An engraving of the spoon now shown in the Tower is in Sandford's "Coronation of James the Second," and in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages."

The ORB, MOUND, or GLOBE, which is placed in the sovereign's right hand immediately on being crowned, and which is carried in the left hand on returning into Westminster Hall, is a golden ball, six inches in diameter, encompassed with a band or fillet of gold, embellished with roses of diamonds encircling other precious stones, namely, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, and edged about with pearl. On the top is a remarkably fine amethyst, of an oval shape, nearly an inch and a half in height, which forms the foot, or pedestal, of a cross of gold, three inches and a quarter high and three inches broad, set very thick with diamonds; having in the centre a sapphire on one side, and an emerald on the other, and embellished with four large pearls in the angles of the cross, near the centre, and three large pearls at the end of the cross. The whole height of the orb and cross is eleven inches.

The mound (from the French *monde*) and cross were placed in the left hand, either under Constantine the Great or under Justinian, in the East,* about the year 527, and came

* Justinian erected a statue in the Augusteion, to which he gave the globe and cross, which others had confined to their coins. He modified the form of the cross into that which still continues, in the Eastern Church, to be peculiarly called the Greek cross.

into use in the Western empire under the Emperor Henry II., A.D. 1013. It was borrowed from the Roman emperors by our early Saxon kings. We find the orb and the cross on most of the coins and seals of our monarchs from the time of Edward the Confessor; indeed, Strutt authenticates a picture of Edgar, made in the year 996, which represents that prince kneeling between two saints, who bear severally his sceptre and a globe surmounted by a cross. This part of the regalia, representing supreme political power, has never been put in the hands of any but kings or queens *regnant*. In the anomalous instance of the coronation of William and Mary as joint sovereigns, another and smaller orb was made for the queen, which is still amongst the regalia. The "globe," as it was called in the inventory of the regalia of Charles I., weighed one pound five ounces and a quarter, and was valued at £57 10s.

The SWORDS are *Curtana*, or the pointless Sword of Mercy; *the Swords of Justice, Temporal and Ecclesiastical*; and *the Sword of State*. Of these the last alone is actually used in the coronation, being that with which the sovereign is girded after having been anointed; the others are carried before the monarch by certain great officers.

Curtana is a broad bright sword, the length of the blade being thirty-two inches and the breadth two inches; the handle, covered with fine gold wire, is four inches in length, besides the pommel, an inch and three-quarters, which, with the cross, is plain steel gilt, the length of the cross being about eight inches. The scabbard belonging to it is covered with a rich brocaded cloth of tissue, with a gilt ferrule, hook, and chape. It is also called the sword of Edward the Confessor, and is mentioned by both these names by Matthew Paris, under the year 1236, when detailing the marriage ceremonial of Henry III. In ancient times it was the privilege of the Earls of Chester to bear this sword before the king. The Earl of Oxford carried it at the coronation of Charles II. In the wardrobe account for the year 1483 are "iiij swerdes, whereof oon with a flat poynte called *curtana*." Besides the instances I have mentioned, we find it at the coronation of Edward II. and Richard II.; also in the time of Henry IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.; and among the regalia of Edward VI. we read of a "swerde" called *curtana*.

The *Sword of State* is a large two-handed sword, having a

rich scabbard of crimson velvet, decorated with gold plates of the royal badges, in order as follow: at the point is the orb or mound, then the royal crest of a lion standing on an imperial crown; lower down are the portcullis, harp, thistle, and rose. Nearer the hilt the portcullis is repeated. Next are the royal arms and supporters. The handle and pommel of the sword are embossed with similar devices, and the cross is formed of the royal supporters, having a rose with a laurel on one side and a fleur-de-lys on the other.

The *Sword of Justice to the Spirituality* is a pointed sword, but somewhat obtuse. The length of the blade is forty inches, the breadth one inch and a half; the handle, covered with gold wire, is four inches long; the pommel, one inch and three-quarters deep; the length of the cross is almost eight inches.

The *Sword of Justice to the Temporality* is a sharp-pointed sword. Length of the handle, four inches; the pommel, one inch and three-quarters; length of the cross, seven inches and a half.

In the inventory of the regalia of King James "in the secrete Jewel-house in the Tower," printed in "Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer," we find: "Item, one great Two-handed Sworde, garnished with sylver and guilte, presented to King Henry the Eighth by the Pope."

No swords are mentioned in the catalogue of Sporley (who lived about the year 1450). "It is probable, therefore," observes Planché, "that they, as well as the spurs, were added to the regalia kept at Westminster by later monarchs." Three swords are mentioned as having been carried before Richard I. at his coronation, the scabbards of which were richly ornamented with gold. In 1649 three swords, the scabbards of cloth of gold, were amongst the regalia in Westminster Abbey, and valued at £1 each.

The BRACELETS are of solid fine gold, an inch and a half in breadth and two inches and a half in diameter, and edged with pearls. They open by means of a hinge for the purpose of being put on the arm, and are chased with the symbols of the three kingdoms. As an ensign of royalty, the bracelet is recorded in the Holy Scriptures (2 Sam. i. 10): "And I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord." Bracelets and armlets were worn by the Assyrian monarchs. In Eastern countries bracelets have been com-

monly used as a badge of power, and in Persia they are only allowed to be worn by the Shah and his sons. Among Northern nations it was the reward of successful service. The epithet, "giver of bracelets," as the kings were called, is also to be found in many writings of the Anglo-Saxon age.

The *armillæ*, or bracelets, formed part of the coronation paraphernalia of our English sovereigns to a very late date.

These ancient symbols of royalty appear in the catalogue of Sporley under their Latin name "*armillam*." They were not found in Westminster Abbey in 1649, but a pair was produced from the Tower weighing seven ounces, decorated with three rubies and twelve pearls, and valued at £36. In the manuscript form of Queen Mary's coronation, they are ordered to be produced by the master of the jewel-house; and at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth two *garters* were put upon her arms, which must have been the royal bracelets—the word *garter* being used in the sense of the old Saxon *girder*, anything which binds or encompasses.

The GREAT GOLDEN SPURS, the symbols of chivalry, are curiously wrought, both round the edge and at the fastening. They have no rowels, but end in an ornamented point, being what are commonly denominated "prick-spurs." New richly embroidered straps were added to them for the coronation of George IV. A pair of large heavy gold spurs was carried by the earl marshal at the coronation of Richard I., and a pair of silver-gilt spurs, valued at £1 13s. 4d., was entered in the inventory of the regalia at Westminster in 1649.*

The RING used at the coronation is of plain gold, with a large table ruby on which is engraved a St. George's cross. This has to be newly made, or at least set, for each sovereign. The queen's ring, described by Sandford in his "History of the Coronation of King James the Second and Queen Mary," was of gold, "with a large table ruby set therein, and sixteen

* The "royal spurs" formed a part of the paraphernalia of the sovereigns of Bosnia. After the death of Queen Catherine, in 1477, two of her family appeared before Pope Sixtus IV. and presented to him her will, in which she bequeathed her kingdom of Bosnia to the Holy Roman Church. As a token, her representatives handed over the sword of the realm and the royal spurs, "which the Pontiff benignantly received, and ordered them to be placed, with the will, in the Apostolic archives."

other small rubies set round about the ring, whereof those next to the collet were the largest, the rest diminishing proportionably."

The coronation ring has been called by some writers "the wedding-ring of England," and, like the ampulla, a miraculous history is given of it in the "Golden Legende" (p. 187), of which the following are the leading particulars:—A certain "fayre old man" having asked alms of St. Edward the Confessor, he had nothing to bestow upon him but the ring. Shortly afterwards, two English pilgrims lost their way in the Holy Land, "when there came to them a fayre ancient man, wyth whyte heer for age. Thenne the olde man axed theym what they were, and of what regyon. And they answerde that they were pylgrims of England, and hadde lost theyr fellyshyp and way also. Thenne thys olde man comforted theym goodly, and brought theym into a fayre cytee: and whaune they had refreshed theym, and rested there alle nyghte, on the morne this fayre olde man went with theym, and brought theym in the ryghte waye agayne. And he was gladde to here theym talke of the welfare and holynesse of theyre Kyng Saynt Edward. And whaune he sholde departe fro theym, thenne he tolde theym what he was, and sayd, 'I am JOHAN THE EVANGELYST; and saye ye vnto Edward your Kyng, that I grete him well by the token that he gaff to me thys rynge with his owne handes, whych rynge ye shalle delyver to hym agayne;' and whan he had delyvered to them the rynge, he departed fro theym sodenly." This command was, as may be supposed, duly obeyed by the messengers, who were furnished with ample powers for authenticating their mission. The ring was received by the royal Confessor, and in after times was preserved with due care at his shrine in Westminster Abbey. How implicitly this story of the ring was believed in past ages may be judged from the pains taken to commemorate it in so many places in and about Westminster Abbey; among the rest, over the old gate leading into the dean's yard, in the stained glass of one of the eastern windows of the abbey, and in the sculptured groups on the screen which divides the shrine from the choir.

The ring is mentioned in Sporley's catalogue, but does not appear among the regalia, either found at Westminster or the Tower, at the period of the Commonwealth.

In the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. a ring is mentioned, made by St. Dunstan, ornamented with a sapphire;

also a gold ring with which the king was consecrated.* In the "Device" for the coronation of King Henry VII. we read, "The said Cardinall (Thomas Bouchier) shall blesse the key ring with a ruby, called the regall for the King, to be sett on the iiij finger of the right hand." The queen's ring had holy water cast upon it.

On the detention of James II. by the fishermen of Sheerness, in his first attempt to escape from this country in 1688, it is particularly noticed in Clarke's "Memoirs," "the king kept the diamond bodkin which he had of the queen's, and the coronation ring, which for more security he put into his drawers. The captain, it appeared, was well acquainted with the disposition of his crew (one of whom cried out, 'It is Father Petre—I know him by his lantern jaws;') a second called him an 'old hatchet-faced Jesuit;' and a third, 'a cunning old rogue, he would warrant him!') for, some time after he was gone, and probably by his order, several seamen entered the king's cabin, saying they must search him and the gentlemen, believing they had not given up all their money. The king and his companions told him they were at liberty to do so, thinking that their readiness would induce them not to persist; but they were mistaken; the sailors began their search with a roughness and rudeness which proved they were accustomed to the employment; at last, one of them, feeling about the king's knees, got hold of the diamond bodkin, and cried out, with the usual oath, he had got a prize, but the king boldly declared he was mistaken. He had, indeed, scissors, a toothpick case, and little keys in his pocket, and what he felt was, undoubtedly, one of those articles. The man seemed incredulous, and rudely thrust his hand into the king's pocket, but in his haste, he lost hold of

* At the coronation of Henry IV. the king exhibited the signet of Richard II., delivered to him by that monarch as a token of his will that he should succeed him. A contemporary French metrical history of the deposition of the unfortunate Richard (British Museum) says, "They" (the archbishops) "took the costly ring of the realm, wherewith they are wont to espouse their kings, which is, say they, their peculiar right. They bare it between them to the constable, whom they esteem, a notable knight, Lord Percy, and when he had taken the ring he shewed it openly to all who were there present; then he kneeled down, and put it upon the king's right hand by way of espousal. But I would not give a farthing for it; because this office was performed without right or justice. I do not say that it might not be a worthy thing, were it done as such a thing should have been."

the diamond bodkin, and finding the things the king had mentioned, remained satisfied it was so. By this means the bodkin and ring were preserved." The latter is said to have been the favourite ring of Mary, Queen of Scots; to have been sent by her at her death to James I., through whom it came into the possession of Charles I., and on his execution was transmitted by Bishop Juxon to his son. This ring, connected with so many sad memories, was among the relics of the Stuarts purchased in Rome for George IV.*

The other objects of the regalia in the Tower may be briefly mentioned:—The GOLD SALT-CELLAR (used at the last coronation banquet in Westminster Hall, that of George IV.) is set with jewels and chased with grotesque figures in the form of a round castle, said, but erroneously, to be a model of the White Tower. The tops of the five turrets are for the salt. It was presented to the Crown by the city of Exeter. The BAPTISMAL FONT, of silver, double gilt, was formerly used at the christenings of the royal family. A LARGE SILVER WINE FOUNTAIN, a present from the corporation of Plymouth to Charles II. A magnificent service of COMMUNION PLATE, belonging to the Tower Chapel, but kept in the jewel-house, of silver, double gilt; the principal piece having a fine representation of the Lord's Supper.

Besides the precious objects mentioned, there are also tankards, gold spoons, and a fine banqueting-dish, used at the coronations.

THE REGALIA OF SCOTLAND.

"The steep and iron-belted rock
Where trusted lie the monarchy's last gems,
The Sceptre, Sword, and Crown, that graced the brows,
Since father Fergus, of an hundred kings."

Albania, a Poem.

The circumstances connected with the SCOTTISH REGALIA, now preserved in Edinburgh Castle, are extremely interesting; especially as they have had for exponent one of Scotland's most gifted antiquaries, Sir Walter Scott, who, in 1819, published a tract upon the subject, in which he explained the origin and archæological value of these royal relics, and their importance in connection with the ancient independence of Scotland.

The Scots, like other nations of Europe, are known to

* "Finger-ring Lore," by William Jones, F.S.A. Chatto and Windus.

have employed a crown, as an appropriate badge of sovereignty, from a very early period. After the memorable revolution in which Macbeth was dethroned, and Malcolm Canmor was placed on the throne, the new monarch was crowned in the abbey of Scone,* on St. Mark's Day, 1057; and among the boons granted to requite the services of Macduff, Thane of Fife, that nobleman and his descendants obtained the privilege of conducting the King of Scotland to the royal seat on the day of his coronation—a ceremony which, of course, implied the use of a crown; but if such was the case, there is little doubt, that the Scottish crown, which was used in these ancient times, must have fallen into the hands of Edward I. when, in 1296, he defeated John Baliol, and took with him to England every monument of Scottish independence; as we read in the Prior of Lochleven's Chronicle:—

“ This John the Baliol on purpose,
 He took and brought him till Munros,
 And in the castle of that town,
 That than was famous in renown,
 This John of Baliol dispoiled he
 Of all his robes of royalty;
 The *pelure* [fur or ermine] they took off his Tabart,
 (Toom-Tabart he was called afterward)
 And all other inseygnys
 That fell to Kings on ony wise
 Baith Sceptre, Swerd, Crown, and Ring,
 Fra this John that he made King,
 Halyly fra him he took thare,
 And made him of the Kynryk bare.”

The royal emblems of Scotland having thus passed into the hands of the English monarch, it followed that when Robert Bruce asserted the independence of Scotland in 1306, the ancient crown of Scotland was not used at his coronation. A circlet, or ring of gold, was hastily prepared, which temporary diadem, after the defeat of Bruce at Methven, also fell into the hands of the English monarch.

* Scone Palace, now the seat of the Earl of Mansfield, is built upon the site of the ancient palace of the kings of Scotland. The gallery, one hundred and sixty feet long, occupies the place of the old coronation hall, the last inauguration being that of the Chevalier de St. George (James III.) in 1715. On that occasion two swords (of iron) were used to represent those of Justice and Mercy, and these were destroyed by the fire in the Tower of London, where they had been deposited.

This curious fact is established by a pardon afterwards issued by Edward I., upon the intercession, as he states, "of his beloved Queen Margaret, to Galfredus de Coigners, who is therein stated to have concealed and kept a certain coronal of gold, with which Robert the Bruce, enemy and rebel of the king, had caused himself to be crowned in our kingdom of Scotland."

From this it appears that the ancient crown of Scotland was not in Bruce's possession when he went through the ceremony of coronation in 1306; and that the *coronal* used on that occasion fell into the hands of Edward in the following year. The former must, therefore, have been made at a later period, when Bruce was established in the sovereignty of Scotland, after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Among other reasons for substantiating this opinion, Sir Walter Scott remarks that it is not likely Bruce, highly valuing that independence which his own valour had secured for Scotland, would suffer her long to remain without the emblem of royalty proper to a free state, especially without a crown, which in all countries of Europe was regarded as the most unalienable mark of royal dignity. It may, indeed, be asked why, in the course of Bruce's triumphant negotiations with England, he did not demand restitution of the ancient regalia carried off by Edward in 1306, as we know that by the Treaty of Northampton he stipulated the restoration of the stone called Jacob's Pillar, used at the coronation, and of various documents which had relation to the independence of Scotland; but as no allusion is made to the ancient crown of Scotland, it was not likely to have been in existence, having been probably destroyed for the sake of the precious materials of which it was formed.

The present crown of Scotland, exhibited among the regalia of Scotland in Edinburgh Castle, may, therefore, be fairly presumed to date from the time of Robert Bruce. It is said in style to correspond with the state of the jeweller's art in the early part of the fourteenth century. It was worn by David II., son of Robert Bruce, on his accession in 1329, and notwithstanding the troublous periods that ensued, there occurs no instance of the Scottish regalia having been in possession of an enemy or usurper, so that the present crown remained unaltered from the days of Bruce to the accession of James V., who added two imperial arches, rising from the circle and crossing each other, and closing at the top in a

mound of gold, again surmounted by a large cross *patée*, ornamented with pearls and bearing the characters I.R.V. Three additional arches are attached to the original crown by tacks of gold, and there is some inferiority in the quality of the metal. The gold employed was from the mine of Crawford Moor, and an entry in the "Compotus" of Kirkaldy, of Grange, treasurer, states the payment made to the goldsmith "for making and fashioning the king's crown, weighing three pounds ten ounces: gold of the mine given out to him, forty ounces and a quarter; the goldsmith being paid for working it thirty pounds. In this royal crown were set twenty-two stones, of which three were great garnets, and one great ammerot (emerald)."

It is also stated in the "Compotus" that "the crown was delivered to the king's grace at Holyrood House."* A charge appears in the same accounts for a case for the king's new crown, and one Thomas Arthur had "half an ell of rich *purple* velvet given to him to make a cap for the inside of the new crown." This bonnet, or tiara, worn under the crown, is now of crimson velvet turned up with ermine.

During the time of Queen Mary's troubles, scandalous dilapidations were made upon the crown jewels; the regalia, however, escaped the general plunder, and appear at this period to have been preserved, for purposes of security, at Stirling Castle. Mary was crowned at Stirling (September 9, 1543), and thus the royal crown assumes additional interest from having been worn on this occasion—one of peculiar and romantic circumstances, inasmuch as Mary, at this period, had barely completed her ninth month when she was taken from her cradle, enveloped in royal robes, and carried from her nursery in Stirling Castle by her lord keepers and officers of state, in solemn procession to the stately

* In the same "Compotus" are some items of sums connected with the Scottish crown. The preparations for the coronation of Mary of Lorraine, consort of King James, were commenced in October, 1539, when thirty-five ounces of "gold of the mine" (Crawford Moor) were given out from the royal stores "for making the queen's crown." The entries now become numerous of goldsmith's work for fashioning ornaments which were to be worn at the approaching coronation. The metal of these jewels is especially noted as "gold of the mynd." John Mossman, the king's goldsmith, received thirty-one ounces of silver to make a sceptre for the queen against her coronation; and four rose-nobles were given out of the treasury to gild the sceptre. The fashion of the queen's sceptre and the making cost £7 15s.

church adjacent, where she was invested with the symbols of sovereignty.

Twenty-four years after this event, the Scottish regalia is again brought into prominent notice on the coronation of James VI. (July 29, 1567) at Stirling, when, as appears from the records of the Privy Council, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, "delivered into his hands the Sword and Sceptre, and put the Crown Royal upon his head with all due reverence, ceremonies, and circumstances, used and accustomed."

The union of England with Scotland by the accession of this monarch to the united crowns, would seem to have left the latter regal badge without any distinctive use; but it was found necessary by Charles I. to indulge his Scottish subjects with the ceremony of national inauguration, and, finding that the Scottish regalia could not be sent to London without violation of the independent rights of the people it mostly concerned, he judged it necessary to visit Scotland in person (June 18, 1633), when he was royally invested after the accustomed manner. Charles II. was crowned at Scone (January 1, 1661), "but the events which followed were fraught with so much danger to the existence of royalty and all its emblems," that it became necessary to take measures for the preservation of the regalia from a foreign enemy. In 1661 the rapid advance of the English arms rendered it necessary that the Scottish regalia should be transported to some remote place of strength and security, more free from the chances of war than the royal castles; and Dunnottar, a strong and baronial fortress, built on an insulated rock which projects into the German Ocean, was selected for this purpose. The order of Parliament is in these words:—"Instrumentis taken by the Erle Mareschal upoun the production of the honouris [regalia], with his dessyre represented to the Parliament, that the same might be put in sum pairt of securitie; his Majestie and Parliament ordaines the said Erle Mareschal to caus transport the saidis honouris to the hous of Dunnottar, thair to be keepit by him till further ordouris."

A garrison was placed for the protection of the castle of Dunnottar (July 8, 1661), under the command of George Ogilvie, of Barras, a conscientious soldier, who, when pressed by the Committee of Estates to deliver up the regalia, refused compliance, on the plea that the instructions were so worded as not to relieve him of any responsibility which this

important charge had imposed upon him. The lord chancellor, to whom the case was referred, gave him the best advice he could, which was "that the Honours of the Crowne should be speedilye and safelie transported to some remote and strong castle, or hold, in the Highlands."

The danger being imminent, the castle having been repeatedly summoned by Lambert to surrender, Ogilvie wrote a letter to King Charles, requesting that a vessel might be sent to Dunnottar, with a person properly authorized to receive the regalia, and transport them beyond seas. This was not possible, and a close blockade of the castle took place; the safety of the regalia became a matter of paramount interest, and in this, female ingenuity displayed itself, as it often does on extreme occasions. The countess dowager marischal, by birth daughter to John, Earl of Mar, was probably the author of a scheme to accomplish this. The immediate agent was Christian Fletcher, wife of the Rev. James Grainger, minister of Kineff, a small parish church within four or five miles of the castle of Dunnottar, who obtained from the English general permission to pay a visit to the governor's lady. Mrs. Ogilvie acted in concert with the countess marischal, but it was agreed that her husband should not be admitted into the secret, in order that upon the surrender of the castle, an event now considered as inevitable, he might be enabled to declare, with truth, that he neither knew when, how, nor to what place the regalia had been removed.

"In compliance with the scheme adopted, Mrs. Grainger took the crown in her lap, and, on her return, the English general himself helped her to her horse, which she left in the camp, as the castle cannot be approached on horseback. Her maid followed her on foot, bearing the sword and sceptre concealed in *hards*, as they are called, that is, bundles of lint, which Mrs. Grainger pretended were to be spun into thread. They passed through the English blockading army without being discovered. From thence she transported the precious objects of the regalia to Kineff, and put them under the charge of her husband, James Grainger, who gave the countess marischal the account of their secret deposition:—

"I, Mr. James Grainger, minister at Kineff, grant me to have in my custody the Honours of the Kingdom, viz. the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword. For the Crown and Sceptre I raised the pavement-stone just before the pulpit, in the night tyme, and digged under it ane hole, and put them in there, and filled up the hole, and layed down the stone just as it was before, and removed the mould that remained, that none would have discerned the stone to have been raised at all; the sword, again, at the west end of the church among some common seits that stand there, I

digged down in the ground, betwixt the two foremost of these seits, and laid it down within the case of it, and covered it up, so removing the superfluous mould, it could not be discerned by anybody, and if it shall please God to call me by death before they be called for, your ladyship will find them in that place.'

"The regalia were transferred to Mr. Grainger some time in the month of March, and in May following (1652) Ogilvie was obliged to surrender Dunnottar Castle to the republican general, Dean. He obtained honourable articles of capitulation, but when it was found he could give no account of the regalia, he and his lady were treated with extreme severity, dragged from one place of confinement to another, and subjected to fines and sequestrations to extort from them this important secret. The lady's health gave way under these afflictions, and she died within two years after the surrender of the castle, still keeping the important secret, and with her last breath exhorting her husband to maintain his trust inviolable. Tradition says that the minister and his wife also fell under the suspicion of the ruling powers, and that they were severally examined, and even tortured, but without any information being extorted from them.

"The address of the countess marischal at length put the enemy on a false scent. She caused a report to be spread abroad that the regalia, on being secretly removed from Dunnottar were put into the hands of her youngest son, the Hon. Sir John Keith, who went abroad at that time, and whom she adroitly caused to write letters to his friends in Scotland, congratulating himself on having safely conveyed the crown, sceptre, and sword of state out of that kingdom. Sir John Keith returning shortly afterwards, he was examined closely on the fate of the regalia. At every risk to himself, he persisted in the patriotic falsehood, that he had himself carried them to Paris to King Charles. This feint having fortunately succeeded, the Scottish regalia remained safe in their secure place of concealment, visited from time to time by the faithful clergyman and his wife, for the purpose of renewing the cloths in which they were wrapped, to save them from damp and other injury."

On the Restoration, Charles II. created Captain Ogilvie a baronet, with a new blazon of arms and a more favourable charter of the lands of Barras, in which his distinguished services are set forth, and the promise of a pension was made but not kept. The king, however, told Lord Ogilvie, when advocating his kinsman's claims, that Lady Keith had assured him that she alone, and her son Kintore, had preserved the regalia; whereupon he had made the latter a peer, with a salary of £400 a year.

Sir George Ogilvie's family were, doubtless, very indignant at the treatment he had received, the preservation of the regalia being attributed, in Nisbet's "*Heraldry*," to the exertions of the earl marischal only. Sir William Ogilvie, to vindicate his father, published "*A true Account of the pre-*

servation of the regalia of Scotland from falling into the hands of the English usurpers, by Sir George Ogilvie, with the blazon of that family" (4to, Edinburgh, 1701). The Earl of Kintore contended that the contents were a libel on his family, and the matter being brought before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, Sir William was fined for a mere recital of facts, and the brochure was ordered to be publicly burnt by the common hangman at the Cross of Edinburgh. This, however, did not deter him from printing immediately afterwards, "A clear vindication and just defence for the publishing of the fore-going account, with other remarkable and observable passages relating to, and confirming the truth of it; for truth seeks no corners, fears no discovery, and justice is no respecter of persons."

Sir Walter Scott, in a letter to Mr. Croker (February 8, 1818), adverting to the regalia, remarked, "Thus it happened, oddly enough, that Keith who was abroad during the transaction, and had nothing to do with it, got the earldom, pension, etc., Ogilvie only inferior honours." Mr. William Bell, in a "Memoir" presented in 1819 to the Bannatyne Club, justly observes, "Charles II. seems to have distributed his rewards with more regard to rank and influence than justice."

The Graingers were not forgotten. An Act of Parliament in favour of Christian Fletcher states, "For as much as the Estates of Parliamen doe understand that Christian Fletcher, spouse to Mr. James Grainger, minister of Kenneth, was most active in conveying the royal Honours, his Majesties Crown, Sword, and Sceptre, out of the Castle of Dunottar immediately before it was rendered to the English usurpers, and that be the care of the same wes hid and preserved: Thairfore the King's Majestie, with advice of his Estates in Parliament doe appoint *two thousand merks* Scots to be forthwith paid unto her be His Majestie's thesaurer, out of the readiest of His Majestie's rents, as a testimony of their sence of her service."

The regalia of Scotland continued to be produced in public, as formerly, during the sittings of the Scottish Parliament down to the Union, when, a report having been current that these emblems of national sovereignty were to be removed to London, the party who opposed the Union proposed an addition to the twenty-fourth article of the treaty, by which it should be enacted that "the Crown,

Sceptre, and Sword of State, Records of Parliament, etc., continue to be kept as they are, in that part of the United Kingdom, now called Scotland, and that they shall so remain in all time coming, notwithstanding of the Union" (January 14, 1707). This stipulation was adopted by the ministerial party; yet it appears that Government judged these emblems, connected with so many galling and hostile recollections of past events, could be no safe spectacle for the public eye, while men's minds were agitated by the supposed degradation of Scotland beneath her ancient enemy. When the Scottish Parliament was finally dissolved, the earl marischal was called upon, as formerly, to surrender the custody of the regalia to the Commissioners of the Treasury; but he declined appearing in person at what he considered a humiliating occasion, and delegated William Wilson, one of the under clerks of Session, "to deliver the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State to the Commissioners, to be by them lodged in the Crown room of Edinburgh Castle." This ceremony took place, March 26, 1707, when the regalia were deposited in the chest, which was their usual receptacle, and secured by three strong locks. The *Crown-room* is a strong vaulted apartment, its chimney and windows well secured by iron stanchels, and the entrance protected by two doors, one of oak, and one formed of iron bars, both fastened with bolts, bars, and locks of great strength.

In 1794 the crown-room was opened by special warrant from the king, to search for certain records connected with Scotland; but none were found, and nothing was observed but the chest in which the regalia had been deposited, which the commissioners did not think themselves authorized to open. The room was again shut and secured.

According to Scott, "an odd mystery hung about this chest and the fate of these royal symbols of national independence." It had become generally apprehended that, contrary to the provision in the Act of Union, they had been transferred to London. During Sir Walter's conversation with George IV., when regent, he mentioned the subject of the regalia, which greatly excited his Royal Highness's curiosity.

In the year 1817 the prince regent, considering that all political reasons for withdrawing from the people of Scotland the sight of the ancient symbols of her independence had long ceased to exist, gave directions for removing the mystery which had so long existed with regard to the Scottish

regalia. A commission was appointed, of which Sir Walter Scott was an active member (February 1, 1818), and the lid of the great chest in the crown-room was forced, the keys having been lost. The regalia were discovered in the same state in which they had been deposited there in 1707. With the sword of state and sceptre was found another rod, or mace, of silver, with a globe at the top—the mace of office of the lord high treasurer of Scotland. Upon the discovery of the regalia, the royal flag was hoisted upon the castle, and greeted by the shouts of a numerous crowd assembled on the hill.* Orders were at once given for the safe custody of the regalia, which were committed to the officers of state by

* It appears that all classes in Scotland had exhibited the most anxious and lively curiosity, but no one would seem to have been more excited than Sir Walter Scott himself. His daughter relates that, accompanying him a day after the chest had been opened, to see the regalia, she heard him utter an exclamation, in a tone of the deepest emotion, something between anger and despair, "No." It appears that one of the commissioners, not quite entering into the solemnity with which Scott regarded the business, had made a sort of motion as if he meant to place the crown on the head of one of the young ladies. The gentleman at once laid down the crown with an air of painful embarrassment. Scott whispered to him, "Pray forgive me." Very different from this feeling was that evinced by the Earl of Seafeld, chancellor, when the sceptre of Scotland performed its last grand legislative function of ratifying the Treaty of Union, namely, touching the document, the ancient mode of confirming Acts of Parliament in Scotland. His lordship, on returning the sceptre and Act to the clerk, is reported to have said, "There is an end to an old song."

In the "Record of a Girlhood," by Frances Ann Kemble, we read: "Sir Walter Scott told me that when the Scottish regalia was discovered, in its obscure place of security in Edinburgh Castle, pending the decision of Government as to its ultimate destination, a committee of gentlemen were appointed its guardians, among whom he was one; and that he received a most urgent entreaty from an old lady of the Maxwell family to be permitted to see it. She was nearly ninety years old, and feared she might not live till the crown jewels of Scotland were permitted to become objects of public exhibition, and pressed Sir Walter Scott with importunate prayers to allow her to see them before she died. Sir Walter's good sense and good nature alike induced him to take upon himself to grant the poor lady's petition, and he conducted her into the presence of these relics of her country's independent sovereignty; when, he said, tottering hastily forward from his support, she fell on her knees before the crown, and clasping and wringing her wrinkled hands, wailed over it as a mother over her dead child. His description of the scene was infinitely pathetic, and it must have appealed to all his own poetical and imaginative sympathy with the former glories of his native land."

a warrant under the great seal, with power to appoint a deputy-keeper and yeoman-keepers of the regalia, and to establish regulations for the safe exhibition of them to the public. Captain Adam Ferguson (son of the historian), an old Peninsula officer, was appointed deputy-keeper, with two non-commissioned officers under him, their uniform being that of the ancient yeomen of the guard.

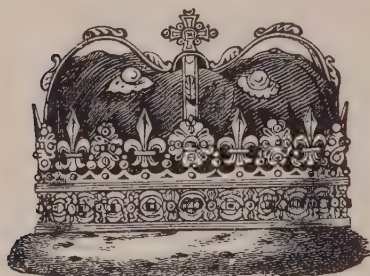
On the visit of George IV. to Scotland in August, 1822, the regalia were conveyed from the castle to Holyrood House, by the Duke of Hamilton, escorted by yeomanry and Highlanders, amid the sound of their bagpipes, and submitted to his Majesty. In the grand state procession of the king from Holyrood House to the castle (the cavalcade wearing dresses of satin and velvet of the time of Charles I., mounted on Arab horses richly caparisoned with Turkish saddles and bridles), the sceptre was carried by the Honourable John Stewart Morton, and the crown by the Duke of Hamilton, in right of his ancient earldom of Angus, on the crimson cushion found with the regalia, which he occasionally elevated, so as to be seen by the assembled multitude, who hailed the diadem of their sovereign with loud acclamation.

Previously to the departure of his Majesty, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Ferguson, and the office of earl marischal, which had been forfeited by the second Earl of Kintore, in consequence of his taking part in the insurrection in 1715, upon Sir Alexander Keith of Dunnottar and Ravelston, as the representative of the ancient earls marischal; but no honours or benefits were bestowed upon the Ogilvies.

It seems that the regalia suffered very little injury during the strange vicissitudes to which they had been exposed. Two or three sockets in the crown, which had once been filled with precious stones, like those to which they correspond, are now empty, and three counterfeit stones, or doublets, may be remarked among those which remain in the setting. The head of the sceptre has been bent a little to one side, and seems to have been broken, and awkwardly mended at some early period. The handle and scabbard of the sword of state are also somewhat broken, but it is remarkable that these very imperfections are noticed in an act of the Privy Council (July 10, 1621), when the regalia were narrowly examined, for the purpose of discharging the heir of Sir Gideon Murray

of Elibank of the keeping of the said honours, which had been in his father's possession as deputy-treasurer of Scotland.*

The CROWN OF SCOTLAND is of pure gold, and has a broad band which encircles the head, adorned with twenty-two



The Crown of Scotland.

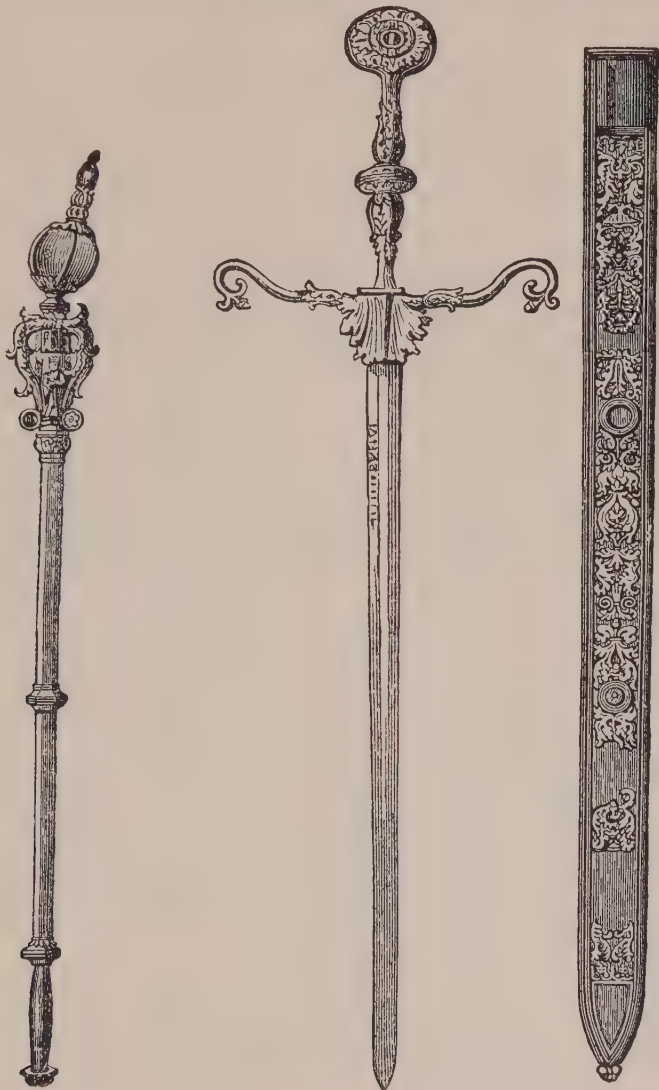
precious stones, between each of which is a large Oriental pearl. Above the great circle is a smaller one, fronted with twenty points, having diamonds and imitation sapphires disposed alternately; the points are all decorated with pearls at the top. The upper circle is raised into ten crosses *florées*, each having in the centre a

large diamond between four pearls placed in cross *saltire*, and these cross *florées* are intermingled with the fleurs-de-lys which surmount the points of the second small circle. From the upper circle rise the four arches added to the crown by James V., as before mentioned, adorned with enamelled figures which meet and close at the top, surmounted with a globe and cross *patée*. In the centre of the cross *patée* is an amethyst which points the front of the crown, and behind, on the other side, is a large pearl, below which are the

* The description is very precise, and deserves to be quoted at length. It bears that "Thay [the Lords of the Privy Council] sighted the saidis honouris and remarkit the same verie narrowlie and fand that the crowne had in the neder circle nyne garnittis, and four jasientis, three counterfute emeraulds, four am at ystis, twentie.twa pearle: abone the neder circle sax small thine triangle diamontis, ten small triangle challoms filled with blew amalyne in steade of stones, twa small emptie challoms, having no thing in tham bot the black tent, and twa challoms with twa flatt quhyte stones with the boddom upmost, nixt abone the small challoms nynteen grite aun small ray pearle, and within the Roise, betwix the Flour de Luce thretty-five pearle, sum less sum more, with ten quhyte stones in the middis thair of, in the four quartaris of the bouett of the crowne four pearle sett in four pecis of garniscene of gold enamald, and in the croce abone the crowne, ane amatist and aught pearle, and that the sceptour was in three pecis, haveing ane pearle in the top, and ane crystell globe benethe the heade quhair of hes been brokin, and mendit with wyre, and the siwerd had the plumbett bersit and brokin with ane voyde place in everie syde thair of, and the scabart thair of riven bersit and brokine, wanting sum pecis out of it."

initials I.R.V. The crown is nine inches in diameter, and six inches high from the under circle to the top of the cross.

The SCEPTRE was made for James V. It is a slender



Sceptre of James V.

Sword of State and Scabbard.

and elegant rod of silver, double gilt, two feet long, of a hexagonal form, and divided by three buttons or knobs.



Rod of
office.

Between the first and second button is the handle; from the second to the capital three sides are engraved, the other three are plain. Upon the top of the stock is an antique capital of embossed leaves, supporting three small figures representing the Virgin Mary, Saint Andrew, and Saint James. The ornamented niches in which these small figures are placed, are again surmounted by a crystal globe, of two inches and a quarter in diameter, and again by a small oval globe, topped with an Oriental pearl. Under the figures are the initials I.R.V. The whole length of the sceptre is thirty-four inches. Sir Walter Scott thought it probable that James V. had the sceptre made when he was in France in 1536, judging from the workmanship.

The SWORD OF STATE is five feet long, and of elegant workmanship. The handle and pommel are silver gilt, and fifteen inches in length; the traverse, or cross, represented by two dolphins, whose heads join at the handle, is seventeen inches and a half. On the blade is indented, in gold letters, "Julius II. P." a present from that pope to James IV. The scabbard is of crimson velvet, richly ornamented with filagree work and silver, the prevailing work being oak-leaves and acorns, which were the emblems of Pope Julius II.

It seems that James V. received a sword and hat from Pope Clement VII., which had been consecrated upon the night of the Nativity, in order that it might breed a terror in a neighbouring wicked prince (Henry VIII.), against whom the legate declared this holy weapon was sharpened. Accordingly, in subsequent lists of King James's regalia, we find two swords of honour repeatedly mentioned, but only the sword presented by Pope Julius is now in existence.*

* Lesley, in his "History of Scotland," thus relates this incident: "Julius the Secound, Paip for the tyme, sent ane ambassadour to the King, declaring him to be Protecteur and Defendour of Christen faythe, and in signe thairof send unto him ane purpour diadame wrocht with flouris of golde, withe ane

The lord treasurer's ROD OF OFFICE is of silver gilt, curiously wrought.

By order of William IV. the following jewels were placed in the crown-room (December 18, 1830), being a bequest by Cardinal York, the last male descendant of James VII., to George IV. :—

A gold collar of the Order of the Garter, being that presented by Queen Elizabeth to James VI. on his creation as a knight.

The Saint George, or badge of the Order of the Garter, of gold richly enamelled, and set with diamonds; being that probably worn by James, appendant to the collar.

The Saint Andrew, having one side the image of the saint, finely cut on an onyx, set round with diamonds; on the other, the badge of the thistle, with a secret opening, under which is placed a fine miniature of Queen Anne of Denmark.

A ruby ring, set round with diamonds, being the coronation ring of Charles I.

sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold sett with precious stanes."

In Thomson's "Collection of Inventories" we find among the treasures left by James V. of Scotland, "the Hatt that cam fra the Paipe [Clement VII.], of gray velvett with the Haly Gaist sett all with orient perle"—the mystical cap, or diadem, blessed at Rome by the successor of St. Peter at Christmas Eve.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CORONATION CHAIR AND THE KINGSTON STONE.

"Is the *chair* empty? Is the sword unswayed?
Is the king dead?"

"A base, foul *stone*, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair, where he is falsely set."

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard the Third*.

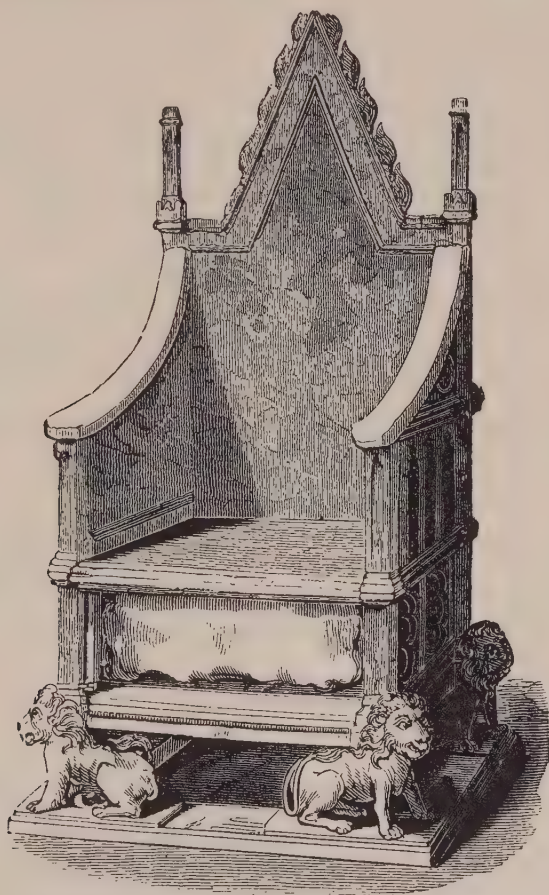


VERY marvellous history is attached to the famous CORONATION CHAIR in St. Edward's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, in which our sovereigns have been consecrated since the time of the first Edward. Holinshed gives us the history of one Gathelus, a Greek, who brought from Egypt into Spain the identical stone on which the patriarch Jacob slept and poured oil at Luz.* He was "the sonne

of Cecrops, who builded the city of Athens;" but having married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, he resided some time in Egypt, from whence he was induced to remove into the west by the judgments pronounced on that country by Moses. "In Spain, having peace with his neighbors, he builded a

* Probably the setting up of a stone by Jacob, in grateful memory of the celestial vision, became the occasion of idolatry in succeeding ages, to those shapeless masses of unhewn stone of which so many astonishing remains are scattered through the Asiatic and European world. In Maurice's "Indian Antiquities" we find some notices of "anoined" stones; also in Tavernier's "Travels," where, describing a black stone idol in the pagoda of Benares, he adds that one of the principal ceremonies of the priests of the stone deities was to anoint them daily with odoriferous oils.

citie called Brigantia [Compostella], where he sat upon his marble stone, gave lawes, and ministred justice unto his people, thereby to maintaine them in wealth and quietnesse." And "hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in



Coronation chair in Westminster Abbey.

Ireland, and then in Scotland, the Kings which ruled over the Scotchmen received the crowne sittinge upon that stone, untill the time of Robert the First, King of Scotland." In another part of his "*Historie of Scotland*," Holinshed mentions

King Simon Brech as having transmitted this stone to Ireland about seven hundred years before the birth of Christ, and that "the first Fergus" brought it out of Ireland, B.C. 330.

The Mahometans, however, declare that Jacob's stone was conveyed to the Temple of Jerusalem, and is still preserved in the mosque there, and is called the "stone of unction."

Another story is told by some of the Irish historians, that the Liagh Fail, or stone of destiny, was brought into Ireland by a colony of Scythians, and had the property of giving forth sounds whenever any of the monarchs of the Scythian race seated themselves upon it.* Hector Boece (died 1536) notices a prophecy, which, translated from the Irish, runs thus:—

"Unless the fixed decrees of fate give way,
The Scots shall govern and the sceptre sway
Where'er this stone they find, and its dread sound obey."

Of the coronation stone, and its removal from Scotland, Drayton thus makes mention in his "Polyolbion" (seventeenth song):—

"Our Longshanks, Scotland's scourge, who to the Orcads raught,
His sceptre; and with him from wild Albania brought
The reliques of her crown (by him first placed here),
The seat on which her kings inaugurated were."

The value attached to the stone brought by Edward I. from Scone, was due in a great measure to the legend of "Scota, the fairy princess." The following lines from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library show one form of the ancient fancy:—

"En Egipte Moise a le poeple precha,
Scota la file fata ou bien l'escota,
Quare il dite en espirite, qui ceste pierre avera
De molt estraunge terre conquerour serra."

* "Nor ought we to pass by unmentioned," writes Sir James Ware, "that fatal stone anciently called *Liafail*, brought into Ireland by the *Tuath-de Danaus*, and from thence in the reign of *Moriertach Mac Erc*, sent into Argile by his brother Fergus, but which was afterwards enclosed in a wooden chair by King Keneth, to serve in the coronation solemnities of the King of Scotland, and deposited in the monastery of Scone, from whence it was at length removed to Westminster by Edward I. Wonderful things are reported of this stone, but what credibility they deserve, I leave to the judgment of others. In particular fame reports, that in the time of heathenism, before the birth of Christ, he only was confirmed monarch of Ireland, under whom, being placed on it, *this stone groaned, or spoke*, according to the Book of *Hoath*."

Apart from legendary history, the interest of the coronation stone is sufficiently ancient to claim for it an especial regard. It is to be traced, on the best authorities, into Ireland; whence it had been brought into Scotland, and had become of great notoriety in Argyleshire, some time before the reign of King Kenneth, A.D. 834. This monarch found it at Dunstaffnage, a royal castle, enclosed it in a wooden chair, and removed it to the abbey of Scone, where for four hundred and fifty years "all Kingis of Scotland" (says Hector Boece) "war ay crownit quhil y^e tyme of Kyng Robert Bruse. In quhais tyme, besyde mony othir crueltis done be Kyng Edward Lang Schankis, the said chiar of merbyll wes taikin be Inglismen, and brocht out of Scone to London, and put into Westmonistar, quhaer it remains to our dayis."

Edward left it as an offering of conquest at the shrine of the Confessor. In the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xiii.) is an interesting article on Edward I.'s spoliations in Scotland, A.D. 1296, by the late Joseph Hunter. From it we find that the king took the castle of Edinburgh at the beginning of June, and we also learn from an inventory that three coffers containing plate and jewelled vessels were sent to Westminster. At the beginning of August he visited the abbey of Scone, where he found the "fatal stone" enclosed in a chair. As to what became of the latter there are no documents to afford information. Of the former, however, mention is made in several inventories of "una petra magna super quam reges Scociæ solebant coronari." The king intended in the first instance to make the chair in bronze, and one Adam, the king's workman, had actually begun it; indeed, some parts were even finished, and tools bought for the cleaning up of the casting. However, the king changed his mind, and we have, accordingly, one hundred shillings paid for a chair in wood, made after the same pattern as the one which was to be cast in copper; also 13s. 4d. for carving, painting, and gilding two small leopards in wood, which were delivered to Master Walter the painter, to be placed upon and on either side of the chair made by him. The wardrobe account of the 29th Edward I. enables us to follow the progress of the work, for Master Walter is there paid £1 19s. 7d. for "making a step at the foot of the new chair in which the Scottish stone is placed near the altar, before the shrine of St. Edward, and for the wages of the carpenters

and of the painters, and for colours and gold employed; also for the making of a covering to cover the said chair." The present step and lions are modern work.

The step may have been a sort of platform, occupying that space at the extreme west of the Confessor's chapel which is now unpaved. The destination of the chair appears to have been very clear, from the following entry by a contemporary hand in the inventory of the last year of Edward's reign:—"Mittebatur per preceptum regis usque abbatium de Westmonasterio ad assedendum ibidem juxta feretrum St Edwardi in quadam cathedra lignea deaurata quam Rex fieri precepit (ut Reges Angliæ et Scociæ infra sederent die coronationis eorundem) ad perpetuam rei memoriam." Walsingham, however, says, "Jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." Most probably both accounts are true, and in Walsingham's time it might have formed a seat for the priest who officiated at the altar of St. Edward.

The next thing we hear of the stone is contained in a royal writ of July 1, 1328, addressed to the abbot and monks of Westminster, saying that the council had come to the determination to give up the stone, and enjoining them to deliver it to the sheriff of London, to be carried to the queen mother. This resolution was not, however, carried out.

At the period when Camden wrote his history, the following lines were to be seen on a tablet that hung by the royal stone:—

*"Si quid habent veri vel chronica, cana fidesse,
Clauditur hac cathedra nobilis ecce lapis;
Ad caput eximius Jacob quondam patriarcha
Quem posuit,* cernens numina mira poli.*

* "We were then conveyed to the two coronation chairs, where my old friend (Sir Roger de Coverley) after having heard that the stone underneath the most ancient of them, which was brought from Scotland, was called Jacob's pillow, sat himself down in the chair; and looking like the figure of an old Gothic king, asked our interpreter what authority they had to say that Jacob had ever been in Scotland? The fellow, instead of returning him an answer, told him that he hoped his honour would pay the forfeit. I could observe Sir Roger a little ruffled at being thus trepanned; but our guide not insisting upon his demand, the knight soon recovered his good humour, and whispered in my ear, that if Will Wimble were with us, and saw those two chairs, it would go hard but he would get a tobacco-stopper out of one or t'other of them."—Addison.

In the "Citizen of the World" Goldsmith has a sarcasm at the chair: "Look ye there, gentlemen," said the attendant, pointing to an old oak

Quem tulit ex Scotis spoliatus quasio victor honoris
Edwardus Primus, Mars belat armipotens,
Scotorum domitor, noster validissimus Hector,
Anglorum decus, et gloria militiæ."

This "stone from Scotland" is described by Brayley (Neale's "Westminster Abbey") as bearing much resemblance to the dun stones, such as are brought from Dundee for various purposes, of an oblong form, but irregular, measuring twenty-six inches in length, sixteen inches and three-quarters in breadth, and ten inches and a half in thickness. With regard to its traditional Egyptian origin, "it is remarkable," observes Planché, "that the substances composing it accord in the grains with the sienite of Pliny, the same as Pompey's (or more properly Diocletian's) Pillar at Alexandria, but the particles are much smaller." These substances are stated in Neale to be chiefly quartz, with light and red coloured felspar, light and dark mica, with probably some green hornblende intermixed; some fragments of a reddish-grey clay slate, or schist, are likewise included in its composition, and on the upper side there is also a dark-brownish red-coloured flinty pebble.

From a "Geological Account of the Coronation Stone," by Professor Ramsay, printed by Dean Stanley in "Memorials of Westminster Abbey" (pp. 499, 500), it appears that "the stone is a dull reddish or purplish sandstone, strongly resembling that of the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle, which was probably built of the stone of the neighbourhood. It is extremely improbable that it was derived from the rocks of the Hill of Tara, from whence it is said to have been transported to Scotland, neither could it have been taken from the rocks of Iona. That it belonged originally to the rocks round Bethel is equally unlikely; while Egypt is not known to furnish any strata similar to the red sandstone of the coronation stone."

The tablet to which I have alluded has long since disappeared. Of the chair of Kenneth no remains have ever been heard of, nor does it appear from the historians that

chair; "there's a curiosity for ye! In that chair the kings of England were crowned. You see also a stone underneath, and that stone is Jacob's pillar!' I could see no curiosity either in the oak chair or the stone; could I, indeed, behold one of the old kings of England seated in this, or Jacob's head laid on the other, there might be something curious in the sight."

Edward brought it to London with the stone, though it is not improbable that he did so, and the mention in the wardrobe accounts of the *new* chair rather supports the belief that the writer was cognizant of an old one. In that case the distich might have been carved on the Scotch chair. It was not very likely to have been copied upon the English one.* There is, however, a rectangular groove, or indent, measuring fourteen by nine inches, and from one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch in depth on the upper surface of the stone, into which perhaps a metal plate so inscribed might have been fixed with cement or melted lead, and at one corner of the groove is a small cross, slightly cut. Of the very ancient existence of the prophecy there can be no doubt, and the belief in it is said to have reconciled many of the Scottish nation to the union with this country. The CHAIR is of solid oak, and still firm and sound, though much disfigured by wanton mutilations, as well as the hand of time. Immediately under the flat seat the STONE rests upon a kind of middle frame, supported at the corners by four crouching lions on a bottom frame or plinth. These lions are clumsily executed, and are supposed to have been first attached after the original step mentioned in the wardrobe account had been destroyed. A new face was made to one of them during the preparations for the coronation of George IV. All around, on a level with the stone, ran formerly a beautiful piece of tracery in quarterly divisions, each containing a small shield, originally emblazoned, but there are no vestiges of the arms sufficiently distinct to be recognized. Of these shields only four out of ten remain, two at the back, and two on the left side. All the rest have been broken away, and

* There is some reason to suppose that there were two stones at Scone: the stone of fate, now at Westminster, and a stone chair in which it would seem the stone of fate was placed when the kings were to be inaugurated. Nothing is more certain than that King Edward I. carried the stone of fate to Westminster in 1296. Yet, in 1306, we read that King Robert Bruce was placed in the royal seat at Scone—"in sede positus Regali." So also, after King Robert II. had been crowned and anointed at Scone (March 25, 1371), we have record of his sitting next day on the moorhill of Scone. We learn elsewhere that the moorhill was on the north side of the monastery of Scone, outside the churchyard. This distinction between the stone of fate and the stone chair may explain away the difficulties which suggest themselves in the way of applying the descriptions of some of the Scottish chronicles to the oblong block of stone now at Westminster.

even the tracery itself is entirely gone in front, so that the stone is there fully exposed to view. The back is terminated by a high pediment, along each angle of which are five crockets; but these, as well as the moulding whereon they are mounted, are of inferior workmanship to the rest of the chair, and of subsequent addition. Along each side of the pediment is a smooth flat division, about three inches broad, which appears to have contained a number of small pieces of metal, probably with armorial bearings enamelled upon them. The whole chair has been completely covered with gilding and ornamental work, much of which may yet be distinguished on a close inspection. On the inside of the back are some faint traces of a male figure in a royal robe, a small portion of the bottom of which, together with a foot and shoe (the latter somewhat sharp pointed), are still visible; but they were much more so within memory. Below the elbow on the left side is distinguishable a running pattern of oak leaves and worms, with red-breasts and falcons on the oaken sprays in alternate order; a different pattern of diapered work is shown on the right side, as well as within the tiers of panelled niches which adorn the outer side and back of the chair.

Within the spandrils connected with the upper tier of arches at the back, small sprigs were formerly depicted on a metallic ground, either gilt or silvered, and covered with plain or coloured glass, as may yet be seen in three or four places. The diapering within the panels, as far as can now be traced, was formed of running patterns of vine and oak branches. The entire height of the chair is six feet nine inches; breadth at the bottom, three feet two inches; width, two inches; breadth of the seat, two feet five inches; depth of the seat, one foot six inches; from the seat to the ground, two feet three and a half inches; height of the elbows, one foot two inches.*

Queen Mary appears to have been the only exception of the monarchs who have occupied this chair at their coronation, since the time of Edward I. A chair is reported to have been blessed and sent her by the Pope for her consecration.

* The coronation stone is noticed at considerable length by Dr. W. F. Skene and Dr. John Stuart in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland*. See also the "Coronation Stone," by the former, published at Edinburgh by Edmonston and Douglas, with illustrations.

At the coronation of our sovereigns this venerable chair of the "fatal stone" is covered in cloth of gold. It was arrayed at the installation of Charles II., and from this practice is shamefully disfigured with all sorts of nails, tacks, and brass pins, which have been driven in to fasten the cloth of gold, or tissue, upon that and subsequent occasions. The use of the Scottish stone is first expressly mentioned at the coronation of Henry IV., October 13, 1399.

Since the time of Edward I. this stone has only been moved once from the abbey, when Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall; then the "Chair of Scotland" was brought there for that special occasion. "It was," says Prestwick in his account of Cromwell's installation, "set under a prince-like canopy of state."

"The Coronation Chair," says Dean Stanley, "is the one primeval monument which binds together the whole empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations. It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy—an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which, like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct; a link which unites the Throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona, and connects the character of our complex civilization with the forces of our mother earth,—the stocks and stones of savage nature."

An allusion may be made to the marble seat in Westminster Hall, on which our early kings used to sit and administer justice; hence it was called the "King's Bench." "At the upper end of this hall," writes Stow, "there is a long marble stone of twelve feet in length and three feet in breadth. And there is also a marble chair where the Kings of England formerly sate at their coronation dinners, and, at other solemn times, the lord chancellor: but now not to be seen, being built over by the two courts of Chancery and King's Bench." There are several instances of sovereigns who are recorded as sitting in the marble chair. Henry VII. was to come "by vj of the clock" in the morning of his coronation "from his chambre into Westminster Hall, where he shall sitt, under clothe of estate in the marble chaire, appareilled with clothes and quissins of clothe of golde

bawdekyn as it apparteigneth." Richard III. went in great pomp into Westminster Hall, and there in the King's Bench court took his seat. Grafton informs us that the same king on the day of his coronation "came downe out of the white hall into the great hall of Westminster, and went directly to the Kinge's Benche." Hall records that Katherine, queen of Henry V., after her coronation was "conveighed into Westminster hal and ther set in the throne at the table of marble at the upper end of the hal."

If the coronation stone of Scone ranks first in traditional and antiquarian interest, that of KINGSTON in Surrey, upon which some of our early Anglo-Saxon monarchs were consecrated, possesses also peculiar claims to our regard.

"That stones of a particular form, or in a remarkable situation," remarks Dr. William Bell, "were gradually elected from the mass as the royal throne of princes and kings, whence, when the pontiff and kingly character were united, they were deemed holy, and afterwards shed the halo of their sanctity on everything around, or in contact with them, is but the natural and gradual march of the human intellect from things common to select—from select to sacred and divine. The meteor stones that had been observed to fall from heaven—the Bethulia—had an additional, perhaps to the savage mind, an inevitable cause of reverence, which in many cases, as in the Caaba of Mecca,* or the misshapen fragment worshipped as a deity at Edessa, and transferred by Heliogabalus to Rome with unbounded reverence and unlimited expense, received honours more than human—they became themselves the deities; and when Sanconiathon reaches that the worship of these Bethulia was invented by Cælus, he but personifies the visible heavens, and ascribes to the voluntary act of giving, a necessary operation of nature. So rooted did this practice become in the East, that the two ideas of stones and worship, or divinity, became almost identical. The Hebrews frequently used the terms as synonymous, when we find them giving the name of stone or rock to kings and princes—even to God himself, as the Rock

* It is a tradition in Arabia, that when the black covering (the *Kesona*) of the Caaba stone undulates in the wind, it is caused by the seventy thousand guardian angels of the shrine waving it with their wings. These angels are to transport it to paradise when the last trumpet sounds.

of Israel, where the stone metaphor was intended to convey as much of sanctity, as of security or endurance."

At or near a consecrated stone, it was an ancient Eastern custom to appoint kings or chiefs to their office. Thus we read in the Scriptures of Abimelech being "made king by the plain of the pillar that was in Shechem"—the earliest royal appointment, perhaps, of which we have any traces in history. Joash had the crown put upon him while "he stood by a pillar, as the manner was." Subsequently, and among the northern nations, the practice was to form a circle of large stones, commonly twelve in number, in the middle of which one was set up, much larger than the rest: this was the royal seat; and the nobles occupied those surrounding it, which served also as a barrier to keep off the people who stood without. Here the leading men of the people delivered their suffrages and placed the elected king on his seat of dignity.

Whenever an Irish king or chief was to be inaugurated on one of the sacred hills, it was usual to place him on a *particular stone*, whereon was imprinted the form of their first chieftain's foot, and there proffer to him an oath to preserve the customs of the country. "There was then," says Spenser, who had himself witnessed the election of an Irish dynast in this manner, "a wand* delivered to him by the proper officers, with which in his hand, descending from the stone, he turned himself round thrice forward and thrice backward."

Among the ancient kings of Ireland, the Eugenic branch of the Munster monarchs were inaugurated on a large stone; those of the Dalcassian line were inducted under the Bile-Magh-Adair, or sacred tree in the Plain of Adoration at Adair. In 982 the tree was cut down by King Malachy the Great.

The coronation chair of the O'Neills of Castlereagh originally stood on the hill of that name, within two miles of Belfast; but after the downfall of the family it was thrown down and neglected, until the year 1750, when it was removed

* In an account of the ceremonies performed at the initiation of the kings of Tyrconnel, we are told that in presenting the new king with the wand, which was perfectly white and straight, the chief who officiated used these words: "Receive, O king, the auspicious badge of your authority, and remember to imitate in your conduct the straightness and whiteness of this wand."

to Belfast, and built into the wall of the market house. On the taking down of that building some years ago, it again changed its quarters, and is in the possession of a family of Rathcarrick, in the county of Sligo. The chair is very rudely constructed, and made of common whin, or gritstone; the seat is lower than that of an ordinary chair, and the back higher and narrower.

These inaugural chairs were sometimes merely large stones, in which the impression of two feet were sculptured, and they were anciently placed on some elevated spot in every principality or lordship.

The kings of Denmark were crowned in a circle of stones, and in reference to the enormous weight of these stones, Mallet remarks, "*Que de tout temps la superstition a imaginé qu'on ne pouvait adorer la divinité qu'en faisant pour elles des tours de force.*"

The election of the Swedish kings took place on the Mora stone, near Upsala. The monarch took the oath prescribed, and was placed on the sacred stone. For each new sovereign a stone was put close to it, with the date of his election engraved upon it.*

The ducal stone at Carinthia was an erection of stone. On this a countryman, plainly dressed, was seated, to whom the newly elected prince was introduced. The sovereigns of Germany were inaugurated in the "*Konigsstuhl*," or king's seat, in a building about four miles from Coblenz. This relic of antiquity was replaced, in 1848, by a building erected similar to the original plan.

Adjoining the north side of the church at Kingston, in Surrey, stood—upwards of half a century ago—a chapel, close to the famous stone to which I have alluded. This building contained the figures of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs

* The Mora stone is described as a mass of rock, mounted on several others; round it were ranged twelve smaller ones, on which the chief men sat. Beneath stood the throne of homage, carved with the image of a king—crown and insignia. A smaller stone, bearing the date and name of the newly elected sovereign, was placed within the ring, several of which, mutilated, are still extant. To preserve these interesting relics, Crown Prince Gustaf, in 1770, erected a small building over them, surmounted by a crown. The Mora field, in which these stones are, derives its name from a swamp. Saxo describes the king standing, or sitting, upon a heavy stone, as "a sign and surety that his intentions were firm and enduring."

who had been crowned at Kingston, and also a representation of King John, who gave the inhabitants of that town their first charter. In the inscriptions over these figures, some of the kings were said to have been crowned in the market-place, and others in the chapel, but no particular spot is mentioned in the old chronicles. Unfortunately these figures were destroyed by the fall of the chapel in 1730.

Alluding to Kingston, in Surrey, Leland says, "The tounisch men have certain knowledge of a few Kinges crowned there afore the Conqueste."

It is certain that authentic historical documents fix the locality for the royal installation of some of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs at this town, in preference to other places of the same name in various parts of the country. In the Saxon charters it is mentioned that in 838 a great council was held in the town of Kingston, in Surrey, at which King Egbert, Athelwulf his son, and the bishops and nobles of the land were present. In the record of this event the town is called "*Kyningeston, famosa illa locus.*" In a charter of King Edred (946), Kingston is mentioned as the royal town where consecration is accustomed to be performed.

The number of kings crowned here, as recorded by Speed, is nine, two of which are, however, doubtful. Those of which we have authentic record are:—

924. Athelstan, by Archbishop Aldhelm.

940. Edmund, } by Archbishop Otho.

946. Edred, }

All three sons of Edward the Elder.

959. Edgar.

975. Edward the Martyr, his son.

978. Ethelred the Second, brother of Edward.

1016. Edmund the Second.

The rude stone on which they were crowned formerly stood against the old town-hall, in the market-place, and was removed to the yard of the Assize Courts, on the building of a new one in 1837, where it remained—preserved, it is true, but almost unobserved—until 1850, when the town council of Kingston, having had their attention called to the matter, appointed a committee to consider it, and eventually selected a suitable place for its preservation. A design was made by Mr. C. E. Davis, of Bath, and a grant of money was devoted to defraying the cost of erection. The remainder of the funds required were raised by private means. The coronation stone

is placed on a septagonal block of stone, six feet in diameter and fifteen inches thick, standing in the centre of seven stone pillars connected together by an iron railing, moulded after a design presumed to be characteristic of the period. These pillars and the septagonal form of the monument are in allusion to the seven kings crowned in the town, and by the kindness of Mr. J. D. Cuffe, of the Bank of England, and Mr. W. Hawkins, a penny of each monarch was placed under their respective names. The shafts of the pillars are of blue Purbeck stone, polished, and the capitals of Caen stone, carved with Saxon devices. The spot chosen for the monument seems most appropriate, for tradition has always fixed it as the site of the palace of the Saxon monarchs. In the notice of the inauguration of the Kingston monument, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (October, 1850), it is observed that an additional interest is thrown around the stone by the probability that the veneration in which it was held by the Saxons did not originate with themselves, but had descended from the ancient Britons, by whom it might have been held sacred for inaugurations and other solemn and important ceremonies from a very remote period; and some weight is given to this conjecture by the fact of the stone being a kind of what is termed Druid's stone, similar in geological character to those of Stonehenge. If this deduction be correct, the Kingston crowning stone is in itself extremely curious, and may lay claim to very great antiquity, without assigning to it quite so many years as are given to the CORONATION STONE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER V.

THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

"The primo genitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree stands in authentic place ;
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark what discord follows !"

Troilus and Cressida, Act i. sc. 3.

"I'd not be king unless there sate
Less lords that shar'd with me in state,
Who by their cheaper coronets know
What glories from my diadem flow :
Its use and rate values the gem :
Pearls in their shells have no esteem."

LOVELACE.



COURT OF CLAIMS takes its origin from the ancient prerogatives of the lord high steward, who sat, judicially, in the White Hall of the king's palace at Westminster, to receive the applications and decide upon the claims of all those who

held land on the tenure of performing some personal service at the coronation.

The office of LORD HIGH STEWARD is of great antiquity, having been established prior to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and was formerly one of inheritance.* The services which were decided in the Court of Claims had the name of *magnum servitium*, or grand serjeantry, as being attached to the person of the sovereign, and involved the honour of knighthood in all cases; no person beneath that rank, nor a minor or female tenant, being allowed to perform them.

"Tenure by grand serjeantry," remarks Lyttleton, "is, where a man holds his lands or tenements of the sovereign, by such services as he ought to do in his own person, as to carry the banner of the king, or his lance, or to lead his army, or to be his marshal, or to carry his sword before him at the coronation, or his carver, or his butler, etc."

The lord high steward (the "steadward," or ward of the king's *stead* or place), in after reigns, had the assistance of councillors in deciding claims to service, and at the present time the duty is committed to the whole of the Privy Council, "or any five or more of them."

The office of lord high steward, which had been hereditary in the house of Simon de Montfort, was, on his death, abolished by Henry III., as a check to the enormous power conferred on that office.

Many of these services at coronations are now obsolete, and some of them are curious, illustrating the peculiarities of manners and customs in bygone ages.

The feudal pomp and service which has been ever attached to the ceremony of crowning a British king may, in these days of universal information (it will be well if that word may be coupled by future historians of the time with a record of essential improvement), be thought a uselessly expensive display of obsolete customs. Yet, on the other hand, it may be observed that customs which exhibit the tenure on which every man holds his fee, according to the ancient constitution of the land, never, while that constitution exists, can be trifling and unimportant. The king is, by common consent, the fountain of honour, of property, and of

* The following order, copied from the original warrant book of the Board of Green Cloth, will show the nature of the duties of the lord steward at certain times:—"June 12, 1681, Order was this day given that the Maides of Honour should have Cherry Tarts instead of Gooseberry Tarts, it being observed that Cherrys are at three pence per pound."

the public peace. If a man holds his land of him by the service of tendering a rose on Midsummer Day, that rent is not to be sneered at as trifling and ridiculous; it is rather



John of Gaunt. From Cotton. MSS.

a demonstration on what generous terms the constitution of Great Britain exacts the fealty due to her monarch. That she looks chiefly to the loyalty of heart, and not to gain, with a faithful adherence to the great keystone of the social bond, is her object.

It may, therefore, be matter not unworthy of consideration, how far the services and attendance of the nobles, and the tenants of the crown by grand serjeantry, on occasion

of a coronation, can be, even in these days, wisely dispensed with. Such a dispensation might be to omit a useful admonition, that they hold all from the people, through their chosen and hereditary chief magistrate.*

* A proclamation for celebrating the solemnity of Queen Victoria's coronation was issued April 4, 1838, and made in the usual form by the heralds-at-arms in London and Westminster. Subsequently, the procession and coronation banquet being omitted, as in the case of William IV. and Queen Adelaide, a proclamation "declaring Her Majesty's further Pleasure touching her Royal Coronation and the Solemnity thereof" was issued, noticing these changes thus: "The said Committee of our Privy Council have further submitted to us, that in dispensing with the ceremonies which have heretofore taken place in Westminster Hall, it may be proper that we should dispense with the service and attendance of those who, by ancient customs and usages, as also in regard of divers tenures of sundry manors, lands, and other hereditaments, do claim and are bound to do and perform divers several services at the time of our said Coronation, which services would have been performed in Westminster Hall, or in the procession, and at the same time that we should be graciously pleased to declare that such dispensation should in no wise interfere with the rights and privileges they may claim as

The coronation of Richard II., of which we have more detailed records than those of preceding monarchs, affords the first accounts of the proceedings of the Court of Claims.* John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and King of Castile and Leon, presented himself before the king and his council, as Earl of Leicester, and claimed the office of high steward or grand seneschal of England. In virtue of this, the duke, previous to the coronation, held his Court of Claims in the White Hall of the Palace of Westminster, to determine such claims of grand serjeantry, and the fees appertaining to them. On the day assigned, open proclamation was made that all claimants of such services, by their estates or any other title, should prefer their several claims by bills or personal petition to the steward or his deputies.

The claim of Thomas of Woodstocke, uncle to the king, to be CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND, on the ground of his marriage with the daughter of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was allowed. This constituted the tenure by which that

touching the performances of the said services at any future Coronation of the Kings or Queens of this realm, etc.”

* In Rymer's “*Fœdera*” are found the following mandates, in Latin, respecting the coronation of Richard II., from which it appears the necessary workmen for the purpose were compulsorily impressed:—

“The King, to all and singular Sheriffs, Nobles, Bailiffs, Ministers and others, his Liegemen within as well as without the liberties (of London), to whom these letters shall come, health. Know ye that we have appointed our beloved William Hanway, clerk, to take and provide by himself and his deputies, stone, mortar, and other necessities for our works which we have ordained to be executed in our palace of Westminster for the solemnity of our Coronation. And to take Carpenters and all other workmen necessary for the works aforesaid in our City of London, and Counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and to put them on the works aforesaid, to remain on the same at our command, as shall be necessary. And all those whom he shall find perverse, or disobedient in this matter, to arrest, take, and commit them to our prisons, there to remain until by deliberation we shall be induced otherwise to ordain. And therefore we command and strictly enjoin, that to the said William and his deputies aforesaid, in all and singular the premises to be done and executed, ye shall be acting, aiding, and answering, as often and according as by William himself, aforesaid, or his deputies, ye shall be warned on our part respecting this matter. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness the King at Westminster, the 7th day of July.”

By an order in precisely similar terms, Thomas de Thoroton is appointed pavilioner, to impress tent-makers for preparing the tents appointed to be made for the coronation.

dignity was successively held by the families of De Gloucester, Bohun, and Stafford.

The great constable was an officer of state of very great power, from an early period in France, and both in France and England during the sway of the Norman and Plantagenet sovereigns. He was the supreme judge in all matters brought before the High Court of Chivalry, and to him lay the final appeal in all questions of moment in military affairs.

The first great constable of England was Ralph de Mortimer, who received the staff of office from the Conqueror himself, and the dignity passed afterwards in succession through several great families, until it was at length abolished in the reign of Henry VIII. by the attainder of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was lord high constable in the year 1521. Some of the duties of the constable were afterwards administered under other names; but the dignity has never since been revived as a permanent office, only on temporary occasions, as that of a coronation or other important State pageant, a lord high constable is created for the time, and his power expires when the occasion is over. The most recent instance was the appointment of the late Duke of Wellington at the coronations of George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

At coronations it is the place of the lord high constable to attend the royal person, assist at the reception of the regalia from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and, together with the earl marshal, to usher the champion into the hall.*

The office of EARL MARSHAL, now held by the dukes of Norfolk, is of great antiquity, from the fact of the first possessor of this dignity on record being Gilbert de Clare, in 1135, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.† The rights belonging

* The original high constable's staff of office, the same which was last borne by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, at the coronation of King Henry VIII., and used by him in his attendance on that monarch at the famous interview with Francis I. at the *Champ du drap d'or*, is still preserved in the castle of Stafford.

† Pryne (on the "Institutes") says, "This is to be observed that though there were divers lord marshals of England, before the reign of Richard II., yet Richard II. created Thomas Mowbray, first earl marshal of England, *per nomen Comititis Mareschalli Angliæ*. He (and his successor earl marshal) was enabled by this charter to carry a golden staff before the king, and in all other places, with the king's arms on the top of it, and his own at the lower end, when all the marshals before his creation carried only a wooden staff."

to this office were, formerly, to have the king's horse and the queen's palfrey when they had alighted at the place where they were to be crowned. He was always to be near the king during the coronation ceremony, and to sustain his crown "by the flower." He also kept the king's peace within seven miles of the court, and acted as high usher on the coronation day, and to have the tablecloth of the high dais and the cloth of estate, under which the king sate. The fees he received were numerous.

Among the high duties appertaining also to the earl marshal of England is the publication (as head master of the Heralds' College) of all royal publications and the arrangements for the coronation of the sovereign.

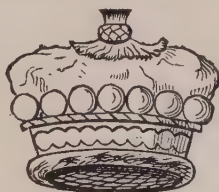
The day selected for this event is chosen by the sovereign, and in the instance of Queen Victoria was proclaimed in the *Gazette*.

By the earl marshal of England an order also is issued respecting the robes, coronets, etc., which are to be worn by the peers and peeresses on that august occasion.*

* The notice given at the inauguration of Queen Victoria was thus : "These are to give notice to all Peers who attend at the coronation of Her Majesty, that the robe or mantle of the Peers be of crimson velvet, edged with minever, the cape furred with minever pure, and powdered



Baron.



Viscount.



Earl.



Marquess.



Duke.

with bars or rows of ermine, according to their degree, viz. Barons, two rows; Viscounts, two rows and a half; Earls, three rows; Marquesses, three rows and a half; Dukes, four rows. The said mantles or robes to be worn over the full court-dress, uniform, or regimentals usually worn

The lord of the Isle of Man was bound by his tenure to bring two falcons to the king on his coronation.* The lord

at Her Majesty's Drawing-Rooms. Their coronets to be of silver-gilt; the caps of crimson velvet turned up with ermine, with a gold tassel on the top; and no jewels or precious stones are to be set or used in the coronets, or counterfeit pearls instead of silver balls.

"The coronet of a Baron to have, on the circle or rim, six silver balls at equal distances.

"The coronet of a Viscount to have, on the circle, sixteen silver balls.

"The coronet of an Earl to have, on the circle, eight silver balls, raised upon points, with gold strawberry leaves between the points.

"The coronet of a Marquis to have, on the circle, four gold strawberry leaves and four silver balls alternately, the latter a little raised on points above the rim.

"The coronet of a Duke to have, on the circle, eight gold strawberry leaves."

The earl marshal's order concerning the robes, coronets, etc., which are to be worn by the peeresses at the coronation of her Most Sacred Majesty, Queen Victoria:—"These are to give notice to all Peeresses who attend at the Coronation of Her Majesty, that the robes and mantles appertaining to their respective ranks are to be worn over the usual full court-dress.

"That the robe or mantle of a Baroness be of crimson velvet, the cape whereof to be furred with minever pure, and powdered with two bars or rows of ermine; the said mantle to be edged round with minever pure, two inches in breadth, and the train to be three feet on the ground; the coronet to be according to her degree, viz. a rim or circle, with six pearls on the same, not raised upon points.

"That the robe or mantle of a Viscountess be like that of a Baroness, only the cape powdered with two rows and a half of ermine, the edging of the mantle two inches as before, and the train a yard and a quarter; the coronet to be according to her degree, viz. a rim or a circle with pearls thereon, sixteen in number, and not raised on points.

"That the robe or mantle of a Countess be as before, only the cape powdered with three rows of ermine, the edging three inches in breadth, and the train a yard and a half; the coronet to be composed of eight pearls raised upon points or rays, with small strawberry leaves between, above the rim.

"That the robe or mantle of a Marchioness be as before, only the cape powdered with three rows and a half of ermine, the edging four inches in breadth; the train a yard and three quarters; the coronet to be composed of four strawberry leaves and four pearls raised upon points, of the same height as the leaves, alternately above the rim.

"That the robe or mantle of a Duchess be as before, only the cape powdered with four rows of ermine, the edging five inches broad, the train two yards; the coronet to be composed of eight strawberry leaves, all of equal height above the rim.

"And that the caps of all the said coronets be of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine, with a tassel of gold on the top."

* The *Lord of the Isle of Man* (the "Mona" of the Romans) was a

of the manor of Nether Blesington, in Kent, presented three maple cups. A moiety of the manor of Heydon, in Essex, was held by the owner on bearing a towel for the king when washing before the banquet, and another moiety of the land by the service of bearing the basin and ewer. The manor of Addington, in Surrey, was held by presenting a mess called *gerout* to the sovereign at the banquet. At the coronation of Richard II. this claim was made by William Bardolph, who calls the mess "dilgerunt," or "dillegrout," and "si apponatur sagina;" if fat were used in the making, it was called "malpigerium" or "malpigernon." "Addington," observes Blount, "is now come to the possession of Thomas Leigh, Esq., who, at the coronation of his Majesty that now is (1661), brought up to the king's table a mess of pottage called *dillegrout*, whereupon the Lord High Chancellor presented him to the king, who accepted his service, *but did not eat the pottage.*"

In the reign of the Conqueror this manor was held by Zezelin, the king's cook, which will account for the culinary service.

Dillegrout was, perhaps, a gruel flavoured with *dill*. Johnson in his dictionary explains *grout* as coarse meal, pollard, and then quotes as follows:—

"King Hardiknute, 'midst Danes and Saxons stout,
Caroused on nut-brown ale, and dined on grout;
Which dish its pristine honour still maintains,
And when each king is crowned, in splendour reigns."

Dr. William King's *Art of Cookery*,

dignity connected with many interesting historical associations. A few particulars must suffice. Orry, a Danish prince, was the first sovereign of the island of whom we have any trustworthy account. After six successors a Norwegian race of kings followed, who held their power from the time of their usurpation (1066) till 1270, when it fell into the hands of Alexander III., King of Scotland. William de Montacute with an English force drove out the Scots, but his poverty prevented him from keeping the island, and it thus became the property of the kings of England. In 1307 Edward II. bestowed it, first, upon the Earl of Cornwall, and then on Henry Beaumont. Henry IV. granted it to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, upon whose attainder for high treason, in 1403, the Isle of Man was forfeited, and given by the king to William Stanley and his heirs, afterwards earls of Derby, *on condition that he should give two falcons to the kings of England on their coronation*. By a marriage with the Derby family, James, Duke of Athol, became king of the island, but in 1764 sold the sovereign rights and privileges to the British Government.

The manor of Liston, in Essex, was held by the service of making *wafers*—a composition of sugar, almonds, ginger, saffron, and other things—for the king and queen at the coronation banquet.*

The lord of the manor of Worksop, in Nottinghamshire, claims the service of finding a glove for the king's right hand, and supporting his right arm when holding the sceptre.

The barons of the Cinque Ports claim to carry over the sovereign in the coronation procession a canopy of cloth of gold or purple silk, with a gilt silver bell at each corner, supported by four staves covered with silver, four barons to every staff, and to carry a canopy in like manner over the queen; having for their fee the canopies, bells, and staves, with the privilege of dining at a table on the king's right hand. The origin of this claim is so ancient that a charter of Charles II. speaks of "the time of the contrary being never remembered to have been." According to Richard of Devizes (1189), as a reward for the readiness with which the Cinque Ports had assisted John in his unfortunate voyages to and from Normandy, their five barons were allowed henceforward to carry the canopy over the king as he went to the abbey, and to hold it over him when he was unclothed for the sacred unction.†

* In the collection of manuscripts belonging to Mr. Baillie Cochrane are some papers relating to a portion of the lands in the neighbourhood of the town of Lanark, which were held by the tenure of baking certain "wafers" for the king when he happened to reside there.

† At the South Kensington Museum are three silver bells, bequeathed by the late Countess of Waldegrave, all of different designs and of historical interest. They were appended to the canopies used at the coronation of George II., George III., and George IV. The first husband of the late Lady Waldegrave (Mr. Milward) was one of the barons of the Cinque Ports, and it was through him that the bells came into the possession of the testatrix.

A writer in *Notes and Queries* (5th series, vol. v. p. 338) remarks: "I am enabled, through the courtesy of Messrs. Widowson and Veale, the well-known silversmiths in the Strand, to annex, hereunder, a description of a piece of gold plate, which has a direct bearing upon the duties of the Cinque Ports Barons and fees, when employed on the august ceremonies referred to. The tray, or salver, to which I allude, is of an oblong shape with rounded corners; the plate marks thereon being the standard, the London assay; the maker's initials R. B. and the date letter O, which would signify 1728-9. In the centre are engraved these armorial bearings (without tinctures): A chevron between three trefoils slipped; in chief a sunflower erect. Crest, a demi stag. Underneath is the inscription, 'This plate was made of the Staff of the Canopy

The lord mayor and twelve citizens of London claim their right to assist the chief butler of England in the execution of his office, and to sit at a table next the cupboard, on the left side of the hall. The lord mayor serves the sovereign with wine in a gold cup, and receives it for a fee. At the coronation of Richard II. these claims were formally made, and the records of the Exchequer afforded a precedent for them; but the matter was left to the king's discretion, who yielded to their requests for the following singular reasons, as expressed in the language of an ancient manuscript:—"The king considering the great fondeness and subsidy that his progenators habundantly tyme paste had founde of the cite of London, and trusting for the like fondeness and subsidie tyme comyng, amongst the said citizens; and to make their heartis merier, and well willyng to do hym true service and to helpe hym hereafter in his necessities, benignlie to accomplish their desires, decreed and ordeyned that they should doo service in the said offices before by them demanded, according to their desires in all things." *

The mayor, bailiff, and commonalty of Oxford also claim to assist the chief butler, and have for their services three maple cups. In the Cottonian MSS. the following account of this service appears in a list of the claims of Edward VI.: "The Mayor of Oxenford claimeth to ayde the Chief Butler, in their service of ale at the barr; and for profe shewed olde

which I had the Honour to Support over the Queen, at the Coronation of Their Sacred Majesties, King George IInd. and Queen Caroline, October 11. 1727, as Baron of the Cinque Ports, being Elected for the Port of Sandwich.—Gerald de Gols."

* On the coronation of Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III. (1235), the citizens of London claimed the office of "cellarers" to the King of England, which having been granted, they attended the king and queen on horseback in a procession from the Tower, each citizen bearing a gold or silver cup in his hand for the royal use. (See chapter on "Coronation Processions from the Tower.") At the banquet they served the king and company with wine, according to their duty. The Mayor of London, Andrew Buckeral, the pepperer, claimed the place of Master Michael Belot, the deputy of Albini, Earl of Arundel, the grand boteler or pincerna of England; but he was repulsed by the king, who said, "No one by right ought to perform that service, but Master Michael." The mayor submitted to the royal decision, and served the two bishops at the king's right hand.

As the citizens of London had claimed the service of the butlery, so those of Winchester claimed that of the royal kitchen; but the doings of the men of Winchester, in the capacity of cooks' assistants, have not been recorded.

presidentes wherein it appeared that the Mayor of Oxenford hade done the service, wheruppon the Erle of Arrondell, Chief Butler, gave him his livery, and did admit him to the same service."

The CHIEF BUTLERSHIP is traced by authentic records into the hands of William de Albini, who came to England with William the Conqueror. The office has been held by some of the noblest families in England, and is now an hereditary right of the Duke of Norfolk as Earl of Arundel. The fees for services at the coronation banquet were—the best gold cup and cover, with all the vessels and wine remaining under the bar, and all pots and cups, except those of gold and silver, which shall be in the wine-cellar after the banquet. The fees are now commuted to a gold basin and ewer. As a proof of the honour attached to this office, Henry III. himself attended on his son as chief butler on the coronation of that prince.

The office of HEREDITARY GRAND ALMONER OF ENGLAND is attached to the barony of Bedford. The duties are to collect and distribute certain moneys at the coronation from a silver dish, which he claims as his fee. A tun of good wine was formerly allowed him, together with all the cloth on which the sovereign walks in procession from the door of the hall at Westminster to the abbey church.*

* At Burghley House, Northamptonshire, the seat of the Marquis of Exeter, there is a buffet of gold plate, comprising coronation plate of the times of King James, Queen Anne, George I., and George IV., and received by the earls of Exeter in their capacity of hereditary grand almoners at the coronations of the various sovereigns. The marquissate was conferred in 1801. At the coronation of Henry IV. the office of grand almoner was claimed by John, Lord Latimer, and Thomas de Mowbray, in virtue of lands formerly belonging to Beauchamp, Lord Bedford: by the former as one of the co-heirs, by the marriage of his ancestor with Maud de Beauchamp; and by the latter as inheriting a part of the barony which had passed in marriage with Maud, daughter of Beatrix de Beauchamp, to the family of Botelort. The claim was disputed at the coronation of James II., but it was adjudged to the Earl of Exeter, as descended from the Latimers.

The duties of the hereditary grand almoner, first instituted in the reign of Richard I., are confined to the distribution of alms at a coronation. The office of the high almoner is of a more general description. In the reign of Edward I. his office was to collect the fragments of the royal table, and distribute them daily to the poor; to visit the sick, poor widows, prisoners, and other persons in distress; to remind the king about the bestowal of his alms, especially on saints' days; and to see that the cast-off robes were sold to increase the king's charity. For more than a century the office of lord high almoner was held by the Archbishop of York.

The *Dapifer*, or *Sewer* (a service now extinct), brought up and arranged the dishes at the coronation banquet. In Ives's "Select Papers" we are told that at the coronation of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII., "the lorde Fitz-water, sewer, or dapifer, attended in his surcote with tabard sleeves, and a hoode about his neck, and his towell above, and served the messes."

The office of *Grand Carver* seems to have been attached formerly to the earldom of Lincoln.

The CHIEF CUP-BEARER is the lord of the manor of Great Wymondley, in Hertfordshire, who claims to serve the sovereign with the first cup that he shall drink at the banquet, and to have the said cup, of silver gilt, as his fee.

The duty of the *Grand Pannetier* (an office now extinct) was "to beare the salte and the kerving knives from the pantre to the kinge's dyning table," and his fees were the salt-cellars, knives, and spoons laid before the king at the coronation feast. The chief business of the pannetier, as the name implies, was to provide the bread, and upon that account the coverpane was also allowed. The office was of great antiquity, and was performed of old by the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick.

The *Chief Lardiner* was entrusted with the care of the royal larder, and his fees were the remainder of the beef, mutton, venison, kid, lard, etc., as also the fish, salt, and other things remaining in the larder after the coronation feast. In 1333 Margaret, widow of John de Burdeleys, held office by the service of coming to the king's larder on the coronation day, with a knife in her hand, to perform the duty of larderer.

The royal *Napier* had charge of the napery, or table-linen, at the banquet. In an account of the coronation of Eleanor, wife of Henry III., it is stated that Henry de Hastyns, whose office it was to serve the linen from ancient times, took the tablecloths and napkins as his fee. Humfrey Tyrell, in the time of Henry VII., claimed, "for the love of God, to be gardeine of the napery," by virtue of certain lands in Essex.

The *Herb-strewer* was an office of some importance at the royal court. Among the manuscripts belonging to C. J. Eyston, Esq., of East Hendred, Wantage, is one dated 1702 (April 11, 1 Anne), "Order for a gown of scarlet cloth with a badge and her Majesty's cypher on it, for the

Strewer of Herbs to her Majesty, as was provided at the last coronation."*

Amongst the various offices which were to be filled at the coronation of George IV., considerable interest was used by the ladies to procure that of herb-woman to his Majesty. It was finally granted to Miss Fellowes, sister to Mr. Fellowes, secretary to the lord great chamberlain, pursuant to a promise which was made to her while his Majesty was yet Prince of Wales. Sandford does not specify the precise manner in which this duty is to be performed, but he represents the principal herb-woman with the royal arms embroidered on her left breast.

The right of consecrating the sovereigns of England is attached to the metropolitan CHAIR OF CANTERBURY, the archbishops of which see have (with three exceptions) exercised it from the earliest ages of the monarchy. In the reign of William I. this office is ascribed to them by a contemporary historian as an acknowledged privilege of ancient date. In the reign of Henry II., Pope Alexander III. interdicted the Archbishop of York, and the bishops who assisted him, because they had crowned Prince Henry, at the persuasion of the king, his father, in the absence of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and without his licence. In later times this privilege of the metropolitan see, though broken through at the accession of Elizabeth, has, on all occasions, been fully admitted.†

The Archbishop of Canterbury receives as his fee after a coronation, the purple velvet chair, cushion, and footstool on which he sits during the ceremony.

The Archbishop of York has the honour to crown the QUEEN CONSORT.

* In the days of Stephen it was usual in houses, upon occasions of festivity, to strew flowers over the floor. It was part of the luxury of the times; and Becket, when he was chancellor in the next reign, ordered his hall to be strewed every day in the winter with fresh straw or hay, and in summer with rushes and green leaves, fresh gathered; and this reason is given for it, that such knights as the benches could not contain might sit on the floor without soiling their clothes.

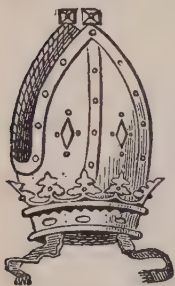
† Cranmer takes the following view on this subject in his address to Edward VI. on his coronation:—"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, that a king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was unctioned. Now for the person or bishop, that doth anoint a king, *it is proper to be done by the chiefest.* But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony."

The *Dean and Chapter of Westminster*, as successors to the abbots of St. Peter, claim to instruct the sovereign in the rites and ceremonies used at the coronation; to assist the Archbishop of Canterbury in performing divine service, and to have the keeping of the coronation robes; with divers fees, viz. robes for the dean and his three chaplains, and sixteen ministers of the said church; the royal habits which are put off in the church; the several oblations, the furniture of the church, the canopy, staves, and bells, and the cloth on which the sovereign walks from the west door of the church to the theatre.

The Abbot of Westminster was charged with the singular office of administering the chalice to the king and queen, as a sign of their conjugal unity, after their reception of the Sacrament from the archbishop. The convent on that day was to be provided with "100 simnals [cakes] of bread; a gallon of wine, and as many fish as become the royal dignity."

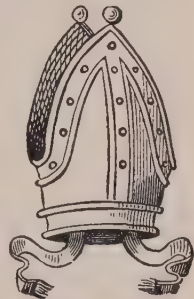
The *Bishop of Durham* and the *Bishop of Bath and Wells* claim jointly, as of old custom, to assist in supporting the sovereign in the coronation procession; the first walking on the right hand, and the latter on the left. So early as the reign of Richard I. we find the predecessors of these prelates in the enjoyment of this distinction.* It does not appear to

* Bishops wore their mitres at the coronation of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. At that of James I. they wore their rochets, and therefore, most probably, their square caps.



Archbishop's mitre.

At the coronation of Charles I., the account given of that ceremony is not sufficiently explicit to say whether or not mitres were worn by the prelates. The archbishop, after the recognition, invested himself "in pontificalibus." Whether this term is to be received in its full signification in reference to the Roman Catholic ritual, or simply as a conventional mode, signifying that the bishops were in their proper ecclesiastical habits, is not quite clear. The ceremony was performed at Edward VI.'s



Bishop's mitre.

coronation according to the form agreeable to the use of the Reformed Church of England.

At the coronation of Charles I. the bishops wore their rochets, as also at the coronation of James II., with their square caps in their hands. At the coronation of William and Mary they wore their rochets

be older than that reign. According to illuminated manuscripts, one part of the office of the two bishops was that of supporting King Edward's crown, on each side, if it did not happen to fit the royal head on which it had descended. Thus Edward I. is represented with a bishop on each side extending a hand to sustain the crown of St. Edward by one of its ornaments.

The duties of the LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN at a coronation were to dress the king, and serve him with water, for which service he had the basins, towels, and cup of assay, also forty yards of crimson velvet, the king's bed and bedding, the furniture of the chamber where he lay the night before, with his wearing apparel and nightgown. But the Court of Claims only allowed the robe at George IV.'s coronation, as it was shown that this fee was the only one received in kind by usage, the others being compounded for in a sum of money.

At the coronation of Eleanor of Provence, consort of Henry III. (1235), Gilbert de Sandford claimed, for the service of keeping the queen's chamber-door, the queen's bed and all its furniture, as her chamberlain. He assists at the reception of the regalia from the dean and chapter of Westminster, and, together with the earl marshal, ushers the champion into the hall. To this office belongs many perquisites, privileges, etc., but which, on a coronation, are compromised for a certain sum. It is of very high antiquity, and was for many successions vested in the family of De Vere. Earls of Oxford. It is now claimed by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.*

and caps. The bishops wore their caps at the coronation of Queen Anne. At the coronation of George I., George II., George III., they carried their caps in their hands, and put them on at the time the peers put on their coronets after the "crowning."

* Ashmole, in his "Laws of Honour," says of the lord great chamberlain:—"To this great officer belongs Livery and Lodgings in the Royal Court, and certain fees due from each Archbishop or Bishop, when they perform their Homage or Fealty to the Sovereign, and from all the Peers of the Realm at their Creation, or doing them Homage or Fealty. And at the Coronation of every King or Queen, he claims Forty Ells of Crimson Velvet for his own Robes; as also on the Coronation Day, before the King rises, to bring his Apparat, and after he is by him Dress'd, the Bed, and all the Furniture of the Chamber is his Fees; with all the King's Night Apparat. He carries the Gloves and Linnen us'd by the King at the Coronation, likewise the Sword and Scabbard, and the Gold to be offer'd by the King, with the Robe Royal and Crown,

George, Lord Dartmouth, as master of the horse to James II., was permitted, by the special consent of that monarch, to attend at the coronation as *Serjeant of the Silver Scullery*, and to have all the silver dishes and plates served at the king's table at the coronation banquet; also to take assay of the king's meat at the kitchen-dresser bar.

At the coronation of Richard II., John, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke, claimed to bear the great gilt SPURS—"les grandes espérons"—as William Marshall, his progenitor, had done at the coronation of Edward II. The claim was allowed, but, owing to the nonage of the claimant, the office was assigned to Edmund, Earl of March, in right of the claimant. At the coronation of Queen Victoria the spurs were carried by Lord Byron, deputy to the Baroness Grey de Ruthyn.*

and to put them on, and serve the King that Day, before and after Dinner with Water to Wash his Hands, and to have the Bason and Towel for his Fees."

In a curious manuscript entitled "The Booke of Henrie Erle of Arundell Lord Chambr to King Henrie the Eighte, and copie of a Book signed by his Ma'tie and deluered to the Erle of Worcetour sometime Lord Chamberlain to his highnes," directions are given for the different officers about the court of King Henry VIII., drawn up at the command of that king, by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain from 1526 to 1530. These directions, as affording an insight respecting the courtly customs of those times, and of the attendance and observance that were paid to the monarch, are almost as curious as they are copious. They detail the whole minutiae of the duties of the officers of the court, from the knights and esquires to the lower orders.

* On the failure of the male line the rights and privileges of the females in the succession to, and enjoyment of all, the feudal privileges, were recognized and respected by the Crown. At the coronation of Henry IV., Thomas Dymocke officiated as champion in right of his mother Margaret. In Blount's "Fragmenta Antiquatis" we find that occasionally grand serjeantries were performed by them at the coronations of the kings and queens of England and Scotland, in respect of baronies, lands, manors, and tenements. Ela, Countess of Warwick, held the manor of Hoke Norton, Oxfordshire, of the king *in capite* by the serjeantry of carving before the king on Christmas Day, and to have the knife with which she carved ("Pla. Coron." 13th Edward I., rot. 30). Lady Lora de Saundford held in dower the manor of Hornmede, Hertfordshire, by being chamberlain to the queen ("Pla.," 7 Edward I., rot. 39). The Prioress of St. Leonard of Stratford held fifty acres of land in Brambeleghe, Middlesex, by the service of finding for the king a man to hold the towel at the coronation (22 Edward I.).

In France there are similar instances. Thus, Mahaut, the Countess of Artois, assisted at the coronation of Philip the Long, and with other peers supported the crown.

In the "Rutland Papers" (Camden Society) are given the CLAIMS at the coronation of Queen Mary (1553). "The paper from which this is taken is without a date, but it evidently relates to the coronation of a queen-regnant, and upon comparison with the formulary for the coronation of Queen Mary in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and other authorities for the same ceremony, it is clear she is the queen referred to."

"The Duke of Northfolke, Earl Marshall, claymeth to have the Quene's horse and palfrey, with all the furnytüre that is on the horse, and he claymeth to be *highe vssher* the daye of the coronacion, and to haue the table clothe of the high desse, and the cloth of estate that is behind the Quene.

"Therle of Arundell claymeth to be *chief buttler* the day of the coronacion, and to have the Queene's best cuppe, and to have all the wyne in the pypes and hogsheddes, and other vessells of wyne as soone as the same vesselles is drawen to the barre, and also to have all the pottes and cuppes within the wyne seller remanynge after dyner, so that they be neyther golde nor silver.

"Therle of Sussex claymeth to be *shewer* at dyner, the daye of the coronacion, and claymeth to have xxli in the name of a fee, and xviiiij yardes of crymesin vellett, and the Queene's cloke, the hatt, and the cloke bagge, and one geldinge with a foot clothe of vellett; he claymeth, also, tappoynte all other sheweres that day, and to haue the surnape which is borne before the spyce plate at the coronacion.

"Therle of Oxford claymeth thoffice of *great chamberlayne of England*, and to have for his fees xlth yardes of crymesin vellett; and also he claymeth to have the Queene's bedd wherein she lieth the night before hir coronacion, with all the apparell and furnytüre belonginge to the same, and to have the nighte robe with the which the Queene was clothed the night before, with all hangings, cussions, and other furnytüre and apparel of the Queene's bedd chamber; also the said erle claymeth to serue the Queene with water at the coronacion, as well before as after dyner, and to have the basens and towells that the Queene is serued with that daye.

"Therle of Derby claymeth to beare the short sworde cauled *Curtana*, before the Queene the daye of the coronacion, and to have the fees thereunto belonginge; also he claymeth

to be cheef cuppe berer to the Queene that daye, and to have for his fee [blank in the manuscript].

“The Lord Latymer and the Lord Braye do clame to be the *Queenes almoner* the day of the coronacion, and to have the almoners dishe of silver.

“The Lord of Burgeveney claymeth to be *seriaunte and cheef officer of the larder* the daye of the coronacion, and to have all the beefes, muttons, veales, venyson redd and fallowe, kydd, bacon, and all other fleshe and fyshe, salte, and all other thinges remayning in the said office after dyner.

“The Lord Gray of Wilton claymeth to be *master of the Queenes hawkes* the daye of the coronacion, and to have the robe or vesture which the queene shall weare that daye.

“The Maior of London (claymeth) to serue the Queene after meat, with a cuppe of wyne, and he to haue the cuppe of golde for his labor.

“The Barons of the Sinque Portes clayme to beare the canapye the daye of the coronacion, and to haue the same canapye, with the staves, and all thinges thereunto belonginge.

“Sir Gyles Alington, knight, claymythe (to) serue the Queene at hir coronacion, with the first cuppe of silver and gilt, and to have the same for his fee.

“William Clopton, esquire, claymeth to make wafres for the Queene at the coronacion, and to serue the same wafres to the Queenes table, and to haue for his fee all the instrumentes, as well as of silver as other mettall ordeyned for makinge of the same wafers, and also to haue all the napkyns and other profites and fees thereunto aperteyninge.

“Sir Edward Dymock, knight, claymythe to be the *Queene's champion* the day of the coronacion, and to haue for his fee one cuppe of golde, the horse and furnytüre, with tharmoure which he that day wearithe, and all other to his furnytüre apperteyning; and he claymeth also xvij yardes of crymesyn sattin for his lyvery, and the full servyce of meate and drynk belonginge to a baron to be conveyed to his lodginge.”

With regard to the POET LAUREATE of the sovereigens of England—an office remaining to this day—he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the king's *Versifier*, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend in the year 1251. But (says Warton) when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was solemnly crowned with

laurel at his first investiture, is not known. It seems most probable that the name of *versifier* gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity; or, rather, that at length those only were in general invited to this appointment who had received academical sanction, and had merited a *crown of laurel* in the universities, for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Great confusion has entered into this subject on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification, anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford, on which occasion a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was usually styled *poeta laureatus*. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. Thus the king's laureate was nothing more than a graduated rhetorician employed in the service of the king. That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *versificator*, and may be, moreover, collected from the two Latin poems which Baston and Gulielmus, who appear to have respectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard I. and Edward II., officially composed on Richard's crusade and Edward's siege of Strive-ling Castle.

The first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of *laureate*, was John Key, who was appointed poet laureate to Edward IV. Andrew Barnard, successively poet laureate to Henry VII. and his successor, received a salary of ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.). John King, his successor, was followed by Skelton, upon whose testimony we learn that Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate enjoyed no such distinction; *they wanted nothing but the laurel*. Then came a splendid train of names: Spenser, Daniels, Jonson, Davenant, and Dryden. Shadwell united the offices of poet laureate and historiographer. At his death, Rymer (author of the "*Fœdera*") became historiographer, and Tate the laureate; who was succeeded by Rowe, Eusden, and Cibber. William Whitehead was the forerunner of Thomas Warton, and Henry Pye the harbinger of Dr. Southey, who was succeeded by Wordsworth; and one of the brightest constellations of the poetic firmament, ALFRED TENNYSON, now adds a splendour to this ancient office.

The poet laureate was formerly expected to prepare a given quantity of "long and short" verses, fashioned into the shape of an ode, upon every important event, and

invariably, on the natal day of the sovereign, to furnish a birthday ode. This was set to music by the court composer for the time, and performed at the Drawing-Room, but this has been discontinued for some time. Southey, before receiving the appointment of laureate (which had been tendered to Sir Walter Scott, but declined in favour of the former), stipulated that his poetical offerings should be "free-will" offerings, and that though he might have verses as plenty as blackberries, he should not give them on "compulsion."

In 1630 the first patent of this office appears to have been granted, which fixed the salary or pension attached to it at £100 a year, with an additional grant of a tierce of canary wine from the king's stores. A commutation was agreed to, in the case of Dr. Southey, of £27 for the allowance of wine. "The laurels," says Southey, in an amusing letter to his daughter Edith, "should be gathered from the grove on that mountain where the Nine Sisters take care of my winged horse, and it is not proper that I should wear any others."

The *King's Barber* was an important office in the household of Edward IV. He was to have "every Saturday at night, if it please the King, to cleanse his head, legs, or feet, and for his shaving, two loaves, and one pitcher of wine. Also, this Barber taketh his shaving cloths, basons, and all his other towels [tools], and things necessary, by the Chamberlain's assignment of the Jewel-house; no fees of plate or silver, but it be in his instrumental tools used by occupation, and that by allowance of the King's Chamberlain."

As a protection to the royal throat, "it is accustomed that a Knight of Chamber, or else Squire for the Body, or both, be present every time when the King will be shaven."

During the season of Lent, an officer denominated the *King's Cock-crower* crowed the hour every night within the precincts of the palace, instead of proclaiming it in the ordinary manner. On the first Ash Wednesday after the accession of the house of Hanover, as the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., was sitting down to supper, this officer suddenly entered the apartment, and proclaimed, in a sound resembling "the cock's shrill clarion," that it was past ten

o'clock. Taken thus by surprise, and very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, the prince mistook the tremulation of the assumed crow as some mockery intended to insult him, and instantly rose to resent the affront; with some difficulty he was made to understand the nature of the custom, and that it was intended as a compliment, and according to court etiquette. From that period the custom has been discontinued.

So recently as in Debrett's "Imperial Calendar" for 1822, the "Cock and Cryer of Scotland Yard" is mentioned as one of the individuals holding office in the lord steward's department of the royal household. His duties were, during Lent, to *crow* the hour of night instead of *calling* it.*

"When first the new-crowned King in splendour reigns,
A golden cup the loyal Champion gains.
With gesture fierce, his gauntlet stern he throws,
And dares to mortal fight his *absent* foes.
Where no brave Quixote answering to his call,
He rides triumphant through the guarded hall.
Thrice happy conqueror, that the laurel wears
Unstain'd by warrior's blood or widow's tears.
Arm'd at all points, should he a foe behold,
Say, *would he keep the field, or quit the gold?*"

The office of CHAMPION—the most perfect, and perhaps the most striking, relic of feudalism that has come down to us from the age of chivalry—is said to have been conferred by William the Conqueror on Robert de Marmion, or Marmyon, one of his followers, whose family held the barony of Fonteney, in Normandy, by the service of being hereditary champions to the dukes on the day of their inauguration, and their lands in England were granted on the same tenure:—

* The cock-crowing, although strange and absurd at the present day, may not be unreasonable, nor, perhaps, the following singular tenure:—"King John gave several lands at Kepperton and Atterton, in Kent, to Solomon Attefeld, to be held by this singular service, that as often as the king should be pleased to cross the sea, the said Solomon, or his heirs, should be obliged to go with him, *to hold his majesty's head*, if there should be occasion for it, that is, if he should be sea-sick; and it appears by the record in the Tower, that this same office of *head-holding* was actually performed in the reign of Edward I."

In the same county we find that the manor of Archer's Court was held by grand serjeantry (*temp.* Edward III.) with this condition, that the owner or owners should hold the king's head when he passed to Calais, "and by the working of the sea, should be obliged to vomit."

“Lord of Fontenaye,
Of Luteward and Scrivelbaye,
Of Tamworth Tower and Town.”

The possessions of Robert de Marmion descended to Philip, the last Lord Marmion, a gallant soldier and adherent of Henry III., who died in 1292, leaving daughters only, one of whom was married to Sir Thomas de Ludlow, and conveyed to him the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, which had come to her by inheritance. Their daughter wedding Sir John Dymoke, a Gloucestershire knight, invested him with the championship of England, which office he executed at the coronation of Richard II. The castle of Tamworth passed by inheritance from Philip de Marmion to his elder daughter and co-heir to the family of Frevile, and this division of the family estates gave rise to a contest for the privileges of the championship at the last-mentioned coronation. This high distinction was claimed by Sir John Dymoke as the possessor of Scrivelsby, and likewise by Sir Baldwin de Frevile as lord of Tamworth. A decision was then given that the latter was only holden by knight service, and that the office was attached to the manor of Scrivelsby. At the coronation of Henry IV. (1399), another Sir Baldwin de Frevile revived the claim, and Dame Margaret Dymoke, then a widow, asserting the right of her own inheritance was successful, on the plea that Scrivelsby was holden *per baroniam*, and was the head of the barony of the Marmion family; “moreover, it appeared that the late King Edward III. and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, had often been heard to say that the office belonged to Sir John Dymoke.”

In the College of Arms there is a curious volume containing a pedigree of the Dymoke family. There is a “true” representation of one painted in the margin opposite the name, as he appeared accoutred on horseback, glove in hand. The name of the Dymokes or Dymocks (being spelt both ways) is Welsh. According to Sir Bernard Burke, they claim a traditional descent from Tudor Trevor, lord of Hereford and Whittington, and founder of the tribes of the Marches.

During a succession of ages the high distinction of the championship has remained in this ancient family. Sir Henry Dymoke, the seventeenth representative of the office, died in 1865. His grandfather, John Dymoke, was champion at the coronation of George III., and his second son, the Rev.

John Dymoke (father of the late baronet), was called upon to officiate as champion at the coronation of George IV.: He was obliged, owing to his clerical character, to act by deputy, and appointed his eldest son, the late Sir Henry Dymoke, who fulfilled the duties accordingly.

On the death of Sir Henry Dymoke, his brother, Mr. John Dymoke, of Scrivelsby, became the "Honourable, her Majesty's Champion;" deceased November, 1873, at the age of nearly seventy. His son and successor, Henry Lionel Dymoke (born in 1832), died abroad before attaining even middle age, leaving a widow, but no legitimate issue.

"Family feuds," observes Walford in his "Tales of our Great Families," and pecuniary difficulties have together done their best to level in the dust a once noble house, whose heads once ranked as equal to the proudest peers of the realm. There is, therefore, I believe, no male Dymoke who at this moment, if a Coronation were to occur, could put in a claim for the Championship—at all events without first establishing his descent in a court of law. Such is the sad end of the "Dymokes of Scrivelsby." Had the second Marquis Townshend been still alive, in all probability he would have chosen this moment to prefer a claim to the honour on his own account. At all events, Horace Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory, under date October, 1789:—

"When he was but two and twenty, his Lordship called on me one morning and told me he proposed to claim the Championcy of England, being descended from the eldest daughter of Ralph de Basset, who was Champion before the Flood—or before the Conquest, I forget which—whereas the Dymokes came only from the *second*; and he added 'I did put in my claim at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.' A gentleman who was with me and who did not understand the heraldic tongue, hearing such a declaration from so young a man, stared and thought he had gone raving mad; and I, who did understand him, am still not clear that the gentleman was in the wrong."*

* In the following note respecting the "champion," from De la Pryme's "Ephemeris Vitæ," the diarist says, "I have promiss'd my votes for [Captain] Whitecot and Champion De Moc, commonly called Dimmock. This champion holds certain lands by exhibiting, on a certain day every year, a milk-white bull with black ears to the people, who are to run it down, and then it is cutt in pieces and given amongst the poor. His estate is almost £2000 a year, and whoever has it is champion of

The manorial residence of the Dymokes, Scrivelsby Court, was partly destroyed by fire towards the close of the last century. In the portion consumed was a very large hall ornamented with panels, exhibiting in heraldic emblazonment the various arms and alliances of the family. "The loss," says Sir Bernard Burke, "has been in some degree compensated by the additions made to the remnant which escaped the fire, but the grandeur of the original edifice can no longer be traced."

The following version of an old Anglo-Norman ballad describes the transmission of the lands of Scrivelsby:—

- "The Norman Barons Marmyon
At Norman court held high degree ;
Knights and champions every one
To him who won broad Scrivelsby.
- "Those Lincoln lands the Conqueror gave,
That England's glove they should convey
To knight renowned amongst the brave,
The baron bold of Fonteney.
- "The royal grants through sire to son
Devolv'd direct in *capite*,
Until deceased Phil Marmyon,
When rose fair Joan of Scrivelsby.
- "From London city on the Thames
To Berwick town upon the Tweed,
Came gallant all of courtly names,
At feet of Joan their suit to plead.
- "Yet, maugre all this goodly band,
The maiden's smiles young Ludlow won,
Her heart and hand, her grant and land,
The sword and shield of Marmyon.
- "Out upon Time, the scurvy knave,
Spoiler of youth, hard-hearted churl,
Hurrying to one common grave
Goodwife and ladie, hind and earl.

England ; but he owes more by far than he is worth, and has no family, so that it will get into another family. The Dimmock has enjoyed it ever since [William] the Conqueror's days, if I do not mistake."

In a note to this by Mr. Charles Jackson, the editor of Pryme's "Diary," he says that this Charles Dymoke, here referred to, was champion at the coronation of William and Mary, and at that of Queen Anne, and was succeeded by his brother, Lewis Dymoke, who dying unmarried, the Scrivelsby estates went to his cousin, Edward Dymoke, then an eminent hatter in Fenchurch Street.

" Out on Time—since the world began,
No Sabbath hath his greyhound limb
In coursing man, devoted man,
To age and death, out, out on him !

" In Lincoln's chancel, side by side,
Their effigies from marble hewn,
The *anni* written when they died,
Repose De Ludlow and Dame Joan.

" One daughter fair survived alone,
One son deceased in infancy,
De Ludlow and De Marmyon
United thus in Margery.

" And she was wooed as maids have been,
And won as maids are sure to be,
When gallant youths in Lincoln green
Do suit, like Dymoke, fervently.

" Sir John de Dymoke claimed of right
The championship through Margery,
And 'gainst Sir Baldwin Frevile, knight,
Prevailed as lord of Scrivelsby.

" And ever since, when England's kings
Are diadem'd—no matter where,
The Champion Dymoke boldly flings
His glove, should treason venture there.

" On gallant steed, in armour bright,
His visor clos'd and couch'd his lance,
Proclaimeth he the monarch's right
To England, Ireland, Wales, and France.

" Then bravely cry with Dymoke bold,
' Long may the king triumphant reign !'
And when fair hands the sceptre hold,
More bravely still—' Long live the queen !' "

Singularly interesting is the ancient office of the champion. The word itself (from a Gothic root, signifying to contend, Ang.-Sax. *camp*, fight) carries thought back to the ordeals, or judicial combats of olden times, when it was allowed to women, children, and aged persons (except in cases of high treason and parricide) to appear in the lists, by a hired combatant or representative, to assert their rights. This same privilege, after ages of desuetude, was, owing to its attempted revival in our own country in the remarkable case

of *Ashford v. Thornton* in 1818, abolished by Act of Parliament (59 Geo. III. c. 46).

There are many allusions to the office of champion in old writers. In Shakspeare's "Henry VI.," when Sir John Montgomery appears before the walls of York at the head of the army, in the cause of Edward IV., we read—

"*Mont.* Ay now, my sovereign speaketh like himself;
And now will I be Edward's champion."
Hast. Sound trumpet; Edward shall be here proclaimed.
Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation."

And when the soldier has read aloud the name, style, and title of the king, Montgomery adds, as he throws down the gauntlet—

"And whosoe'er gainsays King Edward's right,
By this I challenge him to single fight."

Champions are mentioned as early as the days of Charlemagne, and Otto I. employed them in deciding the succession to the empire. At a later period, the word "champion" had a more dignified significance, and knights-errant, in the palmy days of chivalry, devoted themselves to redress injuries from a pure sense of honour, and to protect the defenceless. The distinction of "champion" was also applied to that knight who, at tournaments, had the charge of the safety and welfare of the lady spectators.

Notwithstanding the presumed antiquity of the tenure of champion of ducal rights in Normandy, and the assumption of royal champion from the period of the Conquest, the first historical mention of the official performance of the duties is at the coronation of Richard II. This event, which occurred in 1377, was unusually magnificent. The champion, in the discharge of his duty, is thus introduced by Walsingham: "Sir John Dimmook being armed according to usual custom, came with his attendants to the door of the church when the service was concluding; but the Lord Marshal came to him and said that he should not have appeared so soon. The champion complied with the admonition and retired."

At this coronation the proclamation of the champion was to this effect:—"Yf ther be any man of high degree or lowe, that will saie that this oure soverayn liege Lorde Richarde, cousin and heire of the Kynge of Englande, Edwarde late deceased, ought not of right to be Kynge of Englande crowned, he is redy now till the laste houre of his brethe, with his

bodie, to bete him like a false man and a traitor, on what other daie that shal be apoynted."

His motto, in allusion to his name, was "*Dimico pro rege.*"

Anciently the champion rode with the royal procession from the hall to the abbey, and proclaimed the challenge on his way, as well as at the banquet. Sir William Segur states that at the coronation of Henry IV. the challenge was proclaimed in the palace and in six places of the city. It also appears from some reports of the challenge that it was originally adapted to delivery *before* the coronation. This would certainly appear to have been the proper mode. It is difficult to conceive how any person could come forward to gainsay or deny a right which has been already put in execution; thus the challenge being made at the banquet, between the first and second course, makes this ceremony a mere act of state and pageantry.

Froissart, in his account of the coronation of Henry IV., says, "In the midst of the dinner there came in a knight who was called Dymoke, all armed, upon a good horse, richly apparelled, and had a knight before him bearing his spear, and his sword by his side, and his dagger. The knight took the king a label, the which was read; therein was contained, that if there was either knight, squire, or any other gentleman, that would say that King Henry was not rightful king, he was there ready to fight with him in that quarrel. That bill was cried by a herald in six places of the hall, and in the town. There were none that would challenge him."

Fabian says, "The herald proclaimed that if any man would gainsay the king's title, the champion was there 'redy to wage with hym BATAYLE.'"

The exuberant account by Hall of the coronation ceremonies of Henry VIII., as regards the champion, is worth quoting:—

"The seconde course beyng served [at the Coronation banquet], in at the haule doore entered a knight armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume and a sumptuous of oistriche fethers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, trapped in tissue and embroudered with tharmes of England and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presented hymself with humble reverence before the kynges maiestie, to whom Garter, kyng of herauldes, cried and said with a loude voyce, Sir knight, from whence come you, and what is your pretence? This knyghte's name was Sir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the king by tenure of his enheritance, who answered the saied kyng-of-armes in effecte, after this

maner : Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether is not concernyng any matter of any place or countrey, but onely this. And therewithall commaunded his heraulde to make an Oyes : then saied the knight to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his owne herauld by proclamacion to saie : If there be any persone, of what estate or degree soever he be, that will saie or prove that King Henry the eight is not the rightfull enheritor and king of this realme, I Sir Robert Dimmocke here his champion offre my glove to fight in his querell with any persone to thutteraunce."

At the coronation banquet of Queen Mary the champion of England was Sir Edward Dymoke, whose portrait, preserved in the College of Arms, in the act of throwing down his gauntlet, gives the *beau ideal* of a knight worthy to do battle in vindication of the claims of his sovereign lady. He pronounced his challenge gallantly, the first in behalf of a queen-regnant : "If there be any manner of man, of whatever estate, degree, or condition, soever he be that will say and maintain that our sovereign lady, Queen Mary the First, this day here present, is not the rightful and undoubted inheritrix to the imperial crown of this realm of England, and that of right she ought not to be crowned Queen, I say he lieth like a false traitor ! and that I am ready the same to maintain with him while I have breath in my body, either now at this time, or any other whensoever it shall please the Queen's Highness to appoint ; and therefore I cast him my gage !" *

In Sir Edward Walker's "Account of the Coronation of Charles II.," we find the following account of the champion's appearance at the banquet in Westminster Hall :—

"Before the second course was ready, Sir Edward Dimock, the Kinges Champion, came rideing into the Hall vpon a goodly white Courser, Armed at all points in a Rich Armour, between the High Conestable and Erle Marshall on Horseback : before him went two Trumpetts, the Sergeant Trumpetter, and two Surgeants at Armes with

* Sir Edward Dymoke wrote a letter of complaint (November 23. 1553) to Sir William Cecil for making him sue out a warrant from the queen, for his perquisites. "At the coronation of King Edward," he says, "I had all such delivered to me by your father [Richard Cecil, groom and yeoman of the wardrobe] without warrant. I had my cup of gold without warrant. I had my horse without warrant, and all my trappings of crimson satin without warrant ; and, by the old precedents of my claim, I ought to have them now. It is the Queen's pleasure that I should have all things, pertaining to my office, and so she willed me to declare to my lord treasurer ; and rather than I would be driven to sue a warrant for such small things I would lose them."

their Maces, then 2 Esq^{ers}. the one on his left hand caryed a Targett with his Armes paynted thereon, and the other his Lance vpright; then immediately before him went George Owen Yorke Herauld. The passage to the Kinges table being cleered by the Knight Marshall, York Herauld Proclaymed the Champion's challenge in these ensueing Words at the lower end of the Hall.

“If any person of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay Our Sovereigne Lord King Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, Sonne and next heire to our Sovereigne, Lord Charles the First, the last King deceased, to be right heire to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme of England, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his Champion, who sayth that he lyeth and is a false Traytor, being ready in person to combate with him, and in this quarrell will venture his life against him, on what day soever hee shale be appointed.”

“And therevpon the Champion caste downe his Gantlett, which lying some small time, Yorke Herauld tooke it vp and delivered it to him. Then they all advanced to the midst of the Hall, and Yorke made there the same proclamation, the Gantlet being also throwne downe and againe delivered the Champion. Lastly they advanced to the foot of the stepps, and Yorke Herauld vpon the topp of the stepps made the third Proclamation, and the Champion then also threw downe his Gantlet, w^{ch} nobody takeing vp, it was againe delivered him, hee makeing his humble obeysance therevpon to the King, and a guilt Cupp full of wine being brought to the King, by the Earle of Pembroke, assisted as before, the King drank to the Champion, and by the Earle sent him the Cupp, who drank off the Wine, and making his humble reverence departed, takeing the Cupp for his fee.”

Previous to the coronation, the said Edward Dymock was knighted by the king, and, on the fulfilment of his duties, received as fees the king's great courser, with its harness and trappings, as also the suit of armour, and bases of cloth of gold, and the *gold* (gilt) cup and cover.

At the coronation of James II., Sir Charles Dymock, having required, as one of his fees, the *gold* cup, it was by a hypercritical decision declared that the cup was a *gilt* cup, the word in the record being *d'orie*, which could not be understood otherwise than *gilt*: and at the last coronation it was so taken; so the champion had to be satisfied with a gilt cup, instead of one of the intrinsic metal.

The arms provided for the champion at this coronation are very particularly enumerated: “A complete suit of white armour, a pair of gauntlets, a sword and hanger, a case of rich pistols, an oval shield with the champions arms painted on it, and a gilded lance fringed about the handles. Also a field saddle of crimson velvet, with breastplate and other caparisons for the horse, richly laden with gold and silver;

a plume of red, white, and blue feathers, consisting of eighteen falls and a heron's top, another plume for the horse's head, and trumpet banners with the champion's own arms depicted on them." These were lawful fees to the champion, but it was understood, that on payment, by way of compensation, they were to be delivered to the master of the Royal Armoury.*

* In the "Records of the Ordnance Department" are the following notices of the champion's claims:—

"At the coronation of King William and Queen Mary (1689), the Champion had delivered to him from the stores the armour for his use, on the day of their Majesties' coronation, which he never returned again to the storehouse, but kept for his fee. And at the coronation of Queen Anne he wore the same armour he did at the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, and from the storehouse he had only a lance which he returned. It appears from a letter written 17th March, 1714, that the Champion received for his fee at the coronation of Queen Anne £50, and furnished himself with everything.

"Copy of a letter written by the Board [of Ordnance] 14th April, 1715, to Champion Dymoke, 'in answer to a letter the Champion writ me on 30th March, in answer to the letter on the other side sent him per order of the Surveyor-General, who dictated it to me at his house 17th March, 1714-5:—

"Office of Ordnance, 14th April, 1715.

"SIR,

"Mr. Nicholas having showed us a letter of yours of 30th March, in which you demand the armour you had at the last coronation, we must acquaint you that it being the armour of King Charles the Second, we cannot justify parting with the same, but, to prevent further trouble both to you and us, we have ordered to be paid you £60, which we hope will be to your satisfaction.

"Your humble servants,

"EDWARD ASHE,
"JOHN ARMSTRONG,
"THOMAS ERLE,
"A. RICHARDS,
"D. WINDSOR.

"To Lewis Dymoke, Esq."

"1714. October 20. To Lewis Dymoke, Esq., for his use this day at his Majesty's coronation:—

"One suit of armour, *cap-à-pie*, white and parcel gilt of King Charles II. One white manfairy. One short gauntlet, white engraven and parcel gilt. One target painted with his arms, and set round with silk fringe. One sword, with scabbard of crimson velvet. One belt of crimson velvet."

The last order for the equipment of the champion was given by the Duke of Wellington, as master general of the ordnance, in obedience to the Order in Council relative to the coronation of George IV. The duke reported (May 23, 1820) the supply for that purpose of—"One suit of

The Dymocks seem to have kept a vigilant eye on the cups, for we find the hereditary champion, Charles Dymock, Esq., claiming *two* cups at the coronation of William and Mary in the double capacity of champion for king and queen. With regard to the horse and armour, these were anciently only claimed as a right in case a combat ensued, which, for the ease and comfort of the bellicose champion, has never occurred. When this did not take place, it was at the sovereign's pleasure whether they became the claimant's property. At the coronation of George IV., Sir Walter Scott tells us, "the champion was performed (as of right) by young Dymoke, a fine looking youth, but bearing too much, perhaps, the appearance of a maiden knight to be the challenger of the world in a king's behalf. He threw down his gauntlet, however, with becoming manhood, and showed as much horsemanship as the crowd of knights and squires around him would permit to be exhibited. On the whole, this striking part of the exhibition somewhat disappointed me, for I would have had the champion less embarrassed by his assistants, and at liberty to put his horse on the *grand pas*, and yet the young lord of Scrivelsby looked and behaved extremely well." *

armour, *cap-à-pie*, lined and complete. A pair of gauntlets lined with doeskin gloves. One target painted with the Dymoke arms, and fringed with silk. One sword, gilt hilt, and crimson velvet scabbard. One sword-belt, do. One pair of pistols."

On July 17, 1877, a *cap-à-pie* suit of plate armour was at Christie, Manson, and Wood's auction rooms, described "as the property of the late Hereditary Champion Dymoke, removed from Scrivelsby Court, Lincolnshire." A small portion of the horse armour belonging to the suit was also on sale, and, it was understood, purchased for her Majesty's collection at Windsor Castle.

* The *backing* of the horses by the champion and his supporters, to be graceful and free from any mischance, was a matter considered with some anxiety at the time of the coronation of George III. A kind of dress rehearsal of this part of the ceremony took place in Westminster Hall, a few days previous to the coronation. In the *Public Advertiser* of September 19, 1761, it was announced as follows:—"Last night Westminster Hall was illuminated, and John Dymoke, Esq., put on his armour, and tried a grey horse which his late Majesty rode at the battle of Dettingen (?), before his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Prince Henry Frederic, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Talbot, and many other persons of distinction. There were also another grey and four other horses, which were walked and rode several times up and down the hall. Earl Talbot rode one of them, a very fine brown bay horse, which his lordship proposes to ride on the side of the Champion on the coronation

Haydon, the painter, in his grand coronation tableaux displays the Duke of Wellington, Howard, and the champion, standing in full view, as the most prominent objects in the splendid ceremonial.*

The challenge given by the champion on this august occasion was as follows:—"If any person of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our Sovereign Lord, George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and next Heir to our Sovereign Lord, King George the Third, deceased, to be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor; being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall be appointed."

It will be remembered that, owing to the economy of the Whigs, the champion was not called upon to perform any official duty at the coronation of William IV., and this omission, no doubt, served as a precedent when Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838.

day." Whatever confidence his lordship may have had in the good manners of his brown bay, it must have been shaken afterwards, for Horace Walpole says that it entered the hall backwards (see chapter on "Omens and Incidents at Coronations"). It is doubtful whether the charger of the champion was the Dettingen one, for that battle was fought in 1743.

* Haydon, in his "Diary," mentions the perplexity he was in to get a court dress, without which an entrance into the hall was impossible: "Sir George Beaumont lent me ruffles and a frill, another friend a blue velvet coat; a third, a sword; the rest I had." Being early at the door he obtained a front place in the chamberlain's box. He thus describes the championship: "Wellington, in his coronet, walked down the hall, cheered by the officers of the Guards. He returned shortly, mounted, with Lords Howard and Anglesea. They rode gracefully to the foot of the throne, and then backed out. Lord Anglesea's horse became restive. Wellington looked impatient, and, I am convinced, thought it a trick of Lord Anglesea's to attract attention. He never paused, but backed on, and the rest were obliged to follow him. This was a touch of character. The hall doors opened again, and outside, in twilight, a man in dark shadowed armour, appeared against the shining sky. He then moved, passed into darkness, under the arch, and suddenly Wellington, Howard, and the Champion stood in full view, with the doors closed behind them. This was certainly the finest sight of the day. The herald read the challenge; the glove was thrown down. They all then proceeded to the throne."

Accepting the challenge of the champion and the raising of the gauntlet have been frequently alluded to.

The probability of this occurrence is thus mentioned in a letter to Sir John Pringle from David Hume on the subject: "You see, this story is so nearly traced from the fountain-head as to wear a good deal of probability." Further, he inquires, "What if the Pretender *had* taken up Dymoke's gauntlet?" Horace Walpole, writing to Miss Berry in 1791, remarks, "Madame d'Albany . . . chose to go and see the King in the House of Lords, with the crown on his head, proroguing the parliament. What an odd encounter! Was it philosophy or insensibility? I believe it is certain that her husband was in Westminster Hall at the coronation."

All are acquainted with the graphic incidents related in Sir Walter Scott's "Redgauntlet," in which the romance of the story is vividly introduced. In a note to that work the author states that the popular notion had little appearance of truth, and "was probably one of the numerous fictions which were circulated to keep up the spirits of a sinking faction."

CHAPTER VI.

CORONATION PROCESSIONS FROM THE TOWER.

“ Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed,
 Which his aspiring rider seemed to know,
 With slow but stately pace, kept on his course ;
 While all tongues cried, God save thee, Bolingbroke !
 You would have thought the very windows spake,
 So many greedy looks of young and old
 Through casements darted their desiring eyes
 Upon his visage ; and that all the walls
 With painted imagery had said at once,
 Jesu preserve thee ! welcome, Bolingbroke !
 Whilst he, from one side to the other turning,
 Bare-headed, lower than his proud steed’s neck,
 Bespoke them thus : I thank you, countrymen ;
 And thus still doing, thus he passed along.”

SHAKSPERE.

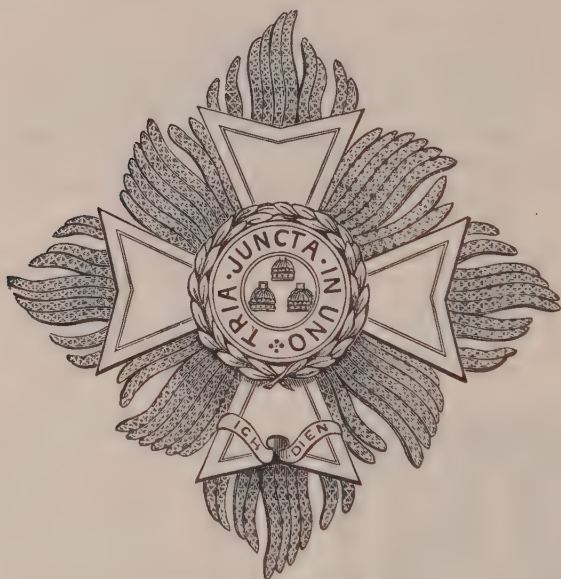


UCH as the august ceremony of the coronation is attended with splendour and solemnity in modern times, it has lost a portion of its former *éclat* by the omission of the PROCESSION FROM THE TOWER, through the City to Westminster, as—with but slight intermission—was the custom from the time of Richard II. to that of Charles II., whose “procession” occupied one whole day, the corona-

tion taking place on the day following, and with whom ended this picturesque part of the ceremonial.

The discontinuance of these splendid processions was indeed necessary, in consequence of the enormous expense

they entailed upon the city and the Government. We must remember, also, that these processions took their rise from a period when the Tower was the occasional abode of the sovereign. For several centuries the White Tower was used as a royal residence, and continued to be occupied as such, until the reign of Elizabeth. Henry III., while he strengthened it for a time of need, adorned it as a palatial place of abode. The first, second, and third Edwards resided at intervals within its walls, and Richard II. was brought up there in his minority, by his royal mother, "who was lodged in that part of the Tower Royal called the Queen's Wardrobe." During



Star of the Order of the Bath.

the insurrection of Wat Tyler, the court and principal nobility, to the number of six hundred, were domiciled there. Henry IV. and V. are recorded as departing from their "castle of London" on many occasions of feasting and rejoicing, and to the unfortunate Henry VI. this regal abode was by turns a palace and a prison. Edward IV. frequently kept his court here with great splendour, and both himself and Queen Elizabeth Woodville, the parents of the ill-fated Edward V., lodged at the Tower before the day fixed upon for their

coronation; proceeding thence to Westminster, according to ancient usage, to be invested with the symbols of royalty.*

The royal progress from the Tower to Westminster was a theme of exuberant admiration to our old chroniclers, among whom Hall, from his enthusiastic love for these displays, and his notice of the most trivial circumstances attending them, is conspicuous. It would, indeed, be difficult to conceive a more popular accompaniment of the coronation ceremonial, and although passed away from kingly pageants, the descriptions of these processions through the city are full of interest.

Before the departure of the sovereign on these august occasions from the Tower, a CREATION OF KNIGHTS OF THE BATH took place.† It was an imposing and solemn ceremony in

* "*Prince of Wales.* Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation ?

Gloster. Where it seems best unto your royal self.

If I may counsel you, some day or two

Your highness shall repose you at the Tower."

Richard III., Act iii. sc. 1.

† In the Harleian MSS. (No. 433, p. 227) there is a letter from King Edward V. to Otes Gilbert, Esq., commanding him to be prepared to receive knighthood at his approaching coronation: "Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well; and by the advice of our dearest uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of this our Royanme during our young age, and of the Lords of our Council, we write unto you at this time, willing and natheless charging you to prepare and furnish yourself to receive the noble order of knighthood at our coronation; which, by God's grace, we intend shall be solemnized the twenty-second day of this present month at our palace at Westminster, commanding you to be here at our Tower of London, four days before our said coronation, to have communication with commissioners concerning that matter, not failing hereof in any wise, as ye intend to please us, and as ye will answer. Given, etc., the 5th day of June.

"To Otes Gilbert, Squier."

In the reign of George I. a change was made in the accompaniments of the coronation, namely, a new arrangement of the knights of the Bath. In the earlier coronations it had been the practice of the sovereigns to create a number of knights before they started on their procession from the Tower. These knights, being made in time of peace, were not enrolled in any existing order, and for a long period had no special designation, but inasmuch as one of the most striking and characteristic parts of their admission was the complete ablation of their persons on the vigil of their knighthood, as an emblem of the cleanliness and purity of their future profession, they were called "knights of the Bath."

Every 20th of October—the anniversary of George I.'s coronation, a procession of the knights was to take place in Henry VII.'s Chapel, with

former days. The noviciate was conducted to a chamber where a bath was prepared, in which he was bathed. He then resumed his clothes, with a hermit's weed of russet cloth, and going to the church, or chapel, he there kept his vigil until almost daybreak, when he retired to rest. In the morning, habited in proud and costly robes, he came forth, and took horse in the court, and, coming to the hall, received the sword and spurs, and was dubbed knight by the hand of the sovereign.

Such were the ceremonies practised in the creation of knights of the Bath, previous to the coronation of our monarchs; but from the reign of Charles II., this part of the ceremonial has been discontinued. The king ordinarily dined at the Tower on the day after the creation of the knights of the Bath, and devoted the greater part of the day, after dinner, to the prolonged exhibition of himself to the people. After the royal feast to the knights in the Tower, arrangements were made for the convenient progress of the king and his court through the capital. The streets were cleaned; the houses of the citizens were decorated with tapestry and arras; bands of music were stationed at different places; and grand triumphal arches were erected, peopled with gods and genii, who saluted the sovereign in his route with speeches and songs. The aldermen of the city were placed in Cheapside, and the city companies ranged along the streets in their several habits of ceremony. The procession consisted of the usual attendants of royalty, and of the judges, peers, great officers of state, and princes of the blood. As early as 1235 we have, on the coronation of Queen Eleanor of Provence, consort of Henry III., particulars of an equestrian procession of the citizens of London, who, on that occasion,

a solemn service. On the occasion of an installation, they proceeded after the service to a banquet in the prince's chamber. The royal cook stood at the door of the abbey, with his cleaver, threatening to strike off the spurs from the heels of any knight who proved unworthy of his knightly vows.

It was also the custom in France to make knights at the coronation. Monstrelet mentions that "Louis XI., on being crowned, drew his sword, and presented it to the Duke of Burgundy, desiring that he would make him a knight, which was a novelty, for it has been commonly said that all the sons of the kings of France were made knights at the font when baptized; nevertheless, the duke, in obedience to command, gave the king the *accolade*, and with his hand dubbed him knight, with five or six other lords then present. Upwards of two hundred knights were created on that day."

claimed the office of cellarers to the King of England. This having been granted, they rode forth to accompany the king and the queen from the Tower, clothed in long garments, embroidered with gold and silk of various colours. They mounted to the number of three hundred and sixty. Their steeds were richly caparisoned with shining bits and new saddles, each citizen bearing a gold or silver cup in his hand for the royal use, the king's trumpeters sounding before them; and so rode they in at the royal banquet.

The procession attending Richard II., which occurred on July 15, 1377, the day preceding the coronation, was conducted with great splendour. The young sovereign, clothed in white robes, rode forth, attended by a multitude of nobles, knights, and esquires; the conduits in the streets flowed with wine, and at the principal thoroughfares the procession was delayed to witness the exhibition of pageants. The Goldsmiths' Company, in particular, shone in this part of the festivities. A castle was erected at the upper end of Cheape, with four towers, on two sides of which ran wine. In these towers four beautiful damsels, with white vestures, blew on the king's face leaves of gold, and threw before him and his horse counterfeit golden florins. When he was come before the castle, they took cups of gold, and filling them with wine from the spouts of the castle, presented the same to the king and his nobles. On the top of the castle, betwixt the towers, stood a golden angel, holding a crown in his hand, and so contrived that, when the king came, he bowed down and gave him the crown. This was said to be the most striking part of the pageants.

Nothing seemed wanting in this procession, which ingenuity could devise, or expense procure, to testify the enthusiasm of the people for a prince whose father was endeared to them; but how shortlived was the duration of anticipated peace and happiness!

Froissart relates the progress of Henry. IV., in 1399, through the city: "The Duke of Lancaster left the Tower this Sunday after dinner, on his return to Westminster; he was bareheaded, and had round his neck the order of the King of France. The Prince of Wales, six dukes, six earls, and eighteen barons accompanied him; and there were of knights and other nobility, from eight to nine hundred horse with the procession. The duke was dressed in a jacket of the German fashion, of cloth of gold, mounted on a white courser,

with a blue garter on his left leg. He passed through the streets of London, which were all handsomely decorated with tapestries and other rich hangings; there were nine fountains in Cheapside, and other streets he passed through, which perpetually ran with white and red wines. He was escorted by prodigious numbers of gentlemen, with their servants in liveries and badges; and the different companies of London were led by their wardens, clothed in their purple livery and with ensigns of their trade. The whole cavalcade amounted to six thousand horse, forming the escort of the duke from the Tower to Westminster."

Under a more vivid aspect Shakspeare describes the monarch in the lines quoted at the head of this chapter. The period fixed for the coronation of Edward IV. was Sunday, the 29th of June, 1461, being St. Peter's Day, and on the Thursday or Friday preceding he removed from the palace at Shene to the Tower of London, whither he was conducted by the mayor and aldermen and four hundred citizens, who went out to meet him on horseback, clad in splendid liveries. At the Tower, Edward sumptuously entertained most of the nobility and great men who were favourers of the house of York; and in the morning preceding that of his coronation, he there made thirty-two new knights of the Bath, who "being arrayed in blue gowns, with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders," rode before him the same afternoon in the splendid procession which was made through the city to Westminster.

Sir George Buck, in his "*History of Richard the Third*," remarks the observance "of the auneyent manner and custome that the prince who was next to succede the kinge deceased, shoulde goe to the Tower of London, the castell royall and cheefe howse of safetie in this kingdome, and stay there untill all things of royall apparall and pompe necessarye and proper to his consecration and coronation were fitly in rediness."

In the procession from the Tower there were three dukes (the princely Buckingham, says Grafton, appearing "in great splendour, his habit and caparison being of blue velvet embroidered with gold, and the trappings of his horse were supported by footmen in rich and costly dresses, in such solemn fashion that all men regarded it"), nine earls, and twenty-two barons, besides knights and esquires.

In the "*Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.*," published from a manuscript belonging to his Grace the

Duke of Rutland (Rutland Papers, Camden Society), we have notices of the procession of the monarch from the Tower to Westminster: *

"And sone theruppon the King at the said Tour, arraied in a doblet of gren or white cloth of gold satyn, a long gounne of purpur velwet, furred with ermyns poudred, open at the sides and purfild with ermyns, with a riche sarpe and garter, to take his horse trapped in a rich trapper, with vij coursours folowing hym, all trapped in rich and diuerse trappers, and with a spare coursar lad in hand trapped with a trappur of the Kinges armes, and sadlet with a saddell of estate couerid with cloth of gold, and all other saddels couerid with crymesyn velwet, except the Kinges owne saddel whiche is couerid in like cloth of gold to the saddell of estate and vij henxmen, clothed in dobletts of crymesyn saten, and in gownes of white cloth of gold, to folow the King vppon the said vij coursours barehed.

"In this wise the King shall ride opyn heded vndre a seele of cloth of gold baudekyn with iiij staves gilte, to be borne alweis by iiij noble Knights, they to be chaunged at diuerse and many places, as well for that the King may be serued of meny noble persones to their greit honoure, as for the ese of the berers, considered the long distaunce from the Tour to Westmynster.

"Afor the King directly his swerd shalbe borne by the Erle of Derby, on the right hand of the Kinges swerd the Erle of Oxenford as Grete Chamberlayn of England; on the right hand of the said swerd, the Duke of N. as Marshall of England; then the mair of London bering a mace, and the chieff herauld of the Kinges armys anempst him; then, behynd the King, my lords the Dukes of Bedford and Suffolk, the oon by hynd the King on the right hand of the furst foloer, and on the left hand the Duke of Suffolke; and next before the mair of London William Newton and Davy Phillipp, sqwiers for the Kinges body, bering in bawderik wise ij mantels furred, couered with ermyns, and ij hatts of estate of crymesyn cloth of gold, bek on bek, turned vppe by hynd, and furred also with ermyns, in representation of the Kinges ij ducheries of Guyan and Normandy; afor them, all the herauldes and mynstrels; afor them the new made Knights of the Bath; afor them, all noble men.

"Thise so ordred, the Kinges Highnes (attendyng vppon hym on ffote alwaies lx Knights, an cth sqwiers wering his lieury, and yomen of

* From Anstis's "History of the Knights of the Bath," it appears that "upon Symon and Jude's eveyn, the King proceeded to the Tower, and the following day created several Knights of the Bath, each of whom were preceded when they went to the Sovereign, by a king-of-arms, When the Knights were all dubbed, the King created a pursuivant, and named him Rouge-Dragon, and then departed to his chamber." The creation of this office upon the vigil of the king's coronation was in memory of the banner, bearing the device upon it which he had at Bosworth, painted upon white-and-green silk. This he had offered, with other trophies of his victory, at St. Paul's. It is notable, in regard to this coronation, hat in the archers that attended him appear the yeomen of the guard.

the corone, and of his chamber, in great and huge nowmber,) shall ride from the said Tour by open stretes of London in to the Chepe, from thens to Flete Strete, and so directly to the Kinges grayte haull in his palace of Westmynstre."

The "Device" next gives the order of the queen's procession from the Tower; but as the manuscript was evidently drawn up as a formula of the coronation ceremonies, and not a relation of the circumstances as they occurred, it is to be remarked that Queen Elizabeth of York was not crowned until November 25, 1487.

"Soon after the King is passed oute of the Tour, the Quene shall folowe vppon quysshons of white damaske cloth of gold, bareheded, wering a round cercle of gold set with perles and precious stones araide in a kirtill of white damaske daie cloth of gold furred with menyver pure, garnished with anletts of gold. Item. a mantelle furred with menyver pure garnished, a trayne of the same with damaske cloth of gold furred with ermyns, with a greit lase and ij botons and taxselles of white silk and gold at the brest above, sitting in a litter, withoute any bayles or couering aboue her hed, coutrid with white damaske cloth of gold, with out sides and within to be perfourmed with white damask, of silke, garnished with frenge of silke and gold with riband of gold, and gilt nailes, with iiij pomellis chased and gilt lyned in the botom with lynon cloth, ij greit coursers, bering the said littar vppon ij saddels, couered in white damaske cloth of gold, garnished with frenge of white silke and gold ryband of the same, ij dorsers of ledder coverid in white damaske of silke, ij bridels, ij cropers, ij colers, ij petrelles, with ij trapers, and otheir thair apparell, in white damaske of silke. Alwaies iiij noble knights bering a cele of white damaske lyned with white tarteran vppon shaftes burnished with sylver, with iiij bellys of laten fasted to them, ouer the Quene; thei to be chaunged as is above said of the King, the lords Graies Powis leding the horses of the littar.

"Ther shall folowe the Quene v henxmen, all clothed in doublettes, crymesyn saten, and gounes of blew velwet, riding in wymmen saddels, couered with crymesyn cloth of gold; next after them a palfray with a saddell of estate courid with crymesyn cloth of gold to be lad spare by the yoman of the Quenys horses; after them, iiij chares with xij ladies in them; the furst char couered with crymesyn cloth of gold, the second with crymesyn velwet, the third with crymesyn damaske; after them vij ladies, all clothed in gounes of blew velwet purfeld with crymesyn saten, sitting on vij palfraies all of oon colour, with saddels couered with crymesyn cloth of gold, horse harnes of the same, in maner of demy trappers cutte flawe wise, furred with ermyns poudred.

"Next befor the Queene shall ride her chamberlayn; afor him ij sqwiers vsshers of her chamber, either of them bering in bawderik wise a mantell furred with ermyns, and couered with ermyns, and ij hattes of estate of crymesyn cloth of gold, bek on bek, turned vpp be hynd, and furred with ermyns.

"Also, ther shall ride afor the Quene many lords of all estates,

Knights, sqwiers, and noble men in grete noumber, and aboute her persone, on fote, many knights, sqwiers, vsshers, and yomen of her chamber.

"In this wise the Quene shall ride folowing the King till they both come to Westmynster hall, wher they bothe, vnder clothes of estate at the oon end of Westminster hall, shalbe serued of the voide, and that done to be brought into their chambers, and for the King shalbe araied a bayn, and he therin to be bayned, which done the King and the Quene may take ther rest, and so endeth thobseraunce of the eve, or the vigill of the coronacion."

In the beginning of June, 1509, the marriage of Henry VIII. with his first wife, Catharine of Arragon, was solemnized at Greenwich, and thence the royal pair afterwards removed, with a numerous and splendid court, to the Tower, preparatory to their coronation. On the 23rd of that month the king, being then with the queen in the Tower, made twenty-four new knights of the Bath, and the next day their Majesties proceeded through the city to Westminster, surrounded with a display of all that gorgeous and costly pageantry which soon became the prevailing taste and fashion of the age. Hall informs us that the—

"streates where his grace should passe were hanged with tapesterie and clothe of arras, and the greate parte of the Southe side of Chepe with clothe of golde, and some part of Cornhill also; and the streates railed and barred on the one side from over against Bred streate in Chepeside, where every occupation rode in their liveries in ordre, beginning with base and meane occupations, and so ascending to the worshipfull craftes. Highest and lastly, stode the maior, with the aldermen; the goldsmithes stalles unto the ende of the Olde Chaunge being replenished with virgins in white, with braunches of white waxe.

"His Grace wared a robe of crymsyn velvet, with diamonds, rubies, emaraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a great bauderike about his necke, of large balasses; the trapper of his horse damaske gold, with a depe purfell of armyns [ermine].

"The Queen sittying in her litter borne by two white palfries, the litter covered and richely appareled, and the palfries trapped in whyte cloth of gold: her persone appareled in whyte satyn embroidered; her haire hanging downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewteful and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall set with many riche orient stones."

Lady Anne Boleyn, the second queen of Henry VIII., was crowned June 1, 1533, and her procession through the city from the Tower is thus described in a manuscript of the time:—

"In the month of May, the King's Highnesse addressed his letters to the maior and communalitie of London, signifying unto them, that his pleasure was to solemnize the coronation of his most deare and wel-beloved wife, Queen Anne, at Westminster, on Whitson-daie next

ensuing, willing them to make preparation, as well to fetch her Grace from Greenwich to the Tower by water, as to see the city garnished with pageants in places accustomed, for the honour of her Grace, when shee should be conveyed from the Tower to Westminster. Whereupon a common councell was called, and commandement given to the Haberdashers, of which craft the maior was, that they should prepare a barge for the bachelors, with a master and a foyste, garnished with banners, like as they use when the maior is presented at Westminster on the morrowe after the feast of Saint Simon and Jude. Also all other crafts were commaunded to prepare barges, and to garnish them, not onely with their banners accustomed, but also to decke them with targets, by the sides of the barges, and to set up all such seemely banners and bannerets, as they had in their halles, or could get to furnish their said barges; and every barge to have minstrels. According to which commandement great preparation was made for all things necessarie for such a noble triumph.

"The 29th day of Maie, being Thursdaie, the maior and his brethren, all in scarlet, and such as were Knights, had collars of esses, and the residue having great chaines, and the councell of the citie assembled with them at St. Marie Hill; and at one of the clocke descended to the newe staire to their barge, which was garnished with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and richly covered, in which barge was shalmes, shage-bushes, and divers other instrumentes of musicke which played continually.

"After that the maior and his brethren were in their barge, seeing that the companies, to the number of fiftie barges, were readie to wayte upon them, they gave commandement to the companies, that no barge should row neerer to another than twice the length of the barge; and to see the order kept, there were three whirries prepared, and in every part two officers to call upon them to keepe their order.

"After which commaundement given, they set forth in order, as hereafter is described. First, before the maior's barge was a foyste, for a wafter full of ordinance, in which foyste was a great red dragon, continually mooving and casting wild fire; and round about the said foyste stode terrible monstrous and wilde men casting fire, and making hideous noyse: next after the foyste a good distance came the maior's barge, in the which were trumpets, and divers other melodious instruments; the deckes of the saide barge, and saile yarges, and the top castles, were hanged with rich cloth of gold and silke; at the foreship and the sterne were two great banners, rich beaten with the armes of the King and the Queen; and on the top castle also was a long streamer newly beaten with the sayd armes: the sides of the barge were set full of flags and banners of the devices of the companies of Haberdashers and Merchant Adventurers, and the lassiters or cords, were hanged with innumerable pensels, having little bells at the endes, which made a goodlie noise, and was a goodlie sight, wavering with the wind: on the outside of the barge were 3 dozen scutcheons, in metall, of the armes of the King and Queene, which were beaten upon square buckeram divided, so that the right side had the King's colours, and the left side the Queenes; which scutcheons were fastened on the clothes of golde and silver hanging on the deckes: on the left hand of the maior was an other foyste, in the which was a mount, and on the mount stode a white faulcon, crowned upon a roote of golde, environed with white roses and red, which was the

Queenes device; about which mount sate virgins singing and playing melodiously. Next after the maior followed his fellowship, the Haberdashers; next after them the Mercers; then the Grocers; and so every companie in his order; and last of all the maior's and sheriffes officers; every company having melodie in their barge by themselves, and goodlie garnished with banners, and some covered with silke, and some with arras or such like, which was a goodlie sight to behold; and in this order they rowed by Greenwich to the point beyond Greenwich, and there they turned backward in another order, that is, to wit, the maior's and sheriffe's officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the uppermost craft in order, and the maior last, as they go to Paules at Christmas; and in that order they rode downeward to Greenewich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melodie. At three of the clocke, the Queene, apparrelled in rich cloth of golde, entered into her barge, accompanied with divers ladies and gentlewomen; and incontinent the cittizens sette forward in their order, their minstrels continually playing; and the batcheler's barge going on to the Queenes right hande, which shee tooke great pleasure to beholde. About the Queenes barge were manie noblemen, as the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, the earle of Wilshire her father, the earles of Arundale, Darbie, Rutland, Worcester, Huntington, Sussex, Oxford, and manie bishops and noblemen, every one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to beholde; shee thus being accompanied rowed towards the Tower: and in the meane way the ships which were commanded to lie on the shoare for letting of the barges, shotte diverse peales of guns, and ere shee landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the Tower, I never heard the like: and at her landing, there mette with her the lord chamberleine, with the officers of armes, and brought her to the King, which received her with loving countenance at the Posterne by the water-side, and kissed her, and then shee turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the cittizens with manie goodlie wordes, and so entred into the Tower.

"After which entrie the cittizens all this while hovered before the Tower, making great melodie, and went not a land, for none were assigned to lande but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen: but to speake of the people that stode on everie shoare to beeholde this sight, he that saw it not will not belevee it.

"On Fridaie at dinner served the King all such as were appoynted by his Highnesse to bee Knights of the Bathe, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and the night were bathed, and shriven according to the old usage of England, and the next daie in the morning the King dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, whose names hereafter ensue, nineteen in number: the marquesse Dorsett; the earle of Darby; the lord Clifford, sonne and heire to the earle of Cumberland; the lord Fitz-Walter, sonne and heire to the earle of Sussex; the lord Hastings, sonne and heire to the earle of Huntington; the lord Montague; the lord Vaux; Sir Henry Parker, sonne and heire to the lord Morley; Sir William Winsore, sonne and heire to lord Winsore; Sir John Mordant, sonne and heire to the lord Mordant; Sir Francis Weston; Sir Thomas Arondale; Sir John Hudlestone; Sir Thomas Poynings; Sir Henry Savell; Sir George Fitzwilliam of Lincolnshire; Sir John Tindale; Sir Thomas Jerney.

"On Saturdaie the one and thirtieth daie of Maie, the Queene was conveyed through London in order as followeth : to the intent that the horses shoulde not slide on the pavement, nor that the people shoulde bee hurt by horses, the high streetes wherethrough the Queene shoulde passe, were all gravelled from the Tower unto Temple-barre, and rayled on each side ; within which rayles stood the crafts along in their order from Grace Church, where the merchants of the Stil-yard stooode untill the little Conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen stooode, and on the other side of the streete stood the constables of the cittie, apparelled in velvet and silke, with great staves in their hands, to cause the people to give roome, and keepe good order ; and when the streets were somewhat ordered, the maior in a gowne of crimosin velvet, and a rich collar of esses, with two footemen clothed in white and red damaske, rode to the Tower, to give his attendance on the Queene, on whom the Sheriffes, with their officers, did awaite untill they came to the Tower Hill, where they, taking their leave, rode down the high streets, commanding the constables to see roome and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape ; and before the Queene with her traine shoulde come, Grace Streete and Cornhill were hanged with fine scarlet, crimosin, and other grained clothes, and in some places with rich arras ; and the most parte of Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, golde, velvet, and manie rich hangings which did make a goodlie shewe ; and all the windowes were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen, to beholde the Queene and her traine as they should passe by.

"The first of the Queene's companie that set forward were twelve Frenchmen, belonging unto the French ambassador, clothed in coats of blew velvet, with sleeves of yellow and blew velvet, their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe sarsenet poudred with white crosses ; after them marched gentlemen, esquires, Knights, two and two ; after them the judges ; after them the Knights of the Bathe in violet gownes with hoodes purfled with miniver like doctors ; after them abbots ; then barons ; after them bishops, the earles and the marquesses ; then the Lord Chancellor of England ; after him the archbishoppe of York, and the ambassador of Venice ; after them the archbishoppe of Canterbury, and the ambassadour of France ; after rode two esquires of honor, with robes of estate rolled and worne bauldrike-wise about their neckes, with caps of estate, representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine ; after them rode the maior of London with his mace, and Garter in his coate of armes, which bare also his mace of Westminster-Hall ; after them rode the lord William Howard with the marshal's rod, deputy to his brother the Duke of Norfolk, marshall of England, which was ambassador then in France ; and on his right hande rode Charles, duke of Suffolke, for that daie high constable of Englande, bearing the warder of silver appertaining to the office of constableness ; and all the lordes for the most part were clothed in crimson velvet ; and all the Queene's servants or officers of armes in scarlet ; next before the Queene rode her chancelor bare headed ; the serjeants and officers at armes rode on both sides of the lordes ; then came the Queene in a white litter of white cloth of golde, not covered or vailed, which was led by two halfreys clad in white damaske downe to the ground, head and all, led by her footmen : she had on a kirtle of white cloth of tissue, and a

mantle of the same furred with ermine, her haire hanging downe; but on her head she had a coife with a circlet about it full of rich stones; over her was borne a canapie of cloth of golde with foure gilte staves and foure silver belles; for bearing of the which canapie were appoynted sixteene knights; foure to beare it one space on foote, and foure another space, according to their own appoyntment; next after the Queene rode the lord Browgh her chamberlain; next after him William Coffin, master of the horses, leading a spare horse with a side saddle, trapped downe with cloth of tissue; after him rode seaven ladies in crimosin velvet, turned up with cloth of golde and of tissue, and their horses trapped with golde; after them two chariots covered with red cloth of golde; in the first chariot were two ladies, which were the olde dutchesse of Norfolke, and the olde marchionesse of Dorset; in the second chariot were foure ladies all in crimosin velvet; after them rode seven ladies in the same suit, their horses trapped and all; after them came the third chariot all in white, with sixe ladies in crimosin velvet; next to them came the fourth chariot all red, with eyght ladies also in crimosin; after whom followed thirty gentlewomen all in velvet and silke, in the liverie of their ladies, on whome they gave their attendance; after them followed the garde in coates of goldsmith's worke, in which order they rode forth till they came to Fan-church, where was made a pageant all of children apparellled like marchants, which well-coumed her to the cittie, with two proper propositions both in French and in English; and from thence shee rode unto Grace-church Corner, where was a costlie and marvellous cunning pageant made by the marchants of the Still-yard, wherein was the Mount Pernassus, with the Fountaine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipe did rise an ell high, which fountaine ranne abundantly with rackt Reynish wine till night; on the mountain sat Apollo, and at his feete sat Caliope; and on every side of the mountaine sate foure Muses playing on severall sweete instruments, and at their feete epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which every Muse, according to her property, praysed the Queene.

"From thence the Queene with her traine passed to Leaden-hall, where was a goodly pageant, with a tippe and heavenly rose; and under the tippe was a goodlie roote of gold set on a little mountain, euvironed with red roses and white; out of the tippe came downe a faulcon all white, and set uppon the roote, and incontinent came downe an angell with great melodic, and set a close crowne of golde on the faulken's head: and in the same pageant sate Saint Ann, with all her issue beneath her; and under Mary Cleophe sate her foure children; of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the Queene of the fruitfulness of Saint Anne, and of her generation, trusting that like fruit should come of her. Then shee passed to the Conduit in Cornhill, where were the three Graces sette in a throne, afore whome was the spring of grace, continuallie running wine; afore the fountaine sate a poet, declaring the property of every Grace; that done, every ladie by herself, according to her propertie, gave to the Queene a severall gift of grace.

"That done, shee passed by the great conduit in Cheape, which was newlie paynted with armes and devises, out of the which Conduit (by a goodlie fountaine set at the end) ranne continuallie wine, both white

and claret, all that afternoon; and so shee rode to the Standart which was richly paynted with images of Kinges and Queenes, and hanged with banners of armes; and in the toppe was marvellous sweet harmonie, both of songs and instruments.

"Then she went forward by the Crosse, which was newlie gilte, till shee came where the aldermen stood; and then maister Baker, the recorder, came to her with lowe reverence, making a proper and briefe proposition, and gave to her, in the name of the cittie, a thousande markes in golde, in a purse of golde, which shee thankfully accepted with manie good words, and so rode to the little Conduite, where was a rich pageant full of melody and songs, in which pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus, and afore them stood Mercurie, which in the name of the three goddesses gave unto her a ball of gold, divided into three, signifying three gifts which these three goddesses gave to her, that is to say, Wisdom, Riches, and Felicitie.

"As shee entred into Paule's gate there was a pretie pageant, in which sate three ladies richly clothed; and in a circle on their heade was written '*Regina Anna*, prosper, proceede, and raigne.' The lady in the midst had a tablet, in the which was written, '*Veni, amica, Coronaberis*,' and under the tablet sate an angell, with a close crowne. And the ladie sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver, in which was written, '*Domine, dirige gressus meos*.' And the third ladie had a tablet of golde, with letters of azure written, '*Confido in Domino*,' and under their feete was written,

' *Regina Anna paris regis de sanguine nata,*
Et paries populis aurea soeculæ tuis.'

And these ladies cast downe wafers on which the said two verses were written.

"From thence shee passed to the easte end of St. Paul's Church against the schoole, where stode a scaffold, and children well apparelled, which said to her divers goodlie verses of poets translated into English, to the honor of the King and her; which shee highly commended. And then she came to Ludgate, which newe gate was newe garnished with golde and bisse; and on the leades of St. Martin's Church stode a goodlie queere of singing men and children, which sang newe ballets made in prayse of her Grace.

"After that shee was past Ludgate, shee proceeded toward Fleetstreet, where the Conduit was newly paynted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the shalmes melodiouslie sounding. Upon the Conduit was made a tower with foure turrets, and in every turret stood one of the cardinal vertues, with their tokens and properties, which had severall speeches, promising the Queene never to leave her, but to be aiding and comforting her; and in the midst of the tower itself was such severall solemne instruments, that it seemed to bee an heavenly noyse, and was much regarded and praysed; and besides this the Conduit ranne wine, claret and red, all the afternoone; so shee with all her companie, and the maior, rode forth to Temple-bar, which was newly paynted and repaired, where stood also divers singing men and children, till shee came to Westminster-hall, which was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and newly glazed; and in the midst of the hall shee was

taken out of her litter; and so ledde up to the high deske under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupboord of ten stages high, marveyous rich and beautifull to beholde; and within a little season was brought to the Queene, with a solemne service in great standing, spice plates, a voide of spice, and subtleties, with ipocrasse, and other wines, which shee sent downe to her ladies, and when the ladies had drunke, shee gave hearty thanks to the lords and ladies and to the maior, and other that had given their attendance on her; and so withdrew herselfe with a fewe ladies to the White-hall, and so to her chamber, and there shifted her; and after went in her barge secretly to the King to his mannor of Westminster, where she rested all night.*

On the 19th of February, 1547, Edward VI. proceeded from the Tower, and passed through the City to Westminster, in a manner not inferior in magnificence and pomp to preceding processions. Valentine and Orson were exhibited "in Cheap," at due distance from whom stood "Sapience" and the "Seven Liberal Sciences," who "declared certaine goodly speeches" for the instruction of the young king. Various other allegorical personages harangued him by the way; but the most singular spectacle was that whereby "Paul's steple laie at anchor," as Holinshed expresses it. An Arragosen made fast a rope to the battlements of St. Paul's, which was also attached to an anchor at the gate of the dean's house, and descended upon it in the sight of the king and assembled populace, to the no small gratification of both. A similar feat of dexterity was performed by one Peter, a Dutchman, during the procession of Queen Mary from the Tower (September 30, 1553). This man stood on the weather-cock of St. Paul's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand five yards long, and waving it; he stood for some time on one foot, shaking the other, and then knelt down, to the astonishment of the spectators. He had two scaffolds under him, one above the cross having torches and streamers set on it.

"The Queen's coronation," says Strype, 'was now all the care which was resolved to be very splendid and glorious, being to be performed on the 1st Oct. 1553; against which day her Majesty having to pass through London, it was the citizens province, according to old custom to adorn the city.' Mary removed from St. James' to White-

* At the beheading of this unfortunate victim of tyranny, only three years afterwards, on the Tower green, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, "and certaine of the principall companies of the cittie," are described as being among the mournful spectators of one whose elevation they had so recently been taught to reverence and honour.

hall, where she went on board her barge accompanied by the Lady Elizabeth her sister, and other ladies, and proceeded by water to the Tower, attended by the lord mayor and aldermen, and all the companies in their barges, with streamers, and trumpets and waits, shawmes, and regals, together with great volley shots of guns, until her Grace came into the Tower and some time after. On the morrow the Earl of Arundel, by commission from the Queen, made fifteen new Knights of the Bath. The next day Mary made her solemn procession through the city to Westminster, the streets, as usual, being adorned with magnificent drapery, 'and in many places were goodly pageants, and devices therein, with music and elegant speeches.' Mary was drawn in a sumptuous litter, and apparelled in 'a mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold, furred with mynever pure, and powdered ermins,' and her head was adorned with a circlet of gold, enriched with pearls and precious stones. Next to the queen, followed the Princess Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleves in a chariot; and after them came the Duchess of Norfolk, the Marchionesses of Exeter and Winchester, the Countess of Arundel, and a gorgeous train of other ladies on horseback or in chariots, chiefly attired in crimson velvet, and their horses caparisoned with the same; and this splendid cavalcade passed through the city, wanting nothing but the hearty rejoicings of the people to render it equal to any of those splendid shews, which custom had now established as a necessary accompaniment to the ceremonies of a coronation. The Lady Elizabeth, who was soon to eclipse her sister in splendour, and far exceed her in popular demonstrations of good-will, 'sat,' we are told, 'in her litter, clad in a gowne of purple velvet, furred with powdered ermins, having on her head a kall [caul] of cloth of tiussell, béeset with pearle and stone, and above the same, upon her head, a round circlet of gold, béeset so richlie with pretius stones, that the value thereof was inestimable; the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous, that she was fain to beare up her head with her hand.' In this state Queen Mary, rode through the city, passing in Fenchurch Street a costly pageant made by the Genoese, consisting of a triumphal arch, with complimentary Latin inscriptions and guarded by four great giants, who, also, accosted her Majesty with goodly speeches. At Gracechurch corner, another pageant, erected by the Easterlings; and at the upper end of Gracechurch Street, a triumphal arch erected by the Florentines, with three thoroughfares, or gates, and on the top of which 'stood,' says Stowe, 'an Angel all in green, with a trumpet in his hand, and when the trumpeter, who stood secretly in the Pageant, did sound his trump, the Angel put his trump to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marveling of many ignorant persons.' The Conduit in Cornhill, and the Great Conduit in Cheap ran wine. By the side of each was a pageant, made at the charge of the city. The Standard in Cheap was newly painted, and the City Waits played on the top of it. The Cross in Cheap was new washed and burnished; and there was a third pageant at the city's cost at the little Conduit in Cheap, next to St. Paul's where the aldermen stood. Here the Queen was addressed by the Recorder, and then the Chamberlain presented to her a purse of cloth of gold, with a thousand marks of gold in it. At the School in St. Paul's Churchyard, one Master Hay-

wood, sat in a pageant, under a vine, and delivered an oration in Latin, and in English. Against the Dean of Paul's Gate, there was another pageant, where the choristers of St. Paul's played upon viols and sang. Ludgate was newly repaired, painted, and adorned with rich hangings, and minstrels playing and singing there. The last pageant was at the Conduit in Fleet Street, and then passing through Temple Bar, which was newly painted and hung with tapestry, her Majesty at length reached Whitehall, where she took her leave of the Lord Mayor, giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost."

The procession from the Tower of Queen Elizabeth, who was particularly partial to magnificent displays, was one of the most striking that had ever been exhibited. The pompous habits of the age, in which the citizens of London vied with each other in costly shows, were illustrated to their fullest extent in this ceremony. With the reign of this monarch, the grand old civic pageants had reached their culminating point, and seem to have subsided, at least, in much of their old-fashioned and quaint peculiarities. I have therefore extracted from Nichols's "Progresses" the account of the procession of the queen from the Tower, given in a tract printed by Richard Tottell, and in which I have preserved the original style and manner of spelling, omitting only, from a regard to space, the Latin version of the several speeches made on that occasion. As a curious relic of the manners and habits of our ancestors in the reign of the Virgin Queen, it is well worthy of reproduction.

"The Passage of our most drad soveraigne Lady Quene Elizabeth through the citie of London to Westminster, the daye before her Coronation, Anno 1558. (Imprinted at London in Flete-strete, within Temple-barre, at the signe of the Hand and Starre, by Richard Tottell, the xxiii day of January. Cum privilegio.)

"Upon Saturday, which was the 13th day of January, in the yere of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at afternoone, the moste noble and Christian Princesse, our moste dradde Soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendour of the Faith &c. marched from the Towre, to passe through the citie of London towarde Westminster, richely furnished, and most honourably accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable trayne of goodly and beawtifull ladies, richly appoynted. And entryng the citie was of the people received marveyulous entirely, as appeared by the assemblie, prayers, wishes, welcomminges, cryes, tender woordes and all other signes, which argue a wonderfull earnest love of most obedient subjectes towarde theyr soveraigne. And on thother side, her Grace, by holding up her handes, and merie countenance to such as stode farre of, and most tender and gentle language to those that stode nigh to her Grace, did declare herselfe no lesse thankfullye to receive her people's good

wyll than they lovingly offered it unto her. To all that wysshed her Grace well, she gave heartie thankes, and to such as bade God save her Grace, she sayde agayne God save them all, and thanked them with all her heart: So that on eyther syde there was nothing but gladnes, nothing but prayer, nothing but comfort. The Quenes Majestie rejoysed marveilously to see that so exceedingly shewed toward her Grace, which all good princes have ever desyred. I meane so earnest love of subjectes, so evidently declared even to her Grace's owne person being carried in the midst of them. The people again were wonderfully raushed with the louing answers and gestures of theyr Princesse, like to the which they had before tryed at her first comming to the Towre from Hatfield. This her Grace's loving behaviour preconceived in the people's heades upon these considerations was then throughly confirmed, and indeed emplantad a wonderfull hope in them touchyng her woorthy government in the reste of her reygne. For in all her passage, she did not only shew her most gracious love toward the people in generall, but also privately, if the baser personages had offered her Grace any flowers or such like as a signification of their good wyll, or moved to her any sute, she most gently to the common rejoysing of all the lookers on, and private comfort of the partie, staid her chariot, and heard theyr requestes. So that if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted Princesse toward her most loving people, and the people's exceding comfort in beholding so worthy a Sovereigne, and hearing so princelike a voice, which could not but have set the enemie on fyre, since the vertue is in the enemie alway commended, much more could not but enflame her naturall, obedient, and moste loving people, whose weale leaneth onely uppon her Grace, and her government. Thus therefore the Quene's majestie passed from the Towre till she came to Fanchurche, the people on eche side joyously beholdyng the viewe of so gracious a ladye theyr Quene, and her Grace no lesse gladly notyng and observing the same. Nere unto Fanchurch was erected a scaffold richely furnished, whereon stode a noyse of instrumentes, and a chylde in costly apparell, whiche was appoynted to welcome the Quenes majestie in the hole cities behalfe. Against which place, when her Grace came, of her owne wyll, she commaunded the chariot to be stayde, and that the noyse might be appeased till the chylde had uttered his welcomming oration, which he spake in English meter, as here followeth:—

' O pereles soveraygne quene, behold what this thy town
Hath thee presented with at thy fyrst entraunce here;
Behold with how rich hope she ledeth thee to thy crown,
Beholde with what two gyftes she comforteth thy chere.

' The first is blessing tonges, which many a welcome say,
Which pray thou maist do wel, which praise thee to the sky;
Which wish to do thee long lyfe, which blesse this happy day,
Which to thy kingdome heapes, all that in tonges can lye.

The second is true hertes, which love thee from their roote,
Whose sute is tryumphe now, and ruleth all the game:

Which faithfulness have wone, and all untruth driven out,
Which skip for joy, when as they heare thy happy name.

' Welcome therefore, O Quene, as much as herte can thinke ;
Welcome agayn, O Quene, as much as tong can tell ;
Welcome to joyous tonges, and hartes that will not shrink :
God thee preserve we praye, and wish thee ever well.'

At which wordes of the last line the hole people gave a great shout, wishing with one assent, as the chylde had said. And the Quenes majestie thanked most hartely both the cite for this her gentle receiving at the first, and also the people for confirming the same. Here was noted in the Quenes majesties countenance, during the time that the childe spake, besides a perpetuall attentiveness in her face, a marvelous change in loke, as the childes wordes touched either her person, or the peoples tonges or hertes. So that she with rejoysing visage did evidently declare that the wordes tooke no lesse place in her minde, than they were moste heartely pronounced by the chylde, as from all the heartes of her most heartie citizeins. The same verses were fastned up in a table upon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses.

Now when the childe had pronounced his oration, and the Quenes Highnes so thankfully had received it, she marched forward towarde Gracious Strete, where, at the upper ende, before the signe of the Egle, the cite had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arke, as here followeth:—

" A stage was made whiche extended from thone syde of the strete to thother, richely vawted with battlements, containing three portes, and over the middlemost was avaunced three severall stages in degrees. Upon the lowest stage was made one seate royall, wherein were placed two personages representyng Kyng Henrie the seventh, and Elyzabeth his wyfe, daughter of Kyng Edward the fourth, eyther of these two princes sitting under one cloth of estate in their seates, no otherwyse divided, but that thone of them, which was Kyng Henrie the seventh, proceeding out of the house of Lancaster, was enclosed in a read rose, and thother which was Quene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, enclosed with a whyte rose, eche of them royally crowned, and decently apparailled as apperteineth to princes, with sceptours on their heades, and one vawt surmounting their heades, wherein aptly were placed two tables, eche containing the title of those two princes. And these personages were set, that the one of them joined hands with thother, with the ring of matrimonie perceived on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed upward to the second stage or degree, wherein was placed one representing the valiant and noble prynce King Henry the eight, which sprong out of the former stock, crowned with a crown imperial, and by him sate one representing the right worthy ladie quene Ann, wyfe to the said King Henrie the eight, and mother to our most sovereign ladie, quene Elizabeth that now is, both appparelled with sceptours and diademes, and other furniture due to the state of a king and quene, and two tables surmounting their heades, wherein were written their names and titles. From their seate also proceeded upwardes one braunche directed to the thirde and uppermost stage or degree, wherein lykewyse

was planted a seate royall, in the whiche was sette one representing the queene's most excellent majestie Elizabeth nowe our most dradde soveraigne ladie, crowned and apparalled as thother prynces were. Out of the foreparte of this pageaunt was made a standing for a chylde, whiche at the quenes majesties comeing declared unto her the hole meaning of the said pageaunt. The two sides of the same were filled with loude noyses of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning unitie. And the hole pageant garnished with redde roses and white, and in the forefront of the same pageant, in a faire wreathe, was written the name and title of the same, which was, 'The uniting of the two howses of Lancastre and Yorke.' Thys pageant was grounded upon the Quenes majesties name. For like as the long warre between the two houses of Yorke and Lancastre then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth matched in mariage with Henry the seventh, heyre to the howse of Lancastre; so since that the Quenes majesties name was Elizabeth, and forsomuch as she is the onely heire of Henrye the eighth, which came of bothe the howses, as the knitting up of concorde, it was devised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concorde, so she, another Elizabeth, myght maintaine the same among her subjectes, so that unitie was the ende whereat the whole devise shotte, as the Quenes majesties names moved the first grounde. Thys pageant nowe agaynst the Quenes majesties comming was addressed with children representing the fore-named personages, with all furniture dewe unto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared, costly and sumptuouslye set forth as the beholders can beare witnes. Now the Quene's majestie drewe neare unto the sayde pageant, and forsomuch as the noyse was greates by reason of the prease of people, so that she could scarce heare the childe which did interprete the said pageant, and her chariot was passed so farre forward that she coule not well view the personages representing the kynges and queenes abovenamed; she required to have the matter opened unto her, and what they signified, with the ende of unitie, and ground of her name, according as is before expressed. For the sight whereof, her Grace caused her chariot to be removed back, and yet hardly could she see, because the children were set somewhat with the farthest in.

"But after that her Grace had understode the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praysed the fairenes of the worke, and promised that she would doe her whole endeavour for the continuall preservation of concorde, as the pageant did emport. The childe appoynted in the standing above named to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these wordes unto her Grace:—

The two Princes that sit under one cloth of state,
 The man in the redde rose, the woman in the white,
 Henry the VII. and Quene Elizabeth his mate,
 By ring of mariage as man and wife unite.

Both heires to both their bloodes, to Lancastre the Kyng,
 The Queene to Yorke, in one the two howses did knit;
 Of whom as heire to both, Henry the eighth did spring,
 In whose seat, his true heire, thou Quene Elizabeth dost sit.

‘ Therfore as civil warre, and fuede of blood did cease,
 When these two houses were united into one,
 So now that jarres shall stint, and quietnes encrease,
 We trust, O noble Quene, thou wilt be cause alone.’

The which also were written in Latin verses, and both drawn in two tables upon the forefront of the saide pageant.

“ These verses, and other pretie sentences, were drawn in voide places of thys pageant, all tending to one ende, that quietnes might be mainteyned, and all dissention displaced, and that by the quenes majestie, heire to agrement, and agreeing in name with her which tofore had joyned these houses, which had ben thoccasyon of much debate and civil warre within thys realme, as may appere to such as will searche cronicles, but be not to be touched in thys treatise only declaring her Graces passage through the citie, and what provisyon the citie made therfore. And ere the Quene’s majestie came within hearing of thys pageaunt, she sent certaine, as also at all the other pageauntes to require the people to be silent. For her Majestie was disposed to heare all that shoulde be sayde unto her.

“ When the Quenes majestie had hearde the chyldes oration, and understoode the meanyng of the pageant at large, she marched forward toward Cornehill, alway received with lyke rejoysing of the people; and there, as her Grace passed by the conduit which was curiously trimmed agaynst that tyme with riche banners adourned, and a noyse of loude instrumentes upon the top therof, she espyed the second pageant, and because she feared for the peoples noyse, that she should not heare the child which dyd expounde the same, she enquired what that pageant was ere that she came to it: and there understoode that there was a chylde representing her Majesties person, placed in a seate of government, supported by certayne vertues which suppressed their contrarie vyces under their feete, and so forthe, as in the description of the sayd pageant shall hereafter appear.

“ This pageant standynge in the nether ende of Cornehill, was extended from thone syde of the streete to the other, and in the same pageant was devysed three gates, all open; and over the middle parte thereof was erected one chayre, or seate royal, with clothe of estate to the same apperteynyng, wherein was placed a chylde representinge the Quenes highnesse, with consideracion had for place convenient for a table, whiche conteyned her name and tyle. And in a comely wreathe, artificiallie and well devised, with perfite light and understanding to the people, in the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof; which is, ‘ The seate of worthie Governance ’ whych seate was made in such artificiall maner, as to the apperance of the lookers on, the forparte seemed to have no staye, and therfore of force was stayed by lively personages, which personages were in numbre foure, standing and staieng the forefronte of the same seate royall, eche having his face to the Quene and people, wherof every one had a table to expresse their effectes, which are Vertues; namely, Pure Religion, Love of Subjectes, Wisdom, and Justice: which did treade their contrarie vyces under their feete; that is to witte, Pure Religion did treade upon Superstition and Ignoraunce, Love of Subjectes did treade upon Rebellion and Insolencie, Wisdome did treade upon Follie and Vaine Glorie, Justice did

treade upon Adulacion and Bribery. Eche of these personages, according to their proper names and properties, had not onely their names in plaine and perfit writing set upon their breastes easely to be read of all, but also every of them was aptly and properly apparelled, so that hys apparell and name did agre to expresse the same person that in title he represented. This part of the pageant was thus appoynted and furnished. The two sydes over the two side portes had in them placed a noyse of instrumentes whych immediatly after the chyldes speache gave an heavenlie melodie. Upon the top or uppermost part of the said pageant stode the armes of England, totally portratured with the proper beastes to upholde the same. One representing the Quenes highnes sate in this seate, crowned with an imperial crowne: and before her seate was a convenient place appointed for one childe which did interpret and applye the saide pageant as hereafter shall be declared. Every voyde place was furnished with proper sentences, commendying the seate supported by Vertues, and defacing the Vyces, to the utter extirpation of rebellion, and to everlasting continuance of quyetnes and peace. The Quenes majestie approaching nyghe unto thys pageaunt thus beawtified and furnyshed in all poyntes, caused her chariot to bee drawn nyghe thereunto, that her Grace mighte heare the chyldes oration, whiche was this:

‘ Whyle that Religion true shall Ignorance suppress,
And with her weightie foote, breake Superstition’s head,
Whyle Love of Subjectes shall Rebellion distresse
And, with zeale to the Prince, Insolency down treade:

‘ While Justice can Flattering tonges and Bribery deface,
While Folie and Vaineglorie to Wisdome yeld their handes
So long shal Government not swerve from her right race,
But Wrong decayeth still, and Rightwisenes up standes.

‘ Now all thy subjectes hertes, O Prince of pereles fame
Do trust these Vertues shall maintayn up thy throne,
And Vice be kept dowe still, the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may joy, and naught with naught may
move.’

Which verses were painted upon the right syde of the same pageant, and the Latin thereof on the left side.

“ Beside these verses, there were placed in every voide part of the pageant, both in Englishe and Latin, such sentences as advaunced the seate of governaunce upholden by Vertue. The ground of thys pageant was, that lyke as by Vertues (whych doe abundantly appere in her Grace) the Quene’s majestie was established in the seate of government; so she should sette fast in the same, so long as she embraced Vertue and helde Vice under foote. For if Vice once gotte up the head, it would put the seate of government in peryll of falling.

“ The Quenes majestie, when she had heard the childe, and understode the pageant at full, gave the citie also thankes there, and most graciouslie promised her good endeavour for the maintenance of the sayde Vertues, and suppression of Vyces, and so marched on till she

came againste the Great Conduite, in Cheape, which was bewtifed with pictures and sentences accordnglye against her Graces coming thether.

"Against Soper-lanes ende was extended from thone side of the streate to thother a pageant, which had three gates, all open. Over the middlemoste wherof wer erected three severall stages, whereon sate eight children, as hereafter foloeth: On the uppermost one childe, on the middle three, on the lowest foure, eche having the proper name of the blessing that they did represent written in a table, and placed above their heades. In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent these blessings, was a convenient standing, cast out for a chylde to stande, which did expownd the sayd pageant unto the Quenes majestie as was done in thother tofore. Everie of these children wer appointed and apparelled according unto the blessing which he did represent. And on the forepart of the sayde pageant was written, in fayre letters, the name of the said pageant, in this maner folowing:—

"The eight beatitudes expressed in the V. chapter of the Gospel of St. Matheus, applyed to our Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth.'

"Over the two syde portes was placed a noyse of instrumentes. And all voyde places in the pageant were furnished with pretie sayings, commending and touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises and blessinges of Almightye God made to his people. Before that the Quenes hignes came unto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat to be opened unto her, that her Grace might the better understand what should afterward by the childe be sayd unto her. Which so was, that the citie had there erected the pageant with eight children, representing theyght blessinges touched in the fifth chapter of St. Mathew. Wherof every one, upon just consideracions, was applyed unto her Highnes; and that the people therby put her Grace in mind, that as her good doinges before had geven just occasion why that these blessinges might fall upon her; that so, if her Grace did continue in her goodnes as she had entered, she should hope for the fruite of these promises due unto them that doe exercise themselves in the blessinges; whiche her Grace heard marveilous graciously, and required that the chariot might be removed towards the pageant, that she might perceyve the chyldes woordes, which were these; the Quenes majestie giving most attentive care, and requiring that the people's noyse might be stayde:

'Thou hast been viii times blest, O Quene of worthy fame,
By mekenes of thy spirite, when care did thee besette,
By mourning in thy griefe, by mildnes in thy blame,
By hunger and by thyrst, and justice couldst none gette.

'By mercy shewed, not felt, by cleanes of thyne harte,
By seking peace alwayes, by persecucion wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God, since he hath helpt thy smart,
That as his promis is, so he will make thee strong.'

When these woordes were spoken, all the people wished, that as the child had spoken, so God woulde strengthen her Grace against all her adversaries; whom the Quenes majestie did most gently thanke for

their so louing wishe. These verses wer painted on the left syde of the said pageant, and other in Latin on thother syde.

" Besides these, every voide place in the pageant was furnished with sentences touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the Quenes majestie passed on forward in Chepesyde. At the Standard in Cheape, which was dressed fayre agaynste the tyme, was placed a noyse of trumpettes, with banners and other furniture. The Crosse lykewyse was also made fayre and well trimmed. And neare unto the same, uppon the porche of Saint Peters church dore, stode the waites of the citie, which did geve a pleasant noyse with their instrumentes as the Quenes majestie did passe by, whiche on every syde cast her countenaunce, and wished well to all her most loving people. Sone after that her Grace passed the Crosse, she had espyed the pageant erected at the Little Conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifye. And it was tolde her Grace that there was placed Tyme. '*Tyme?*' quoth she, '*and Tyme hath brought me hether.*' And so furth the hole matter was opened to her Grace, as hereafter shalbe declared in the descripcion of the pageaunt. But in the opening, when her Grace understode that the Byble in Englyshe shoulde be delivered unto her by Trueth, whiche was therein represented by a chylde; she thanked the citie for that gyft, and sayde that she woulde oftentimes reade over that booke, commanding Sir John Parrat, one of the Knyghtes which helde up her canapy, to goe before, and to receive the booke. But learning that it should be delivered to her Grace downe by a silken lace, she caused hym to staye, and so passed forward till she came agaynste the aldermen in the hyghe ende of Cheape, tofore the Little Conduite, where the companies of the citie ended; whiche beganne at Fanchurche, and stode along the streates, one by another, enclosed with rayles, hanged with clothes, and themselves well apparelled with many riche furies, and their livery whodes uppon their shoulders, in comely and semely maner, having before them sondry persones well apparelled in silkes and chaines of golde, as wyflers and garders of the sayd companies, beside a number of riche hangings, as well of tapistrie, arras, clothes of golde, silver, velvet, damaske, sattin, and other silkes plentifullye hanged all the way as the Quenes hignes passed from the Towre through the citie. Out at the windowes and pent-houses of every house did hang a number of ryche and costlye banners and streamers, tyll her Grace came to the upper ende of Cheape. And there, by appoyntment, the right worshipfull maister Ranulph Cholmeley, recorder of the citie, presented to the Quenes majestie a purse of crimosin sattin richely wrought with gold, wherin the citie gave unto the Quenes majestie a thousand markes in gold, as maister recorder did declare brieflie unto the Quenes majestie; whose woordes tended to this ende, that the lorde maior, his brethren and comminaltie of the citie, to declare their gladnes and good-wille towardes the Quenes majestie, dyd present her Grace with that golde, desyryng her Grace to continue theyr good and gracious Quene, and not to esteme the value of the gift, but the mind of the gevers. The Quenes majestie with both her handes, tooke the purse, and aunswered to hym againe merveyulous pithilie; and so pithilie, that the standers by as they embraced entierly her gracious aunswer, so they mervailed at the cowching thereof; which was in wordes truly reported these: 'I thanke my lord maior, his brethren,

and you all. And whereas your request is that I should continue your good Ladie and Quene, be ye ensured that I will be as good unto you as ever quene was to her people. No wille in me can lacke, neither doe I trust shall ther lacke any power. And perswade your selves that for the safetie and quietnes of you all, I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood. God thanke you all.'

"Which aunswere of so noble an hearted pryncesse, if it moved a mervaylous showte and rejoycing, it is nothyng to be mervayled at, since both the heartines thereof was so wonderfull, and the woordes so joyntly knytte. When her Grace hadde thus aunswered the Recorder, she marched toward the Little Conduit, where was erected a pageaunt with square proporcion, standynge directlye before the same conduite, with battlementes accordynglie. And in the same pageaunt was advaunced two hylles, or mountaynes of convenient heyghte. The one of them beyng on the North syde of the same pageaunt, was made cragged, barreyn, and stoney; in the whiche was erected one tree, artificiallye made, all withered and deadde, with braunches accordynglie. And under the same tree, at the foote thereof, sate one in homely and rude apparell, crokedye, and in mournyng maner, havynge over his headde, in a table, written in Laten and Englyshe, hys name, which was, '*Ruinosa Respublica*,' '*A decayed Commonweale*.' And uppon the same withered tree were fixed certayne tables, wherein were written proper sentences, expressing the causes of the decaye of a common weale. The other hylle on the south syde, was made fayre, freshe grene, and beawtifull, the grounde thereof full of flowers and beawtie; and on the same was erected also one tree very freshe and fayre, under the whiche stode uprighte one freshe personage, well apparaylled and appoynted, whose name also was written bothe in Englyshe and Laten, whiche was '*Respublica bene instituta*,' '*A flourishing Commonweale*.' And uppon the same tree also were fixed certayne tables, conteynyng sentences which expressed the causes of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle, betwene the sayde hylles, was made artificiallye one hollowe place or cave, with doore and locke enclosed; oute of the whiche, a lyttle before the Quenes hyghnes comynge thither, issued one personage, whose name was Tyme, apparaylled as an old mane, with a sythe in his hande, havynge wynges artificiallye made, leadinge a personage of lesser stature then himselfe, whiche was fynely and well apparaylled, all cladde in whyte silke, and directlye over her head was set her name and tytyle in Latin and Englyshe, '*Temporis filia*,' '*The daughter of Tyme*.' Which two so appoynted, went forwarde toward the south syde of the pageant. And on her brest was written her proper name, which was '*Veritas*,' Truth, who helde a booke in her hande, upon the which was written '*Verbum veritatis*,' the woorde of trueth. And out of the south syde of the pageaunt was cast a standynge for a childe which shoulde enterprete the same pageant. Against whom when the Quenes majestie came, he spake unto her Grace these woordes:

'This olde man with the sythe, olde father Tyme they call,
And her his daughter Truth, which holdeth yonder boke;
Whom he out of his rocke hath brought forth to us all,
From whence this many yeres she durst not once out loke.

CROWNS AND CORONATIONS.

‘The ruthful wight that sitteth under the barren tree,
 Resembleth to us the fourme, when common weales decay;
But when they be in state tryumphant, you may see
 By him in freshe attyre that setteth under the baye.

‘Now since that Time again his daughter Truth hath brought,
 We trust, O worthy Quene, thou wilt this truth embrace;
And since thou understandste the good estate and nought,
 We trust wealth thou wilt plant, and barrennes displace.

‘But for to heale the sore, and cure that is not seene,
 Which thing the boke of truth doth teache in writing playn;
She doth present to thee the same, O worthy Quene,
 For that, that wordes doe flye, but wryting doth remain.’

When the childe had thus ended his speache, he reached his booke towards the Quenes majestie, whiche, a little before, Trueth had let downe unto hym from the hill; whiche by Sir John Parrat was received, and delivered unto the Quene. But she, as soone as she had receyved the booke, kissed it, and with both her handes held up the same, and so laid it upon her brest, with great thankes to the citie therfore. And so went forward toward Paules Churchyarde. The former matter which was rehersed unto the Quenes majestie was written in two tables, on either side the pageant eight verses. The sentences written in Latin and Englishe upon both the trees, declaring the causes of both estates, were these :

“ Causes of a ruinous Commonweale are these :

Want of the feare of God.	Civill disagreement.
Disobedience to rulers.	Flattring of princes.
Blindnes of guides.	Unmercifullness in rulers.
Briberie in majestrats.	Unthankfullness in subjects.
Rebellion in subjectes:	

“ Causes of a flourishing common weale.

Feare of God.	Obedient subjectes.
A wise prince.	Lovers of the commonweale.
Learned rulers.	Vertue rewarded.
Obedience to officers.	Vice chastened.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared her Grace to come out of the house, of unitie, the second that she is placed in the seat of government, staid with Vertue, to the suppression of Vice, and therfore in the third the eight blessings of Almighty God might well be applyed unto her: for this fourth now is to put her Grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time, with Truth his daughter, doth revele, which Truth also her Grace hath received, and therfore cannot but be mercifull and careful for the good government therof. From thence the Quenes majestie Paules Scole, a childe appointed by the scolemaster therof pronounced passed towarde Paules Churchyard; and when she came over against a certein oration in Latin, and certein verses. Which the Quene's majestie

most attentivlye harkened unto: and when the childe had pronounced, he did kisse the oration, which he had there fayre written in paper, and delivered it unto the Quenes majestie, which most gently received the same. And when the Quenes majestie had heard all that was there offred to be spoken, then her Grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was received with a noyse of instrumentes, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed up against her Majesties comming. From thence by the way as she went down toward Fletebridge, one about her Grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared: Her Grace answered, that she did well consyder the same, and that it should be remembred. An honourable aunswere, worthie a noble prince, which may comfort all her subjectes, considering there can be no point of gentlenes, or obedient love shewed towarde her Grace, whych she doth not most tenderlie accepte, and graciously waye. In this maner, the people on either side rejoycing, her Grace wente forwarde, towarde the Conduite in Fleetestrete, where was the fift and last pageaunt erected in forme folowing: From the Conduite, which was bewtified with painting, unto the Northside of the strete, was erected a stage, embattelled with foure towres, and in the same a square platte rising with degrees, and uppon the uppermost degree was placed a chaire, or seate royall, and behynde the same seate, in curious and artificiall maner, was erected a tree of reasonable height, and so farre advaunced above the seate as it did well and semelye shadow the same, without endomaging the syght of any part of the pageant; and the same tree was bewtified with leaves as greene as arte could devise, being of a convenient greatnes, and containing therupon the fruit of the date, and on the toppe of the same tree, in a table, was set the name thereof, which was 'A palme tree;' and in the aforesaide seate, or chaire, was placed a semelie and mete personage, richelie apparalled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, as a Quene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed over her head in this sort: 'Debora the judge and restorer of the house of Israel, Judic. iv.' And the other degrees, on either side were furnished with vi personages; two representing the nobilitie, two the clergie, and two the comminaltye. And before these personages was written, in a table, 'Debora with her estates, consulting for the good governement of Israel.' At the feete of these, and the lowest part of the pageant, was ordeined a convenient rome for a childe to open the meaning of the pageant. When the Quenes majestie drew nere unto this pageant, and perceived, as in the other, the childe readie to speake, her Grace requested silence, that she myghte plainlie heare the childe speake, whych said as hereafter foloweth:

'Jaban of Canaan king had long, by force of armes,
Opprest the Isralites, which for God's people went:
But God minding at last for to redresse their harmes,
The worthy Debora as judge among them sent.

'In war she, through God's aide, did put her foes to fright,
And with the dint of sworde the hande of bondage brast.
In peace, she through God's aide, did alway mainteine right;
And judged Israell till fourty yeres were past.

‘A worthie president, O worthie Quene thou hast,
 A worthie woman judge, a woman sent for staie.
 And that the like to us endure alway thou maist
 Thy loving subjectes will with true hearts and tonges praie.’

Which verses were written upon the pageant; and the same in Latin also.

“The voide places of the pageant were filled with pretie sentences concerning the same matter. Thys ground of this last pageant was, that forsomuch, as the next pageant before had set before her Grace’s eyes the florishing and desolate states of a commonweale, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthy government of her people; considering God oftymes sent women nobly to rule among men; as Debora, whych governed Israell in peas the space of XL years: and that it behoved both men and women so ruling to use advise of good counsell. When the Quenes majestie had passed this pageant, she marched towarde Temple barre; but at St. Dunstones church, where the children of thospital wer appointed to stand with their governours, her Grace perceiving a childe offred to make an oration unto her, stayed her chariot, and did caste up her eyes to heaven, as who should saye, ‘I here see thys mercyfull worke towarde the poore, whom I must in the midst of my royaltie nedes remembre!’ and so turned her face towarde the childe, which, in Latin, pronounced an oracion to this effecte: ‘That after the Quenes hyghnes had passed through the citie, and had sene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most hartie receiving and joyous welcomming of her Grace into the same: thys one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the everlasting spectacle unto the poore membres of Almighty God, furthered by that most famous and noble prince, King Henry the eight, her gracious father, erected by the citie of London, and advaunced by the most godly verteous and gracious prince Kyng Edwarde the vi., her Graces dere and loving brother, doubting nothing of the mercy of the Quenes most gracious clemencie, by the which they may not onely be releved and helped, but also stayed and defended; and therefore incessauntly they would pray and crie unto Almighty God for the long life and raigne of her highnes with most prosperous victory against her enemies.’

“The childe, after he had ended his oracion, kissed the paper wherein the same was written, and reached it to the Quenes majestie, whych received it graciouslye both with woordes and countenance, declaring her gracious mynde towarde theyr reliefe. From thence her Grace came to Temple Barre, which was dressed fynely with the two ymages Gotmagot the Albione, and Corineus the Briton, two gyantes bigge in stature, furnished accordingly; which helde in their handes, even above the gate, a table, wherein was written in Latin verses, theeffect of all the pageantes which the citie before had erected;

‘Behold here in one view thou mayst see all that playne,
 O Princesse, to this thy people the onely stay;
 What echewhere thou hast seen in this wide town, again
 It is one arche whatsoever the rest conteyned doth say.

- 'The first arche, as true heyre unto thy father dere,
 Did set thee in the throne where thy graundfather satte :
 The second did confirme thy seate as Princesse here,
 Vertues now bearing swaye, and vyces bet down flatte.
- 'The third, if that thou wouldst goe on as thou began,
 Declared thee to be blessed on every syde,
 The fourth did open Trueth, and also taught thee whan
 The commonweale stooode well, and when it did thence slide.
- 'The fifth, as Debora, declared thee to be sent
 From Heaven, a long comfort to us thy subjectes all :
 Therefore goe on, O Quene, on whom our hope is bent,
 And take with thee this wishe of thy town as finall :
- 'Live long, and as long raygne, adourning thy countrie
 With vertues, and maintayne thy peoples hope of thee ;
 For thus, thus Heaven is won ; thus must you pearce the skye,
 This is by Vertue wrought, all other must nedes dye.'

On the south syde was appoynted by the citie, a noyse of singing children ; and one childe richely attyred as a poet, which gave the Quenes majestie her farewell, in the name of the hole citie, by these wordes :

- 'As at thyne entraunce first, O Prince of high renown
 Thou wast presented with tonges and harts for thy fayre ;
 So now, sith thou must needes depart out of this towne,
 This citie sendeth thee firme hope and earnest prayer.
- 'For all men hope in thee, that all vertues shall reygne,
 For all men hope that thou none error wilt support,
 For all men hope that thou wilt trueth restore agayne,
 And mend that is amisse, to all good mennes comfort.
- 'And for this hope they pray, thou mayst continue long,
 Our Quene amongst us here, all vyce for to supplant ;
 And for this hope they pray, that God may make thee strong,
 As by his grace puissant, so in his trueth constant.
- 'Farewell, O worthy Quene, and as our hope is sure,
 That into errors place thou wilt now truth restore ;
 So trust we that thou wilt our Sovereigne Quene endure,
 And loving Lady stand, from henceforth evermore.'

Whyle these woordes were in saying, and certeine wishes therein repeted for maintenaunce of trueth and rooting out of error, she now and then helde up her handes to heavenwarde, and willed the people to say, Amen.

"When the childe had ended, she said, 'Be ye well assured I will stande your good Quene.'

"At whiche saying, her Grace departed forth through Temple Barre towarde Westminster, with no lesse shoutyng and crying of the people,

then she entred the citie, with a noyse of ordinance whiche the Towre shot of at her Graces entraunce first into Towre Strete.

"The childes saying was also in Latin verses, wrytten in a table, which was hanged up there.

"Thus the Quenes hyghnesse passed throughe the citie, whiche, without any forreyne persone, of itselfe beawtified itselfe, and receyved her Grace at all places, as hath been before mentioned, with most tender obedience and love, due to so gracious a Quene and soveraigne ladie. And her Grace lykewise of her side, in all her Graces passage shewed herselfe generally an ymage of a woorthye ladie and governour; but privately these especiall poyntes wer noted in her Grace as sygnes of a most princely courage, whereby her loving subjectes maye ground a sure hope for the rest of her gracious doinges hereafter."

This was the last queenly progress through the city in connection with the coronation.

"James I.," says Stowe, "rode not through the city in royal manner as hath been accustomed" by reason of the plague, which was then so spreading its ravages through the capital that eight hundred and fifty-seven persons died that week in the city and its suburbs.* For the same reason the accustomed ceremony of proceeding in state from the Tower to Westminster was omitted at the coronation of Charles I. This affliction had visited London with all its horrors, and was daily carrying off hundreds of the population.

The austere habits which prevailed during the time of the Commonwealth had their influence on the festal habits of the citizens of London; but at the Restoration the ancient style of receiving and welcoming the monarch was revived, if not in equal splendour, yet with changes which marked the character of the times; and with the coronation procession of Charles II., a pageant which had been regarded

* Henry Petowe, in his poem on the coronation called "England's Cæsar" (a rare tract reprinted in Nichols's "Progresses of King James"), thus alludes to the disappointment felt in London at there being no procession from the Tower :—

"Thousands of treasure had her bounty wasted,
In honour of her king to welcome him :
But, woe is she! that honour is not tasted,
For royal James on silver Thames doth swim.
The water hath that glory—for he glides
Upon those pearly streams unto his crown,
Looking with pity on her as he rides,
Saying, 'Alas, she should have this renown!'
So well he knew that woful London loved him,
That her distress unto compassion mov'd him."

for many ages as an essential solemnity, the custom subsided, and has never been renewed.

Heath, in his "*Chronicle*," records the procession of the "merry" monarch through the City, on the 23rd of April, 1661:—

"There attended upon his Majesty at the Tower, all the nobility, and the principal gentry of the kingdom. The ceremonial began in the afternoon with all the law and other officers of the crown, the judges, the master of the rolls; the knights of the bath in the habits of their order, 'a brave sight of itself' remarks Pepys in his *Diary*, the great officers of the royal household; the sons of peers according to their rank, and the peers in their different degrees, attended by heralds and officers at arms: after these and the lord treasurer, the lord chancellor, the lord chamberlain, rode two persons representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, 'remarkable' observes Pepys 'were these two men.' Then the gentleman usher; garter king-at-arms, and the Lord Mayor of London; next to them was the Duke of York. Lord Monk rode bareheaded after the king, and led in his hand a spare horse as being master of the horse. 'The king' says Pepys 'in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak looked most noble.' Before his Majesty, rode the Earls of Northumberland and Lindsay, as lord high constable and lord high steward of England, and the Duke of Richmond, bearing the sword: next about the king were his equerries and footmen, and then the gentlemen and pensioners.

"'Wadlow the vintner, at the Devil, in Fleet Street,' says Pepys, 'did lead a fine company of soldiers, all young, comely men in white doublets. There followed the Vice-chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turkes; but I know not yet what they are for. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave shew, and the ladies out of the windows. So glorious was the shew with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it; our eyes at last being so overcome. Both the king and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window.'

"To increase the splendour of these ceremonies there were created five earls and six barons; and sixty eight gentlemen, many of whom were sons of the nobility, were made knights of the bath. These attended upon the king in the Tower, and rode before him with their esquires and pages in the procession to Westminster, clad in 'mantles and surcoats of red taffeta, lined and edged with white sarcenet, and thereto fastened two long strings of white silk, with buttons and tassels of red silk and gold, and a pair of white gloves fastened to them; white hats and feathers.'

"The streets were, as usual, lined with the different companies of the city in their liveries, attended with their banners and music. Four triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city; the first of which represented the happy event of the king's landing at Dover; and the three others, which stood in Cornhill, Cheapside, and Fleet Street, were emblematical of commerce, concord, and plenty. Evelyn notes in his *Diary* [April 22, 1661], 'I spent the rest of the evening in seeing the severall arch-triumphals, built in the streetes at severall

eminent places thro' which his Majesty was next day to passe, some of which, tho' temporary, and to stand but one yeare, were of good invention and architecture, with inscriptions."

"The king was everywhere received with the strongest demonstrations of loyalty; and the magnificence of the procession was no less the joy than amazement of all spectators: 'indeed' says Heath 'it were in vain to attempt to describe this solemnity: it was so far from being utterable, that it was almost inconceivable; and much wonder it caused to outlandish persons, who were acquainted with our late troubles and confusions, how it was possible for the English to appear in so rich and stately a manner; for it is incredible to think what costly clothes were worn that day: the cloaks could hardly be seen what silk or satin they were made of, for the gold and silver laces and embroidery that were laid upon them; besides the inestimable value and treasure of diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, worn upon their backs and in their hats; to omit the sumptuous and rich liveries of their pages and footmen; the numerousness of these liveries, and their orderly march; as also the stately equipage of the esquires attending each earl, by his horse's side: so that all the world that saw it, could not but confess, that what they had seen before, was but solemn mummary to the most august, noble, and true glories of this great day: even the vaunting French confessed their pomps of the late marriage with the Infanta of Spain, at their majesties' entrance into Paris, to be inferior in state, gallantry, and riches, to this most glorious [and, *sic transit*, LAST CORONATION] CAVALCADE FROM THE TOWER."

"James II.," remarks Lord Macaulay, "ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of such a procession, and found it would amount to about half as much as he proposed to expend in covering his wife with trinkets. He accordingly determined to be profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse. More than a hundred thousand pounds were laid out in dressing the queen, and the procession from the Tower was omitted."

"At length," adds Lord Macaulay, "the old practice was *partially revived*. On the day of the coronation of Queen Victoria there was a procession in which many deficiencies might be noted, but which was seen with interest and delight by half a million of her subjects, and which undoubtedly gave far greater pleasure, and called forth far greater enthusiasm, than the more costly display which was witnessed by a select circle within the abbey."

CHAPTER VII.

CORONATIONS OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.

First Gent. God save you, sir! Where have you been broiling?

Third Gent. Among the crowd i' the abbey; where a finger
Could not be wedg'd in more. . . .

Second Gent. You saw the ceremony?

Third Gent. That I did.

First Gent. How was it?

Third Gent. Well worth the seeing.

Second Gent. Good sir, speak it to us.

Third Gent. As well as I am able."

SHAKSPERE, *Henry VIII.*, Act iv. sc. 1.



HAT is the finest sight in the world? A CORONATION. What do people most talk about? A CORONATION. What is the thing most delightful to have passed? A CORONATION." So pleasantly and flippantly remarks that genteel *flâneur* in literature, Horace Walpole. There may be some truth in this, however, and the august ceremonial of a royal inauguration

must appear to the mere novelty-seeker "a fine sight;" but a deep seriousness would rather seem to be the prevailing feeling of those who see, beyond the gorgeous display and formalities of crowning a monarch, the effect that may be produced in the destinies of a nation; and every celebration of coronation rites must bring with it a forecast of events, which may result in the benefit or misfortune of a country. We have only to search the annals of our own rulers to find instances how soon, after the glitter and parade of the investiture of sovereigns have passed away, royal oaths have

been broken, promises forgotten, and the rights of the people—which would seem to be entitled to receive protection from the solemnity of a sacred institution—have been violently and impiously disregarded.*

If there is any faith to be placed in symbols of honour and dignity, the coronation ceremonial, handed down to us through so many ages, would seem to insure it. It is the type of that which spiritually binds our affections, and secures our devotion to a far higher Power than the mightiest of the earth can boast, “the King of kings” and “the Lord of lords.”

Loyalty attaches us to the throne, from the possessor of which we expect, in return, the wise administration of justice and a paternal regard for the happiness and social security of the people. “The life of a sovereign,” remarks Cardinal Wiseman, “generally dates from his accession to the throne. It is by reigns that the world’s history is written. The man is nothing to mankind, the king everything to the nation. What he was before the commencement of his royal career, is scarcely recorded or faintly remembered, for it is not taught to children. To have a place for anterior honours in his country’s annals, he must die before reaching that throne which will eclipse them all. A Black Prince, or a Princess Charlotte, had the best friend to their early fame, in death. A royal crown will cover over and hide an immense quantity of laurels.”

The ceremony of the coronation is a religious ceremony—a solemn compact between the king and his people. In a free country like this, much of authority depended on the recollections which the people entertained of their sovereigns, and their predecessors in the kingly dignity. The recollection constituted a part of the pride and property of the subject, who felt there was a just dignity in seeing these rights upheld in all the splendour of their antiquity. Every government must suffer a proportionate, and no small loss, as it possessed less of the sacred protecting influence of this principle.

The coronation rites may be traced to the earliest periods of the world’s history. They have a sacred origin in the

* A single instance among many: Richard II. said of the laws, that they were in his breath, and he could make or unmake them at his pleasure. He said of the members of the House of Commons, “slaves they were, and slaves they should be.”

holy writings, and the sanction of God is there bestowed in the transmission of sovereign power to His chosen people. The ceremonies of the consecration, the anointing, the investiture and enthroning, the crowning, and the benediction, are chiefly Jewish, but the divine spirit of Christianity now sheds its influence over the rites of the royal inauguration. There is a solemn meaning in every part of the coronation service; the regal ornaments, the symbols of power, and also the instruments of legal conveyance, are formally placed on the communion table, before they are conveyed to the sovereign, to express to him the grounds on which the power is conveyed, and the end to which it should be directed. The coronation ceremony must be regarded as the origin and source of those powers which are attributed to the constitution, and as the key-stone of the political arch, which all the parties sharing it then contract to form.

The investiture of the king is of two characters, and relates to his two distinct powers in the Church and State. The pastoral staff and ring, and the vests used at the same time, are sacerdotal—are such as are delivered to bishops—and communicate a sacred authority. It is from these investitures that the term *vested rights* is derived.

“The solemn rites of coronation,” said Archbishop Cranmer, in his address to Edward VI. on his inauguration, “have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force nor necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity; for they be God’s anointed—not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained; of the sword, which is authorized; of their persons which are elected of God, and endured with the gifts of His spirit for the better ruling and guiding of His people.”

As the place of consecration of our British sovereigns, WESTMINSTER ABBEY—“the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom,” as it has been called—in addition to its glorious architecture and antiquity, and as the resting-place of the greatest and noblest names in our country’s history, possesses absorbing interest. As Dart writes—

“To mount their throne here monarchs bend their way,
O’er pavements where their predecessors lay.
Ye sons of empire who, in pompous hour,
Attend to wear the cumbrous robe of pow’r,

When ye proceed along the shouting way,
 Think, there's a second visit yet to pay.
 And, when in state, on buried kings you tread,
 And swelling robes sweep o'er th' imperial dead ;
 While, like a god, your worshipp'd eyes move round,
 Think, then, oh, think, you walk on treach'rous ground.
 Though firm the chequer'd pavement seems to be,
 'Twill surely open and give way for thee !
 While crowding lords address their duty near,
 Th' anointing prelate, and the kneeling peer ;
 While with obsequious diligence they bow,
 And spread the careful honours o'er thy brow
 While the high-raised spectators shout around,
 And the long aisles and vaulted roofs resound,
 Then snatch a sudden thought and turn thine head,
 From the loud-living to the silent dead !
 With conscious eye the neighb'ring tombs survey,
 These will instruct thee better far than they !
 What *now* thou art, in yon gay homage see,
 But *these* best show what thou art sure to be."

The words of Jeremy Taylor, on the same subject, are strikingly beautiful: "Where our kings are crowned, their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grand-sire's head to take his crown. There is an acre sown with royal seed; the copy of the greatest change from rich and naked, from ceiled roofs and arched coffins, from living like gods to die like men. There is enough to cool the flames of lust; to abate the height of pride; to appease the itch of covetous desires; to sully and dash out the dissembling colours of a lustful, artificial, and imaginary beauty. There the warlike and the peaceful, the fortunate and the miserable, the beloved and the despised princes mingle their dust, and pay down their symbol of mortality; and tell all the world, that when we die, our ashes shall be equal to kings, and our accounts easier, and our pains or our crowns shall be less." Jeremy Taylor founded this — one of his finest bursts of oratory — upon the lines of Beaumont, written on the spot:—

"Here's an acre sown indeed
 With the richest, royallist seed
 That the earth could e'er suck in
 Since the first man died for sin."

So Waller:—

"That antique pile behold
 Where royal heads receive the sacred gold ;

It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;
 There, made like gods—like mortals, there they sleep.
 Making the circle of their reign complete,
 These suns of empire, where they rise, they set."

"The Anglo-Saxon kings," remarks Dean Stanley, "had, for the most part, been buried at Winchester, where they were crowned, and where they lived. The English kings, as soon as they became truly English, were crowned, and lived, and died, for many generations at Westminster, and even since they have been interred elsewhere, it is still under the shadow of their grandest royal residence; in St. George's Chapel, or the precincts of Windsor Castle. Their graves, like their thrones, were in the midst of their own life, and of the life of their people."

"Pageants on pageants in long order drawn;
 Peers, heralds, bishops, ermine, gold, and lawn."

THE FIRST SOVEREIGN RULERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS appear to have been their war-kings, continued for life, and the distinction was partly hereditary and partly elective; that is to say, the kings were taken from certain qualified families, but the Witan, the great council of the Anglo-Saxons (resembling more our present House of Lords than House of Commons), claimed the right of choosing the person whom they would have to reign. On every fresh occasion the great compact between the king and the people was literally as well as symbolically renewed, and the technical expression for ascending the throne is being "elected,* and raised to be

* That part of the coronation ceremony which is now called the "recognition" is, in the older formularies, termed "election." The latter was never in our country made to extend beyond the family of the king, but the succession was not regulated according to the rules now observed. But as the Christian religion led men to establish the right of primogeniture, that right adhered to the crown, and the term "recognition" was substituted in the place of the word "election." Recognition, according to the feudal law, is the acknowledgment of the heir to his landed possession, and of his right to his inheritance. It is the act of the vassal acknowledging the right of his lord according to lawful succession; and in the succession of a private patrimony this form conveys a full title. In the form for the coronation of Henry VIII., according to a device drawn up by that prince himself, the hereditary doctrine is set forth in the strongest language, but the principle of "election" is put forth in language equally strong. Prince Henry is spoken of as "rightful and undoubted enheritour by the lawes of God

king"—the word *raised* referring to the old Teutonic custom of being elevated on shields.

We have the earliest particulars extant of the coronation service in the "Pontificale" of Egbert, Archbishop of York (A.D. 732-767), the title being "Missa pro regibus in die Benedictionis ejus." The "Pontificale," or volume of episcopal offices, was printed for the first time by the Surtees Society (vol. xxvii.), from a manuscript in the National Library at Paris, formerly belonging to the church of Evreux.*

and man;" but he is also "elected, chosen, and required by all the three estates of this lande to take upon hym the seid coronne and royal dignitie." The assent of the people is asked in this form: "Woll ye serve at this tyme, and geve your wills and assents to the same consecration, enunction, and coronacion? Whereunto the people shall say with a grete voyce Ye, ye ye: So be it; King Henry, King Henry." This is perhaps the last very distinct case of "election."

It has been remarked by Dean Stanley that the right of coronation represents two opposite aspects of European monarchy. It was (1) a symbol of the ancient usage of the choice of the leaders by popular election, and of the emperor by the imperial guard, derived from the practice of the Gaulish and Teutonic nations; and (2) a solemn consecration of the new sovereign to his office, by unction with holy oil, and the placing of a crown or diadem on his head by one of the chief ministers of religion, after the example of the ancient Jewish Church.

* The service is thus epitomized in Smith's "Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities." It commences with the antiphon "Justus es Domine," etc. (Ps. cxix. 137), and the Psalm "Beati immaculati" (Ps. cxix. 1). Then succeeds a lesson from Leviticus, "Hæc dicit Dominus" (Lev. xxvi. 6, 9); the gradual, "Salvum fac," etc., and the verse "Auribus percipe," and "Alleluia;" the Psalm "Magnus Dominus" (Ps. xlviii.) or "Domine in virtute" (xxi.), and a sequence from St. Matthew, "In illo tempore" (Matt. xxvii. 15). Then follows the "Benedictio super regem novitur electum," and three collects, "Te invocamus Domine Sanctæ," "Deus qui populis tuis" (both of which are found in the "Liber Regalis"), and "In diebus ejus oriatur omnibus acquitas." The unction follows. After the collect "Deus electorum fortitudo," succeeds the delivery of the sceptre. The rubric is, "Hic omnes pontifices cum principibus dant ei sceptrum in manu." Fifteen *Preces* follow. After this is the delivery of the staff ("Hic datur ei baculum in manu sua"), with the prayer, "Omnipotens det tibi Deus de rore cœli," etc., and imposition of the crown (the rubric is, "Hic omnes pontifices sumant galerum et ponant super caput ipsius"), with the prayer, "Benedic Domine fortitudinem regis principis, etc." This is succeeded by the recognition of the people and the kiss. The rubric runs, "Et dicat omnis populis tribus vicibus cum episcopis et presbyteris, *Vivat rex N. in sempiternum*. Tunc confirmabitur cum benedictione omnis populus" (Leofric missal, "omni populo in solio regni") "et osculandum principem in sempiternum dicit, *Amen, Amen, Amen*." The seventh "oratio" is said over the king, and the mass follows, with appropriate *Offertory*, *Preface*, etc. The whole termi-

In the Cottonian MSS. (British Museum, Claudius A. iii.) we have a detailed account of the installation ceremonial of Ethelred II. (A.D. 978), remarkable as showing the little difference which has occurred in the coronation of our sovereigns through successive ages to the present time, a period of nearly a thousand years.

"Two bishops with the Witan, shall lead him [the king] to the Church, and the clergy with the bishops shall sing the anthem, 'Firmetur manus tua,' and the 'Gloria Patri.'"

"When the King arrives at the church, he shall prostrate himself before the altar, and the 'Te Deum' shall be chaunted. When this is finished the King shall be raised from the ground, and, *having been chosen* by the bishops and people, shall, with a clear voice before God and all the people, promise that he will observe these three rules. *The Coronation Oath.* In the name of Christ, I promise three things, to the Christian people, my subjects: first;—that the church of God, and all the Christian people, shall always preserve true peace under our auspices: second:—that I will interdict rapacity, and all iniquities to every condition: third:—that I will command equity and mercy in all judgments, that to me and to you the great and merciful God may extend his mercy.

"All shall say Amen. These prayers shall follow, which the bishops are separately to repeat. We invoke thee, Oh Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, that this thy servant, (whom by the wisdom of thy divine dispensations from the beginning of his formation to this present day, thou hast permitted to increase, rejoicing in the flower of youth) enriched with the gift of thy piety, and full of the grace of truth, thou mayest cause to be always advancing, day by day, to better things before God and men. That, rejoicing in the bounty of supernal grace, he may receive the throne of supreme power, and defended on all sides from his enemies by the wall of thy mercy, he may deserve to govern happily the people committed to him with the peace of propitiation, and the strength of victory.

"*Second Prayer.* Oh God, who directest thy people in strength, and governest them with love, give this thy servant such a spirit of wisdom, with the rule of discipline, that devoted to thee with his whole heart, he may remain in his government always fit, and that by thy favour the security of this church may be preserved in his time, and Christian devotion may remain in tranquillity, so that, persevering in good works, he may attain under thy guidance to thine everlasting kingdom.

"After a *third* prayer, the consecration of the King by the bishop takes place, who holds the crown over him, saying, Almighty Creator, Everlasting Lord, Governor of heaven and earth, the maker and disposer, of angels and men, King of kings, and Lord of lords, who made thy faithful servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, and gavest manifold victories to Moses and Joshua, the prelates of thy people, and

nates with the three royal precepts, to preserve the peace of the Church, to restrain all rapacity and injustice, and to maintain justice and mercy in all judicial proceedings.

didst raise David, thy lowly child, to the summit of the kingdom, and didst free him from the mouth of the lion, and the paws of the beast, and from Goliath, and from the malignant sword of Saul and his enemies; who didst endow Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace: look down propitiously on our humble prayers, and multiply the gifts of thy blessing on this thy servant, whom, with humble devotion, we have chosen to be King of the Angles and the Saxons. Surround him everywhere with the right hand of thy power, that, strengthened with the faithfulness of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, the courage of Joshua, the humility of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, he may be well-pleasing to thee in all things, and may always advance in the way of justice with inoffensive progress. May he so nourish, teach, defend and instruct the church of all the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, with the people annexed to it, and so potently and royally rule against all visible and invisible enemies, that the royal throne of the Angles and Saxons may not desert his sceptre, but that he may keep their minds in the harmony of pristine faith and peace! May he, supported by the due subjection of the people, and glorified by worthy love, through a long life, descend to govern and establish it with the united mercy of thy glory! Defended with the helmet and invincible shield of thy protection, and surrounded with celestial arms, may he obtain the triumph of victory over all his enemies, and bring the terror of his power on all the unfaithful, and shed peace on those joyfully fighting for thee! Adorn him with the virtues with which thou hast decorated thy faithful servants; place him high in his dominion, and anoint him with the oil of the grace of thy Holy Spirit!

"Here he shall be anointed with oil; and this anthem shall be sung:

"And Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anointed Solomon King in Sion, and, approaching him they said: May the King live for ever."

"After two appropriate prayers, the sword was given to him, with this invocation:—

"God, who governest all things both in heaven and in earth, by thy Providence, be propitious to our most Christian King, that all the strength of his enemies may be broken by the virtue of the spiritual sword; and that thou combating for him, they may be utterly destroyed!"

"The king shall here be crowned, and shall be thus addressed:—

"May God crown thee with the crown of glory, and with the honour of justice, and the labour of fortitude; that by the virtue of our benediction, and by a right faith, and the various fruit of good works, thou mayest attain to the crown of the everlasting kingdom, through his bounty whose kingdom endures for ever."

"After the crown shall be put on his head, this prayer shall be said:—

"God of eternity commander of the virtues, the conqueror of all enemies, bless this thy servant, now humbly bending his head before thee, and preserve him long in health, prosperity, and happiness. Whenever he shall invoke thine aid, be speedily present to him, and protect and defend him. Bestow on him the riches of thy grace; fulfil his desires with every good thing, and crown him with thy mercy."

"The sceptre shall be here given to him, with this address:—

“Take the illustrious sceptre of royal power, the rod of thy dominion, the rod of justice, by which mayest thou govern thyself well, and the holy church and Christian people, committed by the Lord to thee! Mayest thou with royal virtue, defend from the wicked; correct the bad, and pacify the upright; and that they may hold the right way, direct them with thine aid, so that from the temporal kingdom thou mayest attain to that which is eternal, by his aid whose endless dominion will remain through every age.’

“After the sceptre has been given, this prayer follows:—

“‘Lord of all! fountain of good! God of all! Governor of governors! bestow on thy servant the dignity to govern well, and strengthen him that he become the honour granted him by thee. Make him illustrious above every other King in Britain! . Enrich him with thine affluent benediction, and establish him firmly in the throne of his kingdom! Visit him in his offspring, and grant him length of life! In his day, may justice be pre-eminent, so that with all joy and felicity, he may be glorified in thine everlasting kingdom.’

“The Rod shall here be given to him, with this address:—

“‘Take the rod of justice and equity, by which thou mayest understand how to soothe the pious, and terrify the bad; teach the way to the erring; stretch out thine hand to the faltering; abase the proud; exalt the humble; that Christ our Lord may open to thee the door, who says of himself, “I am the door, if any enter through me he shall be saved.” And HE who is the Key of David, and the Sceptre of the house of Israel, who opens, and no one can shut; who shuts and no one can open; may he be thy helper! HE who bringeth the bounden from the prison-house, and the one sitting in darkness and the shadow of Death! That in all things thou mayest deserve to follow him of whom David sang: “Thy seat, oh God, endureth for ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.” Imitate him who says, “Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.”’

“The benedictions follow.

“‘May the Almighty Lord extend the right hand of his blessing, and pour upon thee the gift of his protection, and surround thee with a wall of happiness, and with the guardianship of his care; the merits of the Holy Mary; of Saint Peter, the prince of the apostles; and of Saint Gregory, the apostle of the English; and of all the Saints, interceding for thee! May the Lord forgive thee all the evil thou hast done, and bestow on thee the grace and mercy which thou humbly askest of him; that he may free thee from all adversity, and from the assaults of all visible and invisible enemies. May he place his good angels to watch over thee, that they always and everywhere may precede, accompany, and follow thee; and by his power may he preserve thee from sin, from the sword, and every accident and danger. May he convert these enemies to the benignity of peace and love, and make thee gracious and amiable in every good thing; and may he cover those that persecute and hate thee with salutary confusion; and may everlasting sanctification flourish upon thee. May he always make thee victorious and triumphant over thine enemies, visible or invisible; and pour upon thy heart both the fear and the continual love of his holy name, and make thee persevere in the right faith and in good works; granting thee

peace in thy days, and with the palm of victory may he bring thee to an endless reign. And may he make thee happy in this world and the partaker of his everlasting felicity, who will to make thee King over his people. Bless, Lord, this elected prince, thou who rulest for ever the kingdom of all kings. And so glorify him with thy blessing, that he may hold the sceptre of Solomon, with the sublimity of a David, etc. Grant him by thy inspiration, so to govern thy people, as thou didst permit Solomon to obtain a peaceful kingdom.'

"Designation of the state of the kingdom."

"Stand and retain now the state which you have hitherto held by paternal succession, with hereditary right, delegated to thee by the authority of Almighty God, and our present delivery, that is, of all the bishops and other servants of God; and in so much as thou hast beheld the clergy nearer the sacred altars, so much more remember to pay them the honour due, in suitable places. So may the Mediator of God and men confirm thee the mediator of the clergy and the common people, on the throne of this kingdom, and make thee reign with him in his eternal kingdom.'

"This prayer follows :

"May the Almighty Lord give thee, from the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine, and oil! May the people serve thee, and the tribes adore thee! Be the lord of thy brothers, and let the sons of thy mother bow before thee: He who blesses thee shall be filled with blessings, and God will be thy helper: May the Almighty bless thee with the blessings of the heaven above, and in the mountains, and in the valleys; with the blessing of deep below; with the blessing of the suckling and the womb; with the blessings of grapes and apples; and may the blessing of the ancient fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be heaped upon thee! Bless, Lord, the courage of this prince, and prosper the works of his hands; and by thy blessing may his land be filled with apples, with the fruits, and the dew of heaven, and of the deep below; with the fruit of the sun and moon; from the top of the ancient mountains, from the apples of the eternal hills, and from the fruits of the earth and its fulness. May the blessing of Him who appeared in the bush come upon his head, and may the full blessing of the Lord be upon his sons, and may he steep his feet in oil. With his horn, as the horn of the rhinoceros, may he blow the nations to the extremities of the earth; and may He who has ascended to the skies, be his auxiliary for ever.'

"Here the coronation ends."

Such are the interesting particulars which have been preserved of the consecration of our earliest English rulers. The notices of previous inaugurations consist of only a few allusions to the assumption of sovereign power. The assemblage of states, commonly called the Heptarchy, were constantly at war with one another, and of the existence of any general controlling authority except such as one king was occasionally enabled to maintain over the rest by his sword,

their history affords no trace. To certain of the kings, however, by whom this temporary supremacy appears to have been asserted in the most marked manner, Bede, and after him the Saxon Chronicle, has attributed the title of "Bretwalda," Wielder, or Emperor of Britain; and it is probable that a species of superior honour and dignity, such as this title would imply, may have been claimed by the princes in question. The title of Bretwalda can only be considered an ostentatious and empty assumption of some of the Saxon kings, and did not carry with it a real or legal authority.

EGBERT of Wessex, although not strictly entitled to be called the first King of all England, certainly laid the foundation of what afterwards became the English monarchy. The royal house of Wessex never lost the ascendancy, which he acquired for it, so long as the Anglo-Saxons remained masters of England. Only one charter is known to exist in which Egbert is styled *Rex Anglorum*. In general both he and his successors, down to Alfred inclusive, call themselves "Kings of the West Saxons." In 886 ALFRED THE GREAT, grandson of Egbert, became by common consent sovereign of all England, excepting those parts of the north and east which were still in foreign hands. There is no record of any solemn formality gone through, or universal homage done to Alfred on this occasion, and probably such did not take place; his title was stronger and better than what could have been thus conferred. Neither are there any particulars of the coronation of the king in 871, except that it took place at Winchester, the capital of Wessex. The crown worn on this occasion was, in all probability, that to which I have alluded in the chapter on the "Crowns of England." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in 853 "King Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred" (then five years old) "to Rome; at that time, Leo was pope in Rome, and he consecrated him king." Malmesbury says that the pope gave him "the regal unction and the crown," and Robert of Gloucester has—

"Erst he adde at Rome ybe, and vor is gret wisdom
The pope Leon hym blessedde, tho he thuder come,
And the king is croune of this lond, y^t in this lond yat is;
And elede him to be king, ere he were king ywis.
And he was king of Engeland, of all that there come
That verst thus yeled was of the Pope of Rome,
And sutthe other after him, of the erchebissop echon,
So that biuore him thur king was ther non."

It may be observed that no one of his brothers, Ethelbert, Ethelbald, or Ethelred, appear to have received a regal consecration. In the will of King Alfred there is a clause which shows that he did not consider his crown as conferred either by inheritance from his royal forefathers, or by the pope's consecration, but that he held it as a gift.

EDWARD, the eldest surviving son of King Alfred, was recognized by the Witenagemot as his successor, and was crowned (according to some writers) in 901 at Kingston-upon-Thames, but Langtoft states "at London, at Saynt Poules took he ye croune."

ÆTHELSTAN, or Etherstan, said to have been a natural son of the last monarch, was elected king by the Witan, and was the first sovereign who called himself "King of *the English*." He was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames in 925. "The monarch," says Dean Hook, in his "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," "stood before the people; a thin spare man, thirty years of age, with his yellow hair beautifully inwoven with threads of gold. He was arrayed in a purple vestment, with a Saxon sword in a golden sheath, hanging from a jewelled belt.

On an elevated platform in the market-place, and on a stone seat, he took his place, to be better seen of the multitude. He was received with shouts of loyalty, and as

"One eminent among the rest for strength,
For stratagem, or courage, or for all,
Was chosen leader."

Then, elevated on a stage or target, he was carried on the shoulders of his men,* being from time to time, in their

* The "lifting" of a chief or sovereign (see frontispiece) was a practice from the earliest times. It was a custom among the tribes of ancient Germany. Tacitus alludes to the ceremonial in the case of Brinno, chief of the Batavian tribe of Canninefates, "*impositus scuto, more gentis, et sustinentium humeris vibratus, dux deligitur*" ("Hist.," iv. 15). The German soldiers of the imperial guard introduced this custom to the Romans. The elected emperor was raised on a shield and carried round the camp three times. This practice was a recognized portion of the ritual of a coronation in the Eastern empire. At the inauguration of Justin the Younger in St. Sophia, a shield was held up by four young men. On this the emperor stood erect, like the letter I, with which his name, and that of his two immediate predecessors, commenced. Subsequently the emperors adopted the securer position of sitting, instead of standing, on the buckler. Gregory of Tours states that the "chaining" of Gunbald, King of Burgundy (A.D. 500), was performed with rather more zeal than caution, for being carried for the third time around the

enthusiasm, tossed into the air, until they arrived at the doors of the church. Here the archbishop (Aldhelm) was standing to receive him, and the king, supported by two prelates on either side, proceeded to the steps of the altar, and, prostrating himself, remained some time in private prayer, after which the archbishop proceeded to the coronation.

William of Malmesbury remarks, "To celebrate such splendid events, and the joy of that illustrious day, the poet justly exclaims—

"The nobles meet, the crown present,
On rebels, prelates curses vent ;
The people light the festive fires,
And show by turns their kind desires.
Their deeds their loyalty declare,
Though hopes and fears their bosoms share.
With festive treat, the court abounds ;
Foams the brisk wine, the hall resounds :
The pages run, the servants haste,
And food and verse regale the taste.
The minstrels sing, the guests commend,
Whilst all in praise to Christ contend.
The king with pleasure all things sees,
And all his kind attentions please."

After King EDMUND I. (A.D. 941) and King EDRED (A.D. 946), EDWY, or EDWIN, the eldest son of Edmund I., was crowned by Archbishop Odo in the year 955—a coronation remarkable for the outrage on the monarch by Dunstan, to which I have alluded in the chapter on "Omens and Incidents in connection with Coronations." In 973 EDGAR and his consort Elflida, or Elfrida, were solemnly crowned at St. Peter's, Bath; the coronation ceremony being performed by Archbishop Dunstan, on the 11th of May, the feast of Pentecost. St. Oswald assisted in the ceremonies of consecrating

assembled people, the sovereign fell from his high estate, and was, with difficulty, kept from descending to the earth. In the East it was the rule that the shield should be supported in front by the emperor (when the choice of a successor was made in his lifetime), the father of the new created monarch if alive, and the patriarch; the other highest dignitaries of the state supporting it behind.

Clovis was inaugurated as king with the old Frankish custom of being raised on a shield; Pepin was lifted on a target, from which time the custom was but casually observed in France. The Emperor Otho was raised on a shield at Milan (A.D. 961). From a passage in Constantine Porphyrogenitus this custom appears to have prevailed among the Turks. It was in use in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, and traces of it are found in the annals of Castile.

and anointing Edgar and his queen. This event was commemorated in a poem preserved in the Saxon Chronicle :—

“ Here Edgar was
 (of Angles wielder)
 With mickle pomp
 to kyng yhallowed
 in the old borough
 Acheman’s-chester,
 but those that dwell
 in other word
 Bath name it.
 There was bliss mickle
 on that happy day
 caused to all
 which sons of men
 name and call
 Pentecost Day.”

Edgar, on the day of his coronation, resumed the insignia of royalty (which had been interdicted by Dunstan for his crime in carrying off the nun Wulfreda, of Wilton), and he was surrounded by his nobles, to whom he gave the customary gifts. The royal robes worn by Edgar at his coronation are described as of great value, on which account the king afterwards bestowed them on the Abbey of Glastonbury, as a decoration for the altar.

Edgar, in his will, had declared that the crown should devolve on Edward, the son of his first wife, Ethelfleda “ the Fair,” or the “ White,” an amiable prince then in his thirteenth year ; but Elfrida, the second wife of Edgar, wished to secure the succession to her son Ethelred, then a child of seven years, on the plea that his mother had not been lawfully wedded to Edgar, or that the young prince was born before their coronation ; besides which, the queen alleged that he was of a cruel and harsh disposition. Elfrida had many partisans, but Dunstan, fearing a diminution of his power if Ethelred became king under the regency of his mother, convened an assembly of nobles at Kingston for the purpose of crowning and anointing EDWARD II. The faction of Elfrida, among whom was Alfer, Duke of Mercia, formally declared against the ceremony taking place. The queen herself, who was present, objected on account of the prince’s illegitimacy. At this crisis Dunstan appeared, bearing in his hands the banner of the crucifix, accompanied by young Edward, whom he presented to the nobles as their rightful

sovereign, declaring that he himself would be responsible for the prince's conduct, whom he would regulate, as his father's tutor and prime minister. This promise of Dunstan united the wavering minds of the assembled nobles, "and Edward," says Holinshed, "was received with universal joy."

Taking the youth by the hand, Dunstan marched directly to the church, accompanied by the other bishops, followed by a great crowd of people, where he anointed him king (A.D. 975), in spite of the opposition of Elfrida and her party, who were overwhelmed with grief at the archbishop's triumph. The young king, however, had but a short-lived reign of three years, for it is said that whilst drinking a cup of wine at Corfe Castle, whither he had gone to pay his respects to his mother-in-law Elfrida, he was stabbed to the heart, either by the queen or by one of her attendants.

Edward, who on account of his barbarous murder was surnamed the "Martyr," was succeeded on the throne (978) by his half-brother, ÆTHELRED II., or the "Unready," consecrated at Kingston, and the particulars of which ceremony have been mentioned. This sovereign abdicated the throne in 1012, and SWAIN or Swegn, King of Denmark, usurped the crown, and was proclaimed king in the autumn of 1014, in which year he died, and Ethelred was restored. "Under Ethelred [the Unready]," says Freeman, "nothing was done, or more truly, throughout his whole reign he left undone those things he ought to have done, and he did those things which he ought not to have done." On his death, EDMUND IRONSIDE, said to have been the natural son of Ethelred, was elected by the Witan in London and the citizens, as his successor, and crowned April, 1016. He was, however, defeated by CANUTE, with whom, it is said on debatable authority, he divided the realm, and on his death the latter became sole monarch of England (1017).

HAROLD I., the son of King Canute, succeeded to the throne by election of the Witan (1036); and three years afterwards HARDICANUTE, his half-brother, became king over all England for two years, all but ten days.

In 1041 EDWARD the "Confessor," son of Ethelred II., was elected to the throne (before the funeral of Hardicanute), and was crowned at Winchester, "with great worship," as stated in the Saxon chronicles, on Easter Day, 1043. The ceremony of the consecration was performed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. We are expressly told

that the metropolitan, Archbishop Eadsige, gave much exhortation, both to the newly made king and to his people. It seems that this coronation was attended by an apparently unusual assemblage of the ambassadors of foreign princes. From Edward's third charter to Westminster Abbey, dated 1066, the year of his death, it appears that the king had expressly applied to Pope Nicholas II. on the subject of Westminster Abbey being the established place for crowning the monarchs of England. The answer of the pope is in the form of a rescript, making the abbey the future place of inauguration, from which time the custom has been recognized. (It may be mentioned that the use of the great seal was first introduced in this reign.) In the interesting series of *relievi* in the chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, the third subject (one of fourteen) represents the coronation of this monarch. He is seated under a canopy of state, and the crown is being placed on his head by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. There is a large assemblage of nobles and courtiers. Owing to the dilapidation of this work, it is impossible to ascertain correctly the minor details of the subject.

A curious picture of the coronation of HAROLD II. (1066) is given in the famous Bayeux Tapestry, from which it appears that neither the story of the king being crowned by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, during the suspension of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury (in consequence of a quarrel with the court of Rome), nor that of Harold having with his own hands put on the "golden round" in the absence of Stigand, are true, for in the tapestry Stigand is represented, "duly labelled," to prevent mistakes. In this wonderful specimen of ancient art,* Harold appears on his throne, in St. Paul's, with the globe and cross in his left hand, and a sceptre in his right. Two men on his right-hand side present him with a sword, and Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is standing

* Dr. Freeman considers the Bayeux Tapestry as a contemporary work of art; there is no reason to connect it with Matilda, the consort of William the Conqueror, but there is every reason to connect it with Odo, half-brother of William. "It was probably, but I cannot say certainly, made in England." The tapestry is now carefully preserved in its Norman home. It was formerly wound round a sort of windlass, and was unwound and handled whenever anybody looked at it. It is now kept under glass in the public library at Bayeux, where it is stretched out round the room.

on his left. The inscriptions are: "Here they give the crown to King Harold;" "Here sits Harold, King of the English," "Stigand, Archbishop."

Dr. Freeman, in his "History of the Norman Conquest," considers that there is no doubt whatever of Harold having been consecrated king with all the usual ecclesiastical rites. That the ceremony was performed by Eldred may be thought in one degree to be less certain, but that seems to be a point in which scepticism is unreasonable. With regard to the *place* of the ceremony, the balance between the minister of St. Paul's and Westminster seems to be in favour of the latter. Dr. Freeman thus graphically describes the coronation ceremony:

"The rite began. Earl Harold, the King-Elect, was led by two bishops, with hymns and processions, up to the high altar of the minster. The anthem sung by the choir in that great procession, prayed that the hand of Harold might be strengthened and exalted, that justice and judgment might be the preparation of his seat, that mercy and truth might go before his face. Before the high altar the earl of the West Saxons bowed himself to the ground, and while he lay grovelling, the song of Ambrose, the song of faith and victory, was sung over one whose sin at Porlock, whose atonement at Waltham, might well make him another Theodosius. The Earl then rose from the pavement, and for the last time he looked on the crowd around him, the Prelates and Thegns, and the whole people of England, as still one of their number. Their voice had already hailed him as their King, but a still more solemn election before the altar of God was needed before the Church admitted him to the sacramental unction. Once more the voice of Ealdred (primate of Northumberland) demanded of the English people, in ancient form, whether they would that Earl Harold should be crowned as their Lord and King. A loud shout of assent rung through the minster. Chosen thus by Prelates and people, the King-Elect swore with a loud voice his three-fold oath to God and to all his folk. Kings swore in after days that they would observe all the rights and liberties which the glorious Eadward had granted to his clergy and his people. The oath of the prince who had so lately renewed the Laws of Cnut was of a simpler form. Earl Harold swore to preserve peace to the Church of God, and to all Christian people. He swore to forbid wrong and robbery to men of every rank within his realm. He swore to enforce justice and mercy in all his judgments, as he would that God should have mercy upon him. And all the people said Amen. The Bishops then prayed for the Ruler whom they had chosen, for his guidance by the Spirit of Wisdom in the government of his realm, for peace to his Church and people, for his welfare in this world and in the next. Then a yet more solemn prayer from the lips of Ealdred followed. In that ancient English form which other nations have been fain to borrow of us, the God who had wrought His mighty works by the hands of Abraham and Moses and Joshua and David and Solomon, was implored to shower down all the gifts and graces of those famous worthies, upon him who was that day chosen to

be King of the Angles and Saxons. Ealdred prayed that Harold, faithful as Abraham, gentle as Moses, brave as Joshua, humble as David, wise as Solomon, might teach and rule and guard the Church and realm of the Angles and Saxons against all visible and invisible foes. With feelings too deep for words must that prayer have risen from the hearts of those who could already see the gathering storm, which was still but like a little cloud out of the sea. The Primate prayed that their chosen King might never fail the throne and sceptre of the Angles and Saxons, that for long years of his life he might reign over a faithful people in peace and concord, and if need be, in victory. Christ himself was prayed to raise him to the throne of His Kingdom, and to pour down upon him the unction of the Holy One.

"The oaths were said, the prayers were prayed. And now came the sacramental rite itself, which changed an Earl into a King, and which gave him, so men deemed, grace from on high to discharge the duties which it laid upon him. The holy oil was poured upon the head of Earl Harold, by the hand of Ealdred. And while the symbolic act was in doing, the choir raised their voices in that glorious strain to which the noblest music of later times has given a still higher majesty. The walls of the West Minster echoed to the anthem, which told how Zadok the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet, anointed Solomon King, and which added the prayer of England that Harold might live for ever. Again the Primate prayed, that as of old Kings and Priests and Prophets were anointed with oil, so now the oil poured on the head of God's servant, might be a true sign of the inner unction of the heart, a means of grace for his glory, and the welfare of his people. And now King Harold, the Lord's Anointed, the chosen of the people, the consecrated of the Church, vested in the robe of royalty and priesthood, received in due order, the insignia of the kingly office. The sword was placed in his hand, with the prayer that he might therewith defend his realm, and smite his enemies, and the enemies of the Church of God. The King then bowed his head, and the Imperial diadem of Britain was placed by the hand of Ealdred on the head of the King of the Angles and Saxons, the Emperor of the Isle of Albion. God was again implored to crown His Anointed with glory, and justice, and might, and to give him a yet brighter Crown in a more enduring Kingdom. Then the sceptre, crowned with the cross, and the rod crowned with the holy dove, were placed, one after the other, in the royal hands. Prayer was again made that the sceptre of Harold's Kingdom might be a sceptre of righteousness and strength, that he, who had been anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, might through all his days be a lover of righteousness, and a hater of iniquity. Further prayers, further blessings followed; the prayers and merits of all the saints, of the Virgin mother of God, of the Prince of the Apostles, and of his successor the special Apostle of the English nation, were implored on behalf of the anointed King. And now King Harold sat on his royal throne, the crown upon his brow, in his right hand the sceptre, in his left the orb of Empire, the proud badge which belonged of right to the Cæsar of another world. Two chiefs, perhaps his faithful brothers, bore the sword at his side; his people stood and gazed upon him with wonder and delight. The day, at last, had come, for which Harold and England had looked so long.

"On the Coronation followed the mass, and afterwards the banquet,

and then, on the last day of the Christmas festival, we cannot doubt that King Harold, in all the glory of his new dignity, wore his Crown with all kingly state in what was now his palace at Westminster. The old dynasty had passed away; the new dynasty had taken possession."

Harold had a brief reign, being crowned January 6, 1066, and slain at the battle of Hastings, October 14 of the same year.

The victorious rival of this unfortunate monarch, WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY, was crowned King of England at West-



Death of Harold. From the Bayeux Tapestry.

minster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, by Ealdred, Archbishop of York.* The ceremony was one of great splendour.

* The circumstance of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, not performing this duty is mentioned by Langtoft :—

“The Pope reft him the state.

The abbot and prioure, men of religion
The oder men of honoure, archedecane and person
Wer prived of thar office, of woulfes had renoun
For lechorie that vice wer many als don down.
The Archbishops of York, com with devocioun,
Though William praier, come to London toun;
Bifor the barons brouht, he gaf William the coroun
To chalange was he nouht, Sir Stigand was don down.”

According to the Saxon Chronicle, William entered the city on the preceding afternoon, and took up his abode at the palace of Blackfriars. On Christmas morning he took boat to London Bridge, repaired to a house near London Stone, and thence proceeded to the abbey at the head of a splendid cavalcade, surrounded with all the trappings of royalty. Near to his person, next to the Norman banners, rode the English nobles and officers of state. The archbishop pronounced an address, and, in compliance with the Anglo-Saxon laws, asked the English whether they chose to accept William as their king. Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, also demanded of the Normans in their own language whether they considered that their sovereign should take the dignity of King of England. William then took the oath of the Saxon kings, and solemnly promised that he would treat the English people as well as the best of their monarchs had done, to preserve the privileges of his new subjects, and administer true justice—a mere mockery in this case, as events very soon afterwards proved.

The coronation of WILLIAM II., "Rufus" (September 26, 1087), took place seventeen days after his father's death. Peter Langtoft says—

" To William y^e rede kyng
Is gyven ye coroun
At Westmynstere tok he ryng
In ye abbay of Londoun."

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, officiated.

Stained with the most odious tyranny was the thirteen years' reign of the second William, and the inauguration of his brother, HENRY I. (August 5, 1100), was made the occasion of a solemn condemnation of the acts committed under the previous sovereign. He was chosen on condition of restoring the laws of St. Edward and the old liberties of the kingdom, which he conferred by a charter immediately after his consecration.* The ceremonial of this consecration is preserved

* The compact between Henry and the electors was more marked than in any previous Norman coronation. He promised everything excepting the one thing which he declared that he could not do, namely, to give up the forests of game which he had received from his father.

A yet more important coronation than his own, in the eyes of the Saxon population, was that of his wife Matilda (November 10, 1100). Never since the battle of Hastings had there been such a joyous day as when Queen Maude, the descendant of Alfred, was crowned in the abbey and feasted in the great hall.

among the Cottonian MSS. (Claudius A. iii. and Tiberius B. viii.) in the British Museum. "In those days," observes Lord Campbell in his "*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*," "anointment by a prelate was supposed to give a divine right to kings, and the commencement of a reign was dated from the day of the coronation, not from the death of a predecessor. The privilege of crowning the kings of England has always been considered to belong to the Archbishop of Canterbury as primate, but Anselm, the archbishop, from his quarrel with the late king, was still in exile. Henry, in this extremity, applied to Maurice, the ex-lord chancellor, and overcame his scruples as to the law of primogeniture by a share of the royal treasure, which he had secured to himself as he passed through Winchester, and by which history records that his usurpation was accomplished. On the third day from the tragical end of Rufus, Maurice placed the crown on the head of the new sovereign in Westminster Abbey." At that time, says Fuller, the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after ages for the ceremony was now conceived not only useless, but dangerous; speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne.

STEPHEN was crowned December 26, 1135, the day of his patron saint Stephen. The Saxon Chronicle thus describes his accession, after noticing the death of Henry I.: "Meanwhile was his nephew come to London, Stephen de Blois. He came to London, and the people of London received him, and sent after the Archbishop, William Corboil, and hallowed him to king on mid-winter day." At this ceremony, says William of Malmesbury, "there were no abbots, and scarcely any of the nobility."

HENRY II., grandson of Henry I., succeeded to the crown on the death of Stephen, and was consecrated, together with Queen Eleanor, December 19, 1154. Henry of Huntingdon says that on proceeding to London he was received with the greatest gladness, and "blessed as king" with much splendour. This monarch caused his eldest son and heir-apparent, Prince Henry, to be crowned king in his lifetime (June 14, 1170), being most probably desirous to engage the nobles and great men of the realm to swear to preserve the regular succession in his family, his own hereditary right having, in the person of his mother, Maude the empress, been interrupted by the

reign of Stephen. In the case of Henry II. the ceremony of consecration had been repeated several times. The coronation of his son as Henry III. took place during the height of the king's quarrel with Becket. Accordingly, as the primate was necessarily absent, the Archbishop of York took his place.

The coronation ceremonial of Henry and Eleanor was magnificent. Here were seen in profusion mantles of silk and brocade, of a new fashion and splendid texture, brought by Queen Eleanor from Constantinople. Henry wore a doublet and short Angevin cloak, which gave him the *son-briquet* of "Court-mantle." His dalmatica was of the richest brocade, with gold embroidery. At this coronation ecclesiastics were first seen in England dressed in sumptuous robes of silk and velvet, worked with gold in imitation of the Greek Church.

Of RICHARD I., "that robbed the lion of his heart," Peter Langtoft writes—

"In a moneth mirie
September y^e gynnyng,
Baudwyn of Canterbirie
Com to coroune y^e king."

The ceremonial took place at Westminster, September 3, 1189. In Hoveden we find some particulars of this coronation which are very interesting :

"The Archbishops of Canterbury, Roan [Rouen], Triers [Tours], and Dublin, with all the other bishops, abbots and clergy, apparelled in rich copes, and having the cross, holy water, and censers carried before them, came to fetch the king at the door of his privy-chamber; where receiving him, they led him to the church of Westminster in solemn procession, until they came before the high altar. In the middle of the bishops and clergy, went four barons bearing candlesticks with tapers—after whom came Geoffrey de Lucy, bearing the cap of maintenance, and next to him, John Marshall, bearing a massy pair of gold spurs; then followed William Marshall, Earl of Striguil (alias Pembroke) who bare the royal sceptre, in the top whereof was a cross of gold; and next to him William Fitz-Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, who bare the warder or rod, having on the top thereof a dove;—then came three earls, viz.: David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to the King of Scots; John, Earl of Mortaigne, and Robert, Earl of Leicester; each of which earls bare a sword upright in his hand, the scabbards being richly adorned with gold.

"After these followed six earls and barons, bearing a checker table, upon which were set the king's scutcheons of arms:—then came William Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle, bearing a crown of gold a great

height, before the king, who followed, having the bishop of Durham on his right hand, and Reynold, bishop of Bath, on the left, over whom a canopy was borne.

"In this order Richard came into the church at Westminster, where before the high altar, in the presence of the clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the holy evangelists and the reliques of certain saints, he took a solemn oath that he should observe peace, honour and reverence to Almighty God, to his church and to his ministers, all the days of his life; also, that he should exercise upright justice to the people committed to his charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil laws, and wrongful customs, if any were to be found in the precinct of his realm, and maintain those which were good and laudable. This done, the king put off all his garments from his middle upwards, but only his shirt, which was open in the shoulders, that he might be anointed,—then the Archbishop anointed him in three places; on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm, with prayers in such cases accustomed. After this he covered his head with a linen cloth, hallowed, and set his cap thereon, and then, after he had put on his royal garment, and his uppermost robe, the Archbishop delivered him the sword with which he should beat down the enemies of the church; which done, two earls put his shoes upon his feet, and having his mantle put upon him, the Archbishop forbade him, on the behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform. Whereunto the king made answer, that by God's grace he would perform them.

"Then the king took the crown beside the altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the king's head, delivering him the sceptre to hold in his right hand, and the rod royal in his left hand, and thus being crowned, he was brought back by the bishops and barons, with the cross and candlesticks, and three swords, passing forth before him unto his seat.*

"When the bishop who sang mass came to the offertory, the two bishops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him back again. The mass ended, the king was brought with solemn procession into his chamber, and so the whole ceremony was concluded."

On his return from captivity Richard was crowned again at Winchester, as if to reassure his subjects. This was the last trace of the old Saxon regal character of Winchester. He submitted very reluctantly to this repetition, but the reinvestiture in the coronation robes was considered so important, that in these he was ultimately buried.†

* On the effigy of Richard I. in the Abbey of Fontevraud are seen the royal gloves, with a large jewel on the back of the hands, characteristic of dignity. These are also represented on the figure of Henry II.

† In 1191 Richard I., who had overcome the Cypriots, "in the joyous month of May," says an ancient writer, "in the flourishing and spacious isle of Cyprus, celebrated as the very abode of the goddess of

JOHN, the brother of Richard I., succeeded to the crown by the nomination of his brother, with the consent and election of the states of the realm, and was inaugurated at Westminster Abbey, May 27, 1199. Various circumstances tend to prove that he was indebted for the crown to the election of his subjects, rather than to hereditary right. In one of his charters he seems to admit that his title to the throne was founded, partly at least, on the consent and approbation of his subjects. This coronation is memorable for the oration of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, as related by Matthew Paris (*"Historia Major"*), in which the declaration of the elective principle of our early sovereigns is made: "It is well known to you all that no man hath right of succession to this crown, except that by unanimous consent of the kingdom, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, he be elected for his own deserts. If, indeed, of the family of the deceased monarch, there be one then supereminently endowed, he should have our preference." Thus John, the sixth and youngest son of Henry II., succeeded to the crown, although Arthur, then in his twelfth year, and the son of Geoffrey, King Henry's fourth son, was living.*

The archbishop, adds Matthew Paris, was a man of bold character, and a support to the kingdom by his steadiness and

love, solemnly took to wife his beloved Lady Berengaria." By the advice of the allied crusaders, who came to assist at his nuptials, Richard was crowned King of Cyprus, and his bride Queen of England and Cyprus.

"To Limoussa the lady was led, his feast the King did cry
Berengere will he wed, and sojourn thereby,
The third day of the feast, bishop Bernard of Bayonne
Renewed oft the geste, to the Queen he gave the crown."

* On the death of Richard I. the right to the throne devolved, according to modern usage, upon Arthur of Brittany, son and heir of Geoffrey Plantagenet, next brother of that monarch; but John pretended to have a superior right, as nearer of kin to Richard, being his next surviving brother, whereas Arthur was one degree further removed, being his brother's son.

"The infamy of John's reign in no way affects his right to the crown, which was perfectly good. It does not appear that Arthur of Brittany, who is commonly spoken of as having a better right, had any partisans in England at all."—Freeman.

Sir Harris Nicolas mentions a remarkable fact, and one which has hitherto escaped notice, that all the Anglo-Norman kings, from William the Conqueror to Richard I. inclusive, styled themselves kings, dukes, or counts of *their people*, and not of *their dominions*.

incomparable wisdom; no one, therefore, dared to dispute what he said, as knowing that he had good cause for what he did. John, and all who were present, acquiesced, and he was unanimously elected with cries of "God save the king!"

King John bound himself by a triple oath at this coronation, says Roger of Wendover, to love the holy Church and its ordained priests, to preserve it harmless from the attacks of evil designers, to do away with bad laws, substituting good ones in their stead, and to see justice rightly administered throughout England.*

HENRY III. of Winchester, had just completed his tenth year when he succeeded his father, and was crowned twice: first at Gloucester (October 28, 1216), by the Bishop of Winchester (Westminster being in the hands of Prince Louis of France); and afterwards (Whit-sunday, May 17, 1220) at Westminster Abbey, "to the end," as Holinshed observes, "it might be said that now, after the extinguishment of all seditious factions, he was crowned by the general consent of all the estates and subjects of his realm."

Of the coronation at Gloucester, Roger of Wendover relates "that the legate, in company with the bishops and nobles, conducted the king in solemn procession to the conventual church to be crowned; and there, standing before the great altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, he swore on the holy Gospels and reliques of the saints, that he would preserve honour, peace, and reverence, towards God, and the holy Church, and its ordained ministers all the days of his life; he also swore that he would show justice to the people entrusted to his care, and would abolish all bad laws and customs, if there were any in the kingdom, and would observe those that were good, and cause them to be observed by all. He then did homage to the holy Church of Rome, and to the Pope, for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and swore, that as long as he held those kingdoms, he would faithfully pay the thousand marks which his father had given to the Roman Church; after this Peter, bishop of

* John had been previously (April 25, 1199) inaugurated as Duke of Normandy. He was girt at Rome, says Roger of Wendover, with the sword of the duchy in the mother church, by Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, "and the same archbishop before the great altar placed on his head the golden circle with rosettes of gold artificially worked in a circle on the top of it." The duke then, in the presence of the clergy and people, swore on the relics of saints and by the holy Gospels, a similar oath to that taken at his English coronation.

Winchester, placed the crown on his head, and anointed him king, with the usual ceremonies of prayer and chanting observed at coronations. After mass had been performed, the bishops and knights clothed the king in royal robes, and conducted him to the table, where they all took their seats according to their rank, and feasted amidst mirth and rejoicing."

On the restoration of Westminster to the king he was crowned by Stephen Langton, having the day before laid the



Coronation of King Edward I. Initial letter from illuminated manuscript.

foundation of the new Lady Chapel, the germ of his magnificent church. The royal banquet was so splendid that the oldest man present could remember nothing like it at a previous coronation. The young king, says Dean Stanley, impressed probably by his double coronation, asked the great theologian of that time, Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, the difficult question, "What was the precise grace wrought in a king by the unction?" The bishop answered with some hesitation that it was the sign of the king's special reception of the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, "as in confirmation."

At the close of the long reign of Henry III., his son Edward was in the Holy Land, from whence he sent orders for his coronation on his return. Some idea may be formed of the royal banquet on this occasion from a passage in the directions given for the ceremony (Rymer's "*Fœdera*"). These were—to provide three hundred and eighty head of cattle, four hundred and thirty sheep, four hundred and fifty pigs, eighteen wild boars, two hundred and seventy-eight fitches of bacon, and nearly twenty thousand capons and fowls.

The coronation of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor took place at Westminster Abbey (August 19, 1274). There was abundant cheer; a kitchen of extraordinary size was built at Westminster, and from the builder's account we learn that the boiled meats placed before the king's guests were prepared in leaden vessels.

Archbishop Kilwarby crowned the king and Eleanor, his queen. There were present Alexander, King of Scotland, and John, Count of Bretagne, with their ladies, the sisters of the king. "The King of Scots," we are told by Holinshed, "did homage to King Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like manner as other the kings of Scotland before him had done to other kings of England ancestours to this King Edward." *

EDWARD II., and his queen, Isabella, received the crown on February 25, 1308. They were consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester, the primate being out of the realm. We read that during the ceremony the king offered first a pound of gold made like a king holding a ring in his hand, and afterwards a mark, or eight ounces of gold, formed into a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring—a conceit suggested by the legend of Edward the Confessor.

"At the coronation of the king and queen," says Speed, "(which the lords would have impeached had hee not promised reasonably to satisfie them about Gaveston) none was neare to Piers in bravery of apparell or delicacie of fashion."

* Edward I. is sometimes called Edward IV., the three Saxon monarchs who bore the name of Edward being reckoned. The copy of the Chronicle of Lanercost, written in the fourteenth century, is headed, in some pages, "Edwardus, 1, post conquest;" in others, "Edwardus, Rex 1;" and in another page, "Edwardus, Rex ^{iiij}^{tus}."

Among the manuscripts belonging to Richard Orlebar, Esq., of Hinwick House, Bedford, is an "Account of the opening of the tomb of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey," dated May 30, 1774. The body was in cerecloth, a sceptre in each hand; the stones in the belt supposed to be glass, etc. He measured six feet two inches.

On the deposition of Edward II., which event occurred January 20, 1327, his son, Prince Edward, was brought to a general assembly of the nobles and clergy in the abbey church of Westminster, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, taking for his text the old aphorism, "*VOX POPULI, VOX DEI*," exhorted all present to choose the young prince for their sovereign. They were asked whom they preferred to reign as their king, the father or the son? They replied unanimously that the son should be made king. Prince Edward was, consequently, immediately proclaimed king in Westminster Hall, by the name of EDWARD III., but he refused to accept the dignity, and swore he would never do so during his father's lifetime without his consent. Commissioners were therefore appointed to go to Edward II., and on their arrival at Kenilworth they communicated the resolution of Parliament to the king, who then formally renounced the royal dignity by delivering to them the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of sovereignty.

EDWARD III., having been previously knighted by the Earl of Lancaster, assisted by the Count of Hainault, received the crown from the Archbishop of Canterbury, February 1, 1327, and was proclaimed king.

The sword of state and shield of state were, for the first time, carried before the sovereign at this coronation.

A remarkable coronation medal was struck on this occasion: on one side the young prince was represented crowned, laying his sceptre on a heap of hearts, with the motto, "*POPULO DAT JURA VOLONTES*" (HE GIVES LAWS TO A WILLING PEOPLE), and on the other was a hand held out to save a falling crown, with the motto, "*NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT*" (HE SEIZES NOT, BUT RECEIVES).

RICHARD II., on the death of his grandfather, Edward III., was declared by Parliament next heir to the throne. He was crowned, July 16, 1377, at Westminster, by Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury. The proceedings on this occasion, including the progress through the city of London, were full of pomp and magnificence (see chapter on "Coronation Processions from the Tower"). On St. Swithin's Day, after dinner, the mayor and citizens assembled near the Tower, when the young king, clad in white garments, came forth with a great multitude in his suite. They proceeded through the street called La Chepe, and into the palace of Westminster. On the morrow, the king, arrayed in the fairest vestments, and with buskins only on his feet, came down into the hall.

He was then conducted to the church, where the usual ceremonial was performed ; and returning again to his palace, was carried on the shoulders of knights, being oppressed with fatigue and long fasting. The coronation feast was splendid and profuse. Walsingham says in the midst of the palace a hollow marble pillow was set up, surmounted by a large gilt eagle, from under the feet of which, through the four sides of the capital, flowed wine of different kinds throughout the day ; nor was any one forbidden to partake of it. After dinner the king retired with a number of nobility to his chamber, and was entertained till the time of supper with dancing and minstrelsy.

The profuse extravagance of this coronation was made the excuse for the immense demands on Parliament afterwards.

This coronation is remarkable as affording the first detailed record of the proceedings of the Court of Claims (as mentioned in the chapter on that subject). The "*Liber Regalis*" describes the rights and ceremonies attending this august event, and was intended as a precedent for future coronations. The form commences thus :—

"*Imprimis.*—The king to be newly crowned, the day before his coronation, shall be brought forth in royal robes, and shall ride from the Tower of London to his Palace of Westminster, with his head uncovered, being accompanied on horseback by his temporal lords, his nobles, the commons of London, and other his servants.

" The seat of Estate.

"*Item.*—Let there be appointed against the day of coronation in the king's great hall of Westminster a chair of estate, fittingly provided with hangings of embroidery, with cushions and carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floor.

" The Scaffold.

"*Item.*—Let there be provided, that a stage or scaffold be erected in the church at Westminster, with steps on either side ; let it be orderly suited with clothes and carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floor.

" The Royal Throne.

"*Item.*—Let it be provided that upon the said scaffold there be erected a throne or chair, wherein the king is to sit ; let it be accordingly suited with rich furniture and cushions of cloth of gold.

" The Abbot of Westminster.

"*Item.*—It is to be observed, that the abbot of Westminster for the time being, by the space of two or three days before the coronation of the king or queen, shall instruct them what duties they are to perform in the celebration of their coronation, as also to prepare their consciences before the receiving the sacred unction. And if the abbot be dead or

sick, or absent in some remote country, or lawfully hindered, then shall one of the monks of the said monastery (nominated by the convent of the same church) supply the office of the said abbot in this case.

"Of the Kirtle and Surcoat.

"Item.—Upon the day of the coronation, the king that is to be crowned shall be placed in the said chair of estate in the aforesaid hall (but being first bathed), and after his bathing, a kirtle and surcoat of velvet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast between the shoulders and blades of his arms: let his open kirtle and surcoat be fastened together with loops of silver; and upon the kirtle let him be clothed with other royal robes, and let him be shod with sandals.

"Procession.

"Item.—Let a solemn procession be provided by the abbot and convent of Westminster, from the aforesaid church to the king's seat in the aforesaid hall; in which procession there shall be archbishops, and other prelates; then the king shall descend and follow the procession into the church at Westminster; and he shall go upon blue cloth spread upon the ground from the aforesaid chair to the stage erected in the aforesaid church; and in the said procession shall be sung such like hymns as are accustomed to be sung in the reception of kings and queens.

"The Cross, &c.

"Item.—The cross, sword, sceptre, and royal mace (ensigns of honour) shall be borne in the procession by the abbot, prior, and senior monks of Westminster, into the palace, and there shall they be surrendered to divers of the lords, to be borne before the king in the church.

"The Barons of the Five (cinque) Ports.

"Item.—The barons of the five (cinque) ports shall carry a rich canopy upon silvered staves over the king or queen's head, in the aforesaid procession to the church.

"The Abbot of Westminster.

Item.—"The abbot (or the monk supplying his place) ought always to be near about the king or queen to give instructions.

"The Archbishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.

"After the king hath a little reposed himself in the chair, or throne erected upon the scaffold, the Archbishop of Canterbury shall go unto the four squares of the scaffold, and with a loud voice ask the good liking of the people concerning the coronation of the king; meanwhile the king shall stand upon his throne and turn himself unto the four squares in like manner as the archbishop speaketh unto the people, and after the said demand the anthem 'firmetur manus tua,' &c., shall be sung.

"The Offertory of the King.

"The anthem being ended, the king shall descend from the scaffold, up to the altar, the bishops leading him; whereupon he is bound to offer a mantle, and one pound of gold, therein fulfilling his commandment who said 'non apparebis vacuus in conspectu dei tui.'

"The King prostrateth himself.

"The offering being finished, the king bowed himself upon the pave-

ment before the altar, being before prepared by the king's officers, with clothes and suitable cushions of velvet, until the archbishop hath said over him the prayer 'Deus fidelium,' and then ought a sermon to be preached unto the people.

"The King taketh an Oath.

"The sermon being ended, the king approaches the altar to take his oath, which he ought to perform upon the sacrament of our Lord's body; then let the hymn 'Veni creator, spiritus' be solemnly sung; which being begun, the king shall prostrate himself before the high altar, until the litany and preface be wholly sung over him; which being finished, let the king arise, and sit in his chair, therein reposing himself awhile.

"The Anointing of the King.

"After this, let the king arise from his chair and go unto the altar, and there shall be put off his robes (except his kirtle and surcoat), and there let him receive unction, the choir meanwhile singing 'Unxerunt Solomonem' with the prayer following. Then let him be anointed in five places, viz. in the palms of his hands, on his breast, between his shoulders, on the blades of his arms, and on his head, with holy oil, in form of a cross; and afterwards making the sign of the cross upon his head with the chrism, the fastenings and mantle being first opened. *Item.* After the aforesaid unction, and wiping with linen cloths (which ought afterwards to be burnt), let the opened places for the anointing be closed again by the abbot of Westminster or his deputy.

"The abbot of Westminster shall take off the King's cap.

"After anointing of the king's head, let it be covered with a linen cap, because of the holy unction, and so let it remain until the eighth day after the unction; upon which day the abbot of Westminster or his deputy shall come unto the king and take off the said linen cap, and shall wash and mundify the king's head; after the said washing the abbot of Westminster or his assigns shall put upon the king royal habiliments; viz. a sindon, fashioned after the Dalmatian fashion, with hose and sandals; and then let these royal robes be made sacred by the Archbishop as 'patet in libro.'

"The King shall be clothed in a long robe by the abbot.

"These offices being finished, the aforesaid king shall be arrayed by the abbot of Westminster or his assigns with a long cloak, or mantle, woven with fair imagery of gold, before and behind, with his buskins, pantofles, and spurs fitted to his leg.

"The setting of the crown upon the King's head.

"After the king is thus arrayed, then let the crown be placed upon the king's head by the Archbishop, and afterwards let a ring be put on the king's hand by a bishop.

"Of the Sword.

"After this, let the royal sword be blessed, and the said king shall receive it from the bishop, and shall gird himself with the same sword, and receive the bracelets; afterwards let him be clothed with a royal cloak.

"The offering of the Sword.

"After this, let the king offer the said sword upon the altar to God;

which the worthiest earl then present is to redeem for one hundred shillings, and to carry it naked before the king, the price whereof pertaineth to the said altar.

“The receiving of the Sceptre.

“After this, let the king receive a pair of linen gloves, and after that the sceptre, with the cross in his right hand, and the mace in his left; then being blessed, he shall kiss the bishop, by whom (as also by the residue of the nobility) he shall be honourably conducted to his royal seat, the choir singing, ‘te Deum laudamus.’

“The prelates and the residue shall make their homage.

“After this, let the prelates and lords make their fealty and liege homage to the king, and then let mass begin. *Item.*—While ‘Gloria in excelsis’ is singing, the king shall be censed by a deacon, and at ‘Credo’ he shall kiss the book.

“The offering of bread and wine.

“While the offertory is singing, let the king approach to the altar, and make his offering of bread and wine; and after that let him also offer a mark of gold; which being done, the king shall a little bow down his head, while the archbishop shall bless him with two orisons, which being finished, let the king be brought back to his throne or estate.

“The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.

“The kiss of the *pax* after the *Agnus Dei* being received, let the king descend from his estate, and humbly approach the altar, and there receive the body and blood of our Lord; which being received, the abbot of Westminster shall minister unto him wine out of a stone chalice pertaining to the king, and then immediately the king shall return to his estate.

“Mass being finished, let the king descend from his throne, and go unto the high altar; and let the archbishops, bishops, and nobility go before him to the shrine of St. Edward, where the king shall be arrayed in other robes, all of which shall be offered upon the altar of St. Edward.

“The taking of the robes.

“The great chamberlain, viz. the earl of Oxford, shall unclothe the king of the aforesaid robes in a withdrawing place near unto the shrine; which robes as they are particularly taken from the king, so they shall be laid upon the said altar by the abbot.

“Another crown.

“The king, attired in other honourable apparel, shall approach unto the altar of St. Edward, where the archbishop shall put another crown upon his head.

“The King returneth to the palace.

“The king being thus crowned, and carrying in his hand the royal sceptre from the shrine to the high altar, and from thence to the scaffold, then shall he descend through the midst of the quire by the same way as he came into the church, the aforesaid earls carrying the sword before him, returning with great glory unto the king’s palace to dinner.

"The delivery of the sceptre.

"Dinner being ended, and the king withdrawn into his chamber, the sceptre shall be delivered to the abbot of Westminster, or his deputy by the king's own hands, to be kept in the said church of Westminster.

"The coronation of the queen.

"And note, that in the coronation of the queen procession shall be celebrated, and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be anointed upon the crown of her head, and on her breast; and if she be crowned alone, then ought she to be anointed upon the crown only, crossways, with the chrism.

"The King's oath upon the day of his coronation.

"The archbishop of Canterbury shall demand of the king, saying, 'Pleaseth it you to confirm and observe the laws of ancient times, granted from God by just and devout kings unto the English nation, by oath, unto the said people, especially the laws, customs, and liberties granted unto the church and laity by the famous King Edward?'

"The king answering that he will perform and observe all the promises, then shall the archbishop read unto him the articles, whereunto he shall swear thus, saying,—

"Thou shalt procure unto the church of God, unto the clergy, and people, firm peace and unity in God, according to thy power.'

"He shall answer 'I will perform it.'

"Art thou pleased to be administered in all thy judgements, indifferent and upright justice, and to use discretion with mercy and verity.'

"He shall answer, 'I will do it.'

"Art thou pleased, that our upright laws and customs be observed; and dost thou promise, that those shall be protected, and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength.'

"He shall answer: 'I grant and promise.'

"The petition of the bishops.

"The admonition of the bishops unto the king follows, and must be read by one (the bishop of Lincoln), viz. 'We desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to every one of us, our canonical privileges, with equity and justice, as a king in his kingdom ought to do unto every bishop, abbot, and churches committed unto him.' He shall answer thus:—

"The King's answer.

"With a willing and devout heart, I promise it unto you, and I pardon every one of you, and the churches committed unto you. I will confirm the canonical privileges, minister equity and justice, and will defend them, by God's favour, as far as I am able; even as a bishop ought with uprightness to do unto every bishop, abbot, and the churches committed to him.'

The oath of homage made to the King.

"I become your man liege of life and limb and troth, and yearly honour to you shall bear against all men that now live, so help me God and holy doom.' *Item.*—That the archbishop of Canterbury shall first make his fealty, then the bishops, and afterwards all the nobles of the kingdom."

Froissart has given a vivid account of the coronation of Henry IV., which took place October 13, 1399, the anniversary of the day on which Richard had sent Bolingbroke into exile:—

“The prelates and clergy having accompanied the king from the palace, went to the church in procession, and all the lords with him in their robes of scarlet furred with minever, barred of [on] their shoulders, according to their degrees; and over the king was borne a cloth of estate of blue, with four bells of gold, and it was borne by four burgesses of the port at Dover, and other [of the cinque ports]. And on every [each] side of him he had a sword borne, the one the sword of the church, and the other, the sword of justice. The sword of the church his son, the Prince, did bear, and the sword of justice the Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Westmoreland bore the sceptre. Thus they entered into the church about nine of the clock, and in the midst of the church there was a high scaffold all covered with red, and in the midst thereof there was a chair royal covered with cloth of gold. Then the king sat down in the chair, and so sate in estate royal, saving he had not on the crown, but sate bareheaded. Then at four corners of the scaffold the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed unto the people how God had sent unto them a man to be their king, and demanded if they were content he should be consecrated and crowned as their king; and they all with one voice said Yea! and held up their hands promising obedience. Then the king rose and went down to the high altar to be sacred [consecrated], at which consecration there were two archbishops, and ten bishops; and before the altar there he was despoiled out of all vestures of estate, and there he was anointed in six places—on the head, the breast, and on the two shoulders behind, and on the hands. Then a bonnet was set on his head, and while he was anointing the clergy sang the litany, and such service as they sing at the hallowing of the font. Then the king was apparelled like a prelate of the church, with a cope of red silk, and a pair of spurs with a point without a rowel; then the sword of justice was drawn out of the sheath and hallowed, and then it was taken to the king, who did put it again into the sheath; then the Archbishop of Canterbury did gird the sword about him; then St. Edward’s crown was brought forth (which is close above) and blessed, and then the archbishop did set it on the king’s head. After mass the king departed out of the church, in the same estate, and went to his palace; and there was a fountain that ran by diverse branches white wine and red.”

From the abbey the king passed through the hall into the palace, and then back into the hall, to the sumptuous entertainment that there awaited him.

“At the first table,” continues Froissart, “sate the king, at the second the five peers of the realm, at the third the valiant men of London, at the fourth the new-made knights, at the fifth the knights

and squires of honour, and by the king stood the Prince, holding the sword of the church, and on the other side the constable with the sword of justice, and a little above, the marshall with the sceptre. And at the king's board sat two archbishops, and seventeen bishops; and in the midst of the dinner there came in Dymoke, all armed, upon a good horse, richly apparelled."

This coronation is the first in which the creation of knights of the Bath is particularly noticed by historians, though there is no doubt of the observance of this formality in much earlier times. Forty-six gentlemen (among whom were three of the king's sons) watched on the vigil of the coronation at the Tower of London, and received knighthood there on the day before the festival.

In the curious French metrical history, by a contemporary, of the deposition of Richard II.,* translated in the "*Archæologia*" (vol. xxi.), some particulars are given of the coronation of Henry IV. :—

"To grace, and the higher to honour the said coronation, four dukes with ceremony and pomp supported over [the king's] head a rich pall of cloth of gold (*a or bastu*). The Duke of York was the first, and next the good Duke of Surrey, who did it not with a good will; for he loved King Richard, and so was always on his side, let them do what they

* Froissart thus describes the scene of Richard II.'s abdication in favour of Henry IV., which took place in the council chamber of the Tower: "King Richard was released from his prison, and entered the hall which had been prepared for the occasion, royally dressed, the sceptre in his hand, and the crown on his head, but without supporters on either side. He addressed the company as follows:—'I have reigned king of England, duke of Aquitaine, and lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which royalty, lordship, and crown, I now freely and willingly resign to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and entreat of him, in the presence of you all, to accept this sceptre.' He then tendered the sceptre to the duke of Lancaster, who took it and gave it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. King Richard next raised the crown with his two hands from his head, and placing it before him, said, 'Henry, fair cousin, and duke of Lancaster, I present and give to you this crown, with which I was crowned king of England, and all the rights dependent on it.' The duke of Lancaster received it, and delivered it over to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at hand to take it. These two things being done, and the resignation accepted, the duke of Lancaster called in a public notary, that an authentic act should be drawn up of this proceeding, and witnessed by the lords and prelates then present. Soon after, the king was conducted to where he had come from, and the duke and other lords mounted their horses to return home."

would to him. The Duke of Aumarle was the third in performing the ceremony; he did the business willingly for he was not right loyal, as you will learn hereafter. The fourth knew well how to behave himself, and was named the Duke of Gloucester. These four dukes, right or wrong, with one accord supported the pall over their king who made a very fair shew. And when he was crowned king, they returned to the court, where dinner was most sumptuously provided. This was the manner of it. The Archbishop of Canterbury was seated first at the royal table. Duke Henry then took possession of the middle of the table, which, in notable state, was raised two feet and a half higher than both ends; so he that was present told me; according to his account it was two ells long or more. He also told me that many new bishops, who were neither true nor loyal, but made without right or reason, were seated at the king's table. His eldest son, who was made Prince of Wales, held in his hand a sword for tourney [the principal sword called *Curtana*], but I never heard what this ceremony signifieth. He was at the right hand of his father, and close to him was a knight who held the sceptre of the cross. On his left, I believe was the new constable bearing before the table the sword [the Lancaster sword, the first introduced at the coronation by Henry IV., being that which he wore at his landing] of his office for the establishment of justice; but at that season they wrought it not; for without measure or rule, like people full of iniquity, evil, and disloyalty, they persevered in their work. There stood the new marshal, the Earl of Westmoreland, holding the royal sceptre before Henry; next to him the Earl of Warwick, whom they highly esteem; one who was the Earl of Arundel, young and active was baker and grand butler on that day. The marquess carved at dinner; such was the order of it. The Duke of Aumarle served him with wine, but before he had done, there came on horseback into the hall, the seneschal, the marshal and the constable; they placed themselves before the table as long as their services were required. And a knight named Thomas de Noth [Sir Thomas Dymock] well armed for combat in battle, entered the hall upon a mailed horse saying; 'if there were any one, little or great, who would maintain or affirm that King Henry was not Lord and rightful king of all England, he would challenge him at all arms to the utterance.' No man present made the least reply; so he rode three or four turns round the hall, seeking the combat, as he proved by what he declared.

"After dinner all the greatest lords of England, without exception, did homage to Duke Henry; but some of them did it not heartily and truly; for they had already in secret plotted his death, since he had on this day forcibly and wrongfully caused himself to be crowned."

That the accession of Henry IV. was an act of *conquest* and usurpation is clear. He was at the head of an unresisted army, the master of the Parliament. The election had been in Westminster Hall. The texts of the three inauguration sermons were all significant: "Jacob" (a supplanter indeed) "received the blessing;" "This man" (in contrast to

Richard) "shall rule over us." "We" (the Parliament) "must take care that our kingdom be quiet."

Henry V. was consecrated by Archbishop Fitz-Alan on the 9th of April (being Passion Sunday), 1413, his father having died on the 20th of March preceding. Some of the peers are said to have shown an unusual forwardness of zeal



Henry V. From Arundel MS., No. 38.

in favour of this prince, by offering him their homage before his coronation; a thing, as Hall observes, "not before experimented." This solemn event was celebrated at Westminster Hall, with a splendour proportioned to the lustre of those great achievements which afterwards distinguished the

annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preserving order, and adding to the magnificence of the spectacle, many of the nobility were arranged along the sides of the table on large war horses, at a festival "which," says Thomas de Elmham, "was a second feast of Ahasuerus."

On the shrine of Henry V., in Westminster Abbey, is represented the coronation, the nobles attending, in lines of figures on each side. On the south face of the arch, the central object is the king on horseback, armed *cap-a-pie*. Over the canopies which surmount the figures are the alternate badges of the antelope and swan (from the king's mother, co-heiress of the Bohuns), and the same animals appear on the cornices, chained to a tree, on which is a flaming cresset, a badge which was borne by Henry V. alone, as typical of the light "to guide his people to follow him in all honour and virtue." Thomas de Elmham, in his life of this monarch, gives a glowing account of the coronation festivities. Of the banquet he says—

"What feast can be thought more splendid than one that was honoured with so royal a presence, and graced by such a company of nobles and of ladies; where the ear was filled with the tumultuous noise of trumpets, or soothed with the sweeter melody of the harp; and where the countenance was gladdened by the liberal gifts of Bacchus and of Ceres?—in sooth, whatever, nourish in the lap of earth, the bosom of the deep, or the regions of serene air, could serve to increase the general joy, was brought to swell the glory of this feast."

Henry VI. was only eight months old when his father died, and was crowned, in scarcely his ninth year (November 6, 1422), at Westminster by Archbishop Chicheley. A manuscript in the Cotton Library thus relates the event:—

"And now shall ye heere of the solempnyte of the coronacion of the kyng. All the prelatres wente on procession berynge eche of them a relyk of dyuerse sayntes. And the prior of the same place bare a reide called *maia regia*. And the abbot bare the kyng's sepulture, and my lord of Warwyk bare the kyng to chyrche in a cloke of scarlet furred right as the newe knyghtes wente with furred hoodes with monewe. And than he was leyde vpon the high scaffold, and that was covered all with red say between the high autere and the quere. And he was set in his astute in the myddes of the scaffold there, beholdyng the people all abowte sadly and wysely. Then made the archebissshop of Caunterbery a proclamation on the iiij quarters of the scaffold. And thanne the archebysshop, and all other bysshoppes with all the prelatres stoundyng rownde aboute hym, redde exorcismus ouyr hym, and many antemes songe with note."

After the ceremonies of the coronation were ended he

"rose up ayen and went to the shryne. And there was he dyspoyled of all his bysshopp's gere, and arayd as a kyng in riche cloth of gold, with a crowne on his hede; which crowne the kyng dyd doo make for hym self. And so the kyng was led thugh the paleys in to the halle; and the newe knyghtes before hym, in their aray of scarlet; and all the other lordes folowyng hym. And than cam the chaunceler with his crosse and his abyte like a chanon in a garment of red chamlet furred with whyte menyvere; and than folowed the kyng. And he was led betwene the byshoppe of Durham, and the bysshop of Bathe, and my lord of Warwyk bare up his trayne. And before hym rode the erle of Salysbery as constable of Engelond in stede of the duke of Bedford, and thanne the Duke of Glowcestre, as styward of Engelond; and aftyr, the duke of Norfolke as m'chall of Engelonde; and before the kyngge iiij lordes berynge iiij swerdes, ij shethed and ij naked. And oon of the iiij was withoute poynte, &c. Sittyng at the mete the kyng kept his astate; and on the right hand sat the cardynall with a lower astate, and on the left hande satt the chaunceler and a bysshop of France, and no moo at that table. And on the right hand of the table at that boord sat the barons of the v. portes. And so forth the clerkes of the same chauncery. And on the left hande of the hall sat the mayre of London with the aldyrmen. And so forth worthy cominers: and in the myddis of the hall sat the bisshoppes, justices, and worthy knyghts and equyers. And so they fylled bothe the mydde boordes of the hall. And upon a scaffold stode the kynges herawdes of armes all the tyme with crownes on theyr hedes; and at the fyrst cours they came down from the scaffold, and they went before the kynges chaumpyon Syr Phelip Dymok that rode in the hall bright as seynt George. And he proclaimed in the iiij quarters of the hall that the kyng was a rightfull kyng and heyre to the crowne of Engelond; and what maner man that wyll say the contrary he was redy to defende it as his knyght and his chaumpon, for by that offyce he holdith his lande."

The particulars of the coronation banquet are curious, as preserved in Fabyan's Chronicle:—

"Now the first course:—The bore's hede enarmed in a castell royall, frumenty with venysown, viaunde ryall gylt, groce, char, swan, capon stewed, heron, grete pyke; reed leche with a whyght lyon crowned ther-inne; custardys ryall, with a riall lybbard of old set ther-in, holdygng a floure delyce; fritour like a sonne, a floure delyce therinne. A *Sotyltye*: *—Seynt Edward and seynt Lowes armed, in their coote of armes bryngng inne the yonge kyng bytwene them in his cote armure, &c."

* Subtleties, or *sotilties*, signified paste moulded into the form of figures, animals, etc., and grouped so as to represent some scriptural or political allusion. At the coronation banquet here mentioned, at the third course was exhibited a *sotiltie* of the Virgin with her Child in her lap, and holding a crown in her hand; St. George and St. Denis kneeling on either side, presenting to her King Henry with a ballad in his hand..

The victorious sword of Henry V. having gained another sceptre for his son—that of France—this monarch made his progress to receive it in the year 1431. He was then in his eleventh year. On entering Paris from St. Denis, he was met by the national and municipal authorities, who, in the true spirit of the time, were accompanied by the nine worthies, “sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them apperteyning.”* On the 7th of December, “he was honourable accompanied to the church of our Lady in Paris, where he was anointed and crowned by the Cardinal bishop of Winchester, after which he departed to the palace, having one crown on his head, and another borne before him.”

“But,” continues Grafton, “what should I speak of the honourable service, the dayntie dishes, the pleasant conceytes, the costly wyne, the sweet armony, the musicall instruments which were seene and shewed at that feast, sithe all men may conjecture that nothing was omitted that might be bought for golde, nor nothing was forgotten, that by man’s wyt could be invented.”

Monstrelet, in his “Chronicles,” has given a vivid picture of the ceremonies of this French installation.†

King Henry brought back his queen, Margaret, to be crowned in Westminster Abbey.

Edward IV., son of Richard, Duke of York, and a descen-

* The “nine worthies” were famous personages, often alluded to by the old writers, and classed together, rather in an arbitrary manner, like the seven wonders of the world, etc. In an old poem, “The Paradise of Dainty Devices,” they are thus alluded to:—

“The *worthies nine* that were of might,
By *travaile* won immortal praise;
If they had liv’d like carpet knights,
Consuming idly all their dayes,
Their praises had been with them dead,
Where now abroad their fame is spread.”

† In the “Astley Book” in the possession of Lord Hastings, there is a poem on the coronation of Henry VI., commencing—

“Holde up oure yonge Kyng, Ave benigna
And send us pees in oure londe, Ave regina.

The manner and forme of the coronacioun of Kyngis and Queenes in Englonde.”

This valuable work, the table-book of the accomplished English gentleman of the times of Henry VI., comprises subjects of a very miscellaneous character.

dant of Edward III., obtained the regal power on the deposition of Henry VI. in 1461. Fabyan states that "he was elected and chosen for King of England," in a great council of the lords spiritual and temporal, with the agreement of the commons there present; and that after this parliamentary election he was brought to Westminster, "and sitting on his estate royall, in the great hall of the same, a question was asked of the people then presente if they would admitte hym for their kyng and soveraigne lorde, the which with one voice cried, Yea! Yea!" This coronation was celebrated June 29, 1461, Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Bourchier officiating.

On the death of Edward IV., at Westminster, his eldest son was proclaimed king by the title of EDWARD V., and provision was made for his coronation, but the estates of the realm having resolved that the offspring of Lady Grey should not inherit the crown, it was given to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the late king's brother.*

"On July 6th, 1483," Grafton tells us—

"The King [RICHARD III.] with Queen Anne his wife, came downe out of the white hall into the great hall of Westminster, and went directly to the Kinges Benche. And from thence the King and Queene goying upon raye cloth *barefooted*, went unto Saint Edward's shrine, and all his nobilitie goying with him euery lorde in his degree. And first went the trompets and then the heraultes of armes in their rich cotes, and next folowed the crosse with a solempne procession, the priestes hauyng fine surplesses and gray amysses upon them. The abbottes and bishops mytred and in riche copes and euery of them caryed their crosiers in their handes; the bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the cardinall."

Being now come into the church,

"forthwith there came up before the king and the queene both priests and clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent musick."

The usual ceremonies were then performed,

"and in so order as they came they departed to Westminster Hall,

* Edward V. was only in his thirteenth year when his father died. His reign is reckoned from April 9, 1483, the day of his father's decease, but during the few weeks it lasted he never was a king in more than name. The public transactions of his reign all belong properly to the history of his uncle, Richard III. Edward was at Ludlow, Shropshire, at the time of his father's death, and possession of his person was obtained at Northampton, by Richard (then Duke of Gloucester), as he was on his way to London in charge of his maternal uncle, Anthony, Earl Rivers.

and so to their chambers for a season; during which time the Duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground, in clothe of golde, as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

"About foure of the clock, the king and the queene entred the hall, and the king sate in the middle, and the queene on the left hande of the table, and on every side of her stode a countesse holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke. At the ende of dynner, the maier of London served the king and queen with ipocras, and had of eche of them a cup of golde with a cover of golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night; and so the king and queene returned to their chambers, and every man to his lodging."

The concourse of nobility at this coronation was, as Walpole observes, extraordinarily great; it is remarkable that three duchesses of Norfolk were present. But of the circumstances attending it, that which more particularly claims notice relates to the unfortunate young prince, whose pretensions to the throne had just been set aside. Arrangements were certainly made for Edward himself and his attendants to appear in the procession: whether or no he really attended the ceremony we have not the means of learning, but the official record of his "apparel and array," as delivered from the great wardrobe, is no unimportant part of the mysterious history of his life.*

It is asserted by Sir George Buck, in his biography of

* Walpole, in his "Historic Doubts," says, "In the coronation roll itself is this amazing entry: 'to Lord Edward, son of the late King Edward IV. for his apparel and array, that is to say a short gowne made of two yards and three quarters of crymsyn clothe of gold, lined with two yards and three quarters of blue velvet; a long gowne made of six yards of crymsyn cloth of gold, lynned with six yards of green damask; a shorte gowne made of two yards and three quarters of purpell velvet,' etc. Let nobody tell me that these robes, this magnificence, these trappings for a cavalcade were made for the use of a prisoner."

In the "Archæologia" (vol. i. p. 361), however, it is argued that, from the wardrobe accounts of deliveries from the day of Edward IV.'s death to the month of February in the following year, including the time of the intended coronation of Edward V. and the actual coronation of Richard III., the number and similitude of the robes delivered for each of these kings justifies the conclusion (arrived at in consequence of the discussion that ensued when public attention was directed to the above-mentioned coronation roll) that the robes ordered for "Lord Edward, son of Edward IV.," were designed for the apparel of this young prince at his own contemplated coronation. Thus, they were not, as Lord Orford was first led to imagine, used by him to grace the procession of his uncle, Richard III.

Richard, that the king, having made a progress to York shortly after his accession to the throne, was there

“a second tyme crowned, by Dr. Rotheram, Archbishop of York, in the cathedral church, with great solempnity.”

That nothing might be wanting to throw splendour on this ceremonial, the king directed the keeper of his wardrobe to send him a variety of rich clothes, spurs, banners of Our Lady, the Trinity, St. George, St. Edward, St. Cuthbert, and his own arms, all of sarsenet; three coats of arms beaten with fine gold for his own person,*

“five coat armes of heralds lined with buckram, forty trumpet banners of sarsenet, 740 pensils of buckram, 350 pensils of tartar, 4 standards of sarsenet with boars, 30,000 quynsans of fustian with boars,” etc.

The king's secretary, John Kendale, was to acquaint “the gude maisters, the mair, recorder, and aldermen, and sheriffs of the citie of York,” of his intentions, that they might properly entertain His Highness, and the Queen, at their coming, as laudably as their wisdom could devise, with pageants and good speeches, allowing for the shortness of the warning. They were desired to hang the streets through which the king's grace should come, with cloth of arras, tapestry work and other, assigning as a reason because “there would be many southern lords, and men of worship, who would greatly mark their city's manner of receiving their graces.”

Hall states that King Richard was received at York with great pomp and triumph by the citizens; that on the day of his coronation (September 8, 1483), to which the whole country had been invited, the clergy of the church, in their richest copes, and with a reverend ceremony, went about the streets in procession, after whom followed the king, with his crown and sceptre, apparelled in his surcoat robe royal. Then followed Queen Anne, his wife, crowned likewise, leading in her left hand Prince Edward, her son, having on his head a demy crown appointed for the degree of a prince. In this manner they marched to the cathedral, where the king was crowned in the chapter-house. On the same day was Edward, his son, a youth of ten years of age, invested with

* Richard appears to have had an excessive love of finery. In the “Antiquarian Repertory” is a detailed description of the magnificent dresses worn by the king, queen, and court at the Westminster coronation. He was more splendid in his establishment than even his brother Edward IV.

the principality of Wales by a golden rod and a coronet of gold, and other ensigns. The king now knighted Gaufridus de Sasiola, ambassador from the Queen of Spain, who was present at this solemnity, by putting a collar of gold about his neck, and striking three times upon his shoulders with his sword, and by other marks of honour, according to the English custom, with agreeable words added. He also knighted Richard of Gloucester, his natural son, and many gentlemen of the country. The lords spiritual and temporal of the realm were present on this solemn occasion; and "indeed it was a day of great state," says Polydore Vergil, "there being then three princes in York wearing crowns, the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales." Tilts and tournaments followed, with masques, revels, and stage plays, and other triumphant sports, with prodigal feasting.

Henry VII., the leader of a successful rebellion,* obtained the crown, literally, after the battle of Bosworth Field, being that worn by the miserable Richard during the conflict. It was brought by Sir Reginald Bray from the hawthorn bush in which it was found, and given to Lord Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head at the place still called from that circumstance "Crown Hill."†

* Henry VII. has left evidence that he considered himself indebted for the throne to his sword. In his will the following passage occurs:—"Also, we will that our executors cause to be made an image of a King, representing our own person, the same to be of timber, covered and wrought with plate of fine gold, in manner of an armed man; and upon the same armour a coat-armour of our arms of England and France, enamelled, with a sword and spurs accordingly; and the said image to kneel upon a table of silver and gilt, and *holding betwixt his hands the Crown which it pleased God to give us, with the victory of our enemy at our first field*, the which image and crown we bequeath to Almighty God, our blessed Lady," etc.

† This incident is illustrated in the stained glass of the chapel built for the monument of Sir Reginald Bray, in Westminster Abbey. The knight in his will enjoined that his image on the tomb should be represented as holding the crown.

Shakspeare makes no allusion to the incident of the hawthorn bush. Stanley, bearing the crown, addresses Richmond—

"Lo, here, these long usurped royalties
From the dead temples of this bloody wretch
Have I plucked off, to grace thy brows withal:
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it."

The old cavalier, Wyndham, in addressing his sons before his death, said, "I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it hang upon a bush."

The coronation ceremonial took place at Westminster Abbey, October 30, 1485; the officiating prelate was Cardinal Bourchier, Henry being the third monarch who had been consecrated at his hands. There are but scanty particulars of the installation; contemporary chroniclers, though they delight in extolling the glory of the reign, have not left any lengthened account of this transaction. Lord Bacon admits that Henry's marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations (especially on the people's part) of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation; and it may fairly be presumed that the conduct and attendance of the solemnity could not be recorded with advantage.

Among the "Rutland Papers" published by the Camden Society, is one on the coronation of King Henry VII., or rather "a device for that ceremony, prepared probably by some officer of the College of Arms, and intended to be submitted to the correction of the King and his advisers. Several copies of this device got abroad, from which circumstance we may infer that it was adopted and acted upon; one copy is at the Heralds' College, another in the Harleian MSS. (No. 5111, art. 8), and another was in the possession of Ives, the Suffolk antiquary. All these differ in many respects from the one now printed [in the Rutland Papers], and especially from Ives's copy, which he printed in a little work entitled 'Select Papers relating to English antiquities, published from the originals in the possession of John Ives, Esq., 4to, 1774.' This volume is so scarce and so little known, and the device is printed in it so inaccurately, that it has been thought advisable not to lose the opportunity which is afforded by the liberality of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, of furnishing antiquaries with a more accurate and more easily accessible copy of a paper, which, apart from its historical value, presents a striking picture of the state costume and ceremonial of the period. It will be observed that the device was prepared as for the coronation of the intended Queen, as well as for that of the King. In that respect it was certainly not acted upon. Henry VII. was crowned October 30, 1485, but his marriage to Elizabeth of York did not take place until the 18th of January, 1486, and the Queen was not crowned until November 25, 1487" (Preface to the "Rutland Papers," by W. Jerdan).

The title of this tract is, "Here foloweth undre co[rrecc]ion a litle deuysse for the coronacion of the most

high, myghty, and cristen prince, Henry the vijth rightfull and undoubted enheritour of the Coronas of England and of Fraunce, with their appurtenaunces, and by the hole assente of all the lordes spirituellis and temporellis, and also of all the comons of this land, electe, chosen, and required, the xxx^{ty} daye of October, the yer of our lord M^{liiij}^{xv}. to be king of the same. Also of the moost noble princes, Dame — his wiff, Quene of England and of Fraunce, etc. to be solempnyssed at Westmynster." A few extracts from this work will show the peculiarities of coronation rites at this period. We have the king's dress on the morning of the coronation.

"On Sunday, the day of the Coronacion, the xxx^{ty} day of Octobre, the King, arraied by Sir Guyles Dawbeney, deputie for that daie, his chamberlayn, in fourme that foloweth, ffurst with ij sherts, that oon of lawne, that other of crymesyn tarteron, bothe largely open before and behynd and in the shuldres, and lased with aunlettes of siluer and gilt, a greite large brech to the middell thigh pynched togedr befor and behynd, a brech belt of velwet to gadre the same to gedr, a pair of hosyn of crymesyn sarcenet vampeis, and [over] all a cote of crymesyn saten largely openyd as the sherte be, to which cote his hosen shalbe lased with riband of silke, a surcote closed furred with menyver pure, whereof the colar, handes, and the speres shalbe garnished with riband of gold, a hode of estate furred with menyver pure and perfiled with ermyns, a grete mantell of crymesyn saten furred also with menyver pure with a greite lace of silke with ij tarcellis, also in colour crymesyn, a litle cap of estate of crymesyn saten ermyned and garnished with ryband of gold, and accompaned with his lords temporelles in their robes, and noble men, shall come yerly, and it is founden by presidents by vj of the klokke, from his chambre into Westminster Hall, where he shall sitt vndre cloth of estate in the marble chair apparelled with clothes and quisschons of cloth of gold bawdekyn, as it apperteyneth."

The queen's dress is also minutely described, and the order of procession from Westminster Hall to the abbey. The recognition is thus mentioned:—

"The Cardinall, as Archbisshoppe of Caunterbure, shewing the King to the peple at the iiij parties of the said pulpitt, shall say in this wise. 'Sirs, I here present Henry [true] and rightfull, and vndoubted, enheritour by the lawes of God and man to the coroune and roiall dignite of England, with all things therunto ennexed and apperteyning, electe, chosen, and required by all three estats of the same land to take ypon hym the said coroune and roiall dignite, wheruppon ye shall vndrestand that this daie is prefixed and appoynted by all the piers of this land for the consecracion, envneccon, and coronacion of the said most excellent Prince Henry; will ye, sirs, at this tyme geve your willes and assentes to the same consecracion, envneccon, and coronacion?' Wherunto the

people shall saie, with a greate voice, 'Ye. Ye. Ye. So be hit. King Henry! King Henry!'"

The king and the queen proceed to the altar, and the offering is made.

"At the which aulter the King aught to offer a pall, and a pound of gold xxiiij^{li} in coigne, whiche shalbe deliuered unto hym by the Chamberlayn; and, forthwith, the paveament afore the high aulter worshipfully arraiied with carpetts and quissens, the King shall ther lye downe groveling, whils the said Cardinall as archbisshoppe saye ypon hym, *Deus humilium*, which done, the said Cardinall may, at his pleasur, commaund some short sermon to be said, during the which the said Cardinall shall sitt before the high aulter, his back towards the same, as is the custome."

The oath was next administered (see chapter on "The Coronation Oath"), the Litany chanted, and the ceremony of anointing performed. The king is arrayed with the "tabard," the "coif," the long coat, hose, sandals, and spurs. The delivery of the sword follows:—

"After this his sword shalbe blessid of the Cardinall, saying this orison, *Exaudi Domine preces nostras*, which orison ended, all the Bushoppes shall delyuer to hym and seyase hym, standing, with a swerd, they all leaning their hands on the same, and the Cardinall saying unto hym, *Accipe gladium*, and with the same swerd shall gyrd hymself."

The armill is next presented, and afterwards St. Edward's crown, which is first blessed by the cardinal, "castyng holy water, and sensyng the same." The ring, called the "regall," is placed upon the fourth finger of the king's right hand, with these words, "*Accipe regie dignitatis*, etc., with this orison, *Deus cujus*, etc."

The king offered his sword on the altar, and, taking it again, delivered it to

"som grete Erle to be redeemed of thabbot for an c^s; the whiche Erle shall afterward bere the said swerd naked before the King. After that the Cardinall shall geve to the King in his right hand the septour of gold with the dove in the toppe, the King having furst put on his hands, roiall gloves by the said Cardynall."

The king received in his left hand the golden rod with the cross on the top. Seated on his chair before the high altar the sovereign received the kiss from the bishops, and the act of homage was performed; *

* Concerning the KISS OF HOMAGE, Selden observes that "kissing the feet hath been used in Europe at the doing of homage upon investitures received from great princes, as we see in that of Rollo, or Robert, first

"the King to sitt in his sege roiall accompanied with all the peris of this realm, all the said peris to hym shall make feaute and homage, vndre such wourds and fourme as foloweth; tharchbishoppes and bishoppes vndre this fourme, 'Ye shall swere that ye shalbe faithfull and true, and faith and trowthe ber vnto the King, our souerayn lord, and to his heures, Kinges of England, and truly ye shall do, and truly knoledge, the seruice due of the lands the which ye clayme to hold of hym as in the right of your church, as God shall helpe youe and the saynts.' And all the temperall lords vnder this ffourme, 'I, N., become your ligeman, of lif and lymme and of erthly worshipp; and feith and trouthe I shalbere vnto you, to lyue and die ayenst all manner of folke; so God me help and his halowes.'"

The anointing of the queen (see chapter on "Anointing"), the blessing of her ring and crown, followed, with the delivery of the sceptre and the rod:—

"The Quene thus coronwed shalbe led of the abouesaid Bisshoppes of Excetour and Ely vnto her seage of astate nere to the Kinges seage roiall, obeying herself afore the Kinges maieste in her commyng ther vnto, the noble ladies folowing her, essepeceally the greate lady as aboue beyng nigh vnto her for her instruccion and comfort, and in the same seage the Quene shall sitt till the offretory shalbe begon."

The mass performed, the book of the Gospel was kissed by the King and Queen, and the Oblation followed:—

"The King shall offre an obley of bred laid vppon the patent of saynt Edward, his chalice, with the which obley after consecrate the King shalbe houselled [receive the Eucharist], also he shall offre, in a cruet of gold, wyne, which he shall vse in the said chalice after he is housilled, and aswell the said patent with the obley as the cruet with wyne, shalbe

Duke of Normandy, receiving the dutchy from Charles the Simple; and such more; though in later ages and at this day, the kiss in homage be on the cheek or lips." Selden deduces the several customs of kissing the hands, feet, and lips from the Roman empire and the Eastern nations, and connects them with the "kiss in homage." The custom, probably, is not of heathen antiquity, but may be referred to the practice of the Christian Church, intended as a token of union and agreement rather than of reverence or submission. Selden remarks that the kiss of homage is so essential "that the homage hath not enough it seems of what is legal without it, for in the time of Henry VI., a great plague being about London, a bill was put up in Parliament to ordain and grant by the authoritie of this present parliament that everiche of your said lieges in the doing of their said homage may omit the said kissing of you and be excused thereof (at your will the homage being of the same force as though they kissed you), and have their letters of doing their homage, the kissing of you omitted notwithstanding.—And the bill having passed both Houses, the subscription is *Le Roy le voet* as the usual words of his consent are."

delyuered vnto hym by the gospellar at tyme of his offering; the King also shall then offre a marke of golde and xvj li in coyne to hym to be delyuerid by the Chamberlayn, and the King kneling, and bowing his hed, the Cardinall shall blesse hym, saying ouer hym thise orisons: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus* and, *Benedic, Domine*; after the King the Quene shall offre her offering accustomed."

The celebration of the Holy Communion followed, after which the crowns were taken off the heads of the king and queen, and the various objects of the regalia being placed on the altar, the royal pair were arrayed in other robes of state, and going to the altar before the shrine of St. Edward, received two other crowns, and seated themselves while the procession was being reformed from the abbey to the palace.

Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon were crowned at Westminster, June 24, 1509, by Archbishop Warham. Hall has given a glowing account of this ceremonial, which was as magnificent as taste and boundless expenditure could render it.

"Their Highnesses went to Westminster Abbey, upon cloth vulgarly called cloth of ray, the whiche cloth was cut and spoyled by the rude and common people, immediately after their repaire into the abbey, where, according to the sacred observaunce and auncient custome, his grace with the quene were anoynted and crowned by the archebushopp of Canterbury with a great multitude of commons of the same. After the whiche solempnitie and coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and temporall did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the quene's grace every one under their canabies, where by the lorde marshall and his tipped staves was made rome and office that daie, to execute their services accordingly."

Of the coronation banquet Hall says—

"What should I speake or write of the sumptuous, fine and delicate meates prepared for this high and honorable coronacion, provided for aswel in the parties beyond the se as in many and sundery places within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson: or of the honorable ordre of the services, the clean handelyng and breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plentifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeing there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone went unfeasted."

The customary *largesse* and the serving with ipocras are then detailed in the conclusion of the feast, and the solemnities of this "triumphant coronacion" were followed by joust and tourney, worthy of this golden age of pageants.

The coronation of the boy-king, Edward VI., occurred (within a month of his father's decease) at Westminster Abbey, February 20, 1547. The proceedings of the cere-

monial were shortened, according to the programme of the inauguration, "for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtsome peradventure to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age [ten years], fully to endure and bide out; and also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowed," in allusion, probably, to the change in religious opinions consequent on the Reformation. The office of the mass was, however, said by Cranmer. One alteration in the ceremonial from the usual routine was that of reversing the order of first administering the coronation oath to the king, and then presenting him to the people for acceptance.* In other respects the ceremony presented many minute but interesting points of difference from the general practices. The way from York Place to the palace, and thence into the choir of the abbey, was covered with blue cloth; in the choir was erected a stage of unusual height, ascended by a flight on one side of twenty-two steps, which with the floor at the top were covered with carpets, and the sides hung with cloth of gold. Besides the general rich decorations of the altar, a splendid valance was now hung upon it, enriched with precious gems, while the neighbouring tombs were covered with curtains of golden arras. On the stage stood a lofty throne, ascended by seven steps. The procession commenced at nine in the morning, when the choir of the abbey in their copes, with crosses borne before and after them, the gentlemen and children of the royal chapel with surplices and

* The consent of the people to the assumption of the crown was changed into a dutiful recognition by Cranmer, under King Edward VI. The former seems to have been until that time the constant practice. Tindal (speaking of its use at the coronation of Richard II.) says, "This ceremony, though not mentioned in any of our historians, was no innovation, but seems to be a remainder of the old English custom of electing the king, as may be observed by comparing the manner of the coronation and election of King Edward the Confessor, and William I., with this action, and which has been observed ever since." Upon the alteration to the present form Hallam remarks, "This alteration in the form is a curious proof of the solicitude displayed by the Tudors, as it was much more by the next family, to suppress every recollection that could make their sovereignty appear to be of popular origin." Up to that time the Church, while claiming a divine independence, defended popular rights against the crown, which then, for the first time, asserted a supremacy over both.

At this coronation, for the first and last time, kissing the royal sandal formed part of the ceremonial.

cope all in scarlet, ten mitred bishops in garb of the same colour, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, received the king at the palace, and conducted him to the stage in the choir. Here he was placed in a chair of crimson velvet, which two noblemen carried whilst he was presented to the people.* Then, descending to the altar, he was censed and blessed. The anointing was not the least curious part of the ceremony. "Then anon," quotes Malcolm from an authority which he does not mention, "after a goodly care, cloth of red tinsel gold was holden over his head; and my Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, his Grace lay prostrate before the altar, and anointed his back." The archbishop then took the crown into his hands, and commenced the "*Te Deum*." Whilst the choir sang and trumpets sounded from above, the Lord Protector Somerset and the archbishop placed the crown on the king's head, and subsequently two other crowns were worn by him. After the enthronization he was reconducted to the throne, when "the lords in order kneeled down and kissed his Grace's right foot, and after, held their hands between his Grace's hands, and kissed his Grace's left cheek, and so did their homage a pretty time. Then after this began a goodly mass by my Lord of Canterbury, and goodly singing in the choir, with the organs going. At offering time his Grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine."

At this coronation the Bible was, for the first time, presented to the sovereign—an act, says Dean Stanley, which may, perhaps, have suggested to the young king the substitution, which he had all but effected, of the Bible for St. George in the insignia of the Order of the Garter.

At the royal banquet the king sat under his estate, and on the right hand of the same table sat the Protector and the archbishop. After the feast "it was ordeyned that there should be made a certain number of knights" (the king had been knighted previously to the coronation by the Duke of Somerset, Protector) "instead of the Bathe, because the time

* The recognition of Edward VI. was—"Sirs, Here I present King Edward rightfull and undoubted inheritor by the lawes of God and man to the crown and royal dignity of this realme; whereupon ye shall understand that this day is prefixed and appointed by all the peers of this realme for his consecration, enunction and coronation. Will you serve at this time, and give your good wills and assent to the same consecration, enunction, and coronation? Whereunto the people answered all in one voice, Yea, yea, yea, God save King Edward!"

was so short that they could not be made of the Bathe according to the ceremonies thereunto apperteyning." On the morrow after the coronation there were holden "royall justes against all comers."

Holinshed's account of this coronation is curious. He informs us that the king "rode through London into Westminster with as great roialtie as might be. . . . As he passed on the south side of Paule's churchyard, an Argosine came from the battlements of Paule's Church upon a cable, being made fast to an anchor by the Deane's gate, lieing on his breast, aiding himself neither with hand nor foot, and after ascended to the middest of the cable, where he tumbled and plaied many pretty toies, whereat the king and the nobles had great pastime."

When, at the coronation, the three swords typical of the three kingdoms were brought to be borne before him, Edward remarked that there was yet one wanting, and called for the Bible. "That," said he, "is the sword of the Spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use these for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing; we can do nothing. From that we are what we are this day . . . we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength."

The unfortunate *Lady Jane Grey*, the unwilling usurper of the throne on the death of the young King Edward, and the victim of atrocious deceit and ambition, although proclaimed queen, was ungraced by the ceremony of a coronation.*

* Though a usurper, observes Sir Harris Nicholas, the date of the assumption of the regal title by this personage merits attention, because a few documents, both public and private, are dated "in the first year of the reign of Jane, Queen of England." Having reluctantly consented to assume the royal dignity immediately on the death of Edward VI., she was proclaimed queen on the 10th of July, four days after that monarch's decease. The proclamation recited her title to the throne, and stated "that the Imperial Crown and other premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be and remain to us in actual and royal possession." It appears, however, that Jane's succession took place before the date of her proclamation; and her reign was most probably considered to have commenced on the 6th of July. On the 9th of that month, the Privy Council, in reply to a letter from Mary claiming the throne, and expressing her surprise that the death of Edward VI. had not been notified to her, informed her that "our

MARY, the elder daughter of Henry VIII., and the first reigning female sovereign of England, was crowned October 1, 1553. Planché, in his "Regal Records," has published an account of this ceremonial from the original records in the College of Arms, and a manuscript in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, a programme drawn up immediately previous to the event. A few brief notices will be interesting. The preparations for the inauguration in Westminster Abbey are stated to have been—

"*first*, the Quire very richly hung with cloth of arras, well strewed with rushes, and the place between the high altar and the chair. There was there ordained a mounting scaffold, with stairs up to the same and down to the altar, and thereupon a throne of seven stairs, whereof the four uppermost covered with fine baudekin, and the other stairs covered with carpet. And in the middle of the throne set a great royal chair, covered with baudekin damask gold, with two cushions, one black velvet embroidered with gold very richly, and the others of cloth of tissue; the said chair having pillars at the back, whereon stood two lions of gold, and in the midst a turret with a flower de lice of gold, the said place to be always guarded by four gentlemen ushers daily waiters, viz.—besides other gentlemen ushers to assist them.

"And thus the Queen's Majesty, between x and xi of the clock, was conducted by two noblemen to her throne to King Edward's chair as is aforesaid; wherein, after her Grace had reposed a little time, she was removed by the said lords into the four parts of the mount into the sight of the people, beside whom the Bishop of Winchester, standing, declared to the people in the aforesaid parts the Queen's Majesty's free election.* . . . And then her Grace was brought unto the said throne again, and immediately removed into a rich chair by the gentleman ushers before the high altar, upon which altar her Grace offered her pall of baudekin and xxs., verifying the words of Scripture, 'Thou shalt not appear void before the Lord God.'

sovereign lady Queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward VI., invested and possessed with the just and right title in the Imperial Crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient good laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same."

* The recognition ran thus, being fuller and more comprehensive than any similar address:—"Sirs,—Here present is Mary, rightful and undoubted inheritrix, by the laws of God and man of the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, France, and Ireland; and you shall understand, that this day is appointed by all the peers of this land for the consecration, unction, and coronation of the said most excellent princess Mary. Will you serve at this time, and give your wills and assent to the same consecration, unction, and coronation?"

"Then a little after her Grace returned to her chair, a cushion of velvet was laid before the altar, upon the which her Grace lay prostrate while certain oraisons were said over her." [The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Chichester, the subject being, according to Noailles, the obedience due to kings. The oath was then taken, the Litany chanted, and the queen prepared for the anointing; having a pall holden over her by four knights of the Garter, the Bishop of Winchester applying the holy oil and chism and] "saying unto her certain words, with divers oraisons and prayers, which thereunto appertaineth. Then after the inunction the Bishop of Winchester did dry every place of the same with cotton or linen cloth, and after Mrs. Walgrave did lace again her Highnesse's apparel, putting on her hands a pair of linen gloves." The queen's rich robe of crimson velvet was then again put on. "And after her Grace was brought to the altar, whereat she offered up the sword that she was girt withal by the Bishop of Winchester, and after to redeem the same was given by the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward, who did bear the same sword before her Grace naked on the left hand of the sword in the scabbard from the church to Westminster Hall."

"This done her Grace was brought again to the chair, before the highaltar where the Bishop of Winchester and the Duke of Norfolk brought unto her Highness three crowns;—to wit, one King Edward's crown; the other the imperial crown of the realm of England; the third, a very rich crown purposely made for her Grace. Then the crowns were set one after another upon the Queen's head by the Bishop of Winchester; and betwixt the putting on of every crown the trumpets did blow.

"Then immediately after, the quire sung and the organs did play 'Te Deum.' And in the mean season the same was singing, a ring of gold was put on her Grace's marrying finger by the Bishop of Winchester.

"Then the Master of her Grace's jewel-house brought her Grace's bracelets of gold and precious stones. Then divers other things were delivered to her Grace, as the sceptre, by the Earl of Arundel: Saint Edward's Staff, by the Earl of Bath: the spurs, by the Earl of Pembroke; the ball of gold, by the Marquis of Winchester; the regal of gold, by the Bishop of Winchester.

"And the Queen thus sitting in her chair apparelled in her royal robes of crimson velvet, containing a mantle with a train, a surcoat with a kirtle furred with the wombs of miniver, pure, a riband of Venice gold, a mantle lace of silk and gold, with buttons and tassels of the same, having her crown imperial on her head, her sceptre in her right hand, and the ball in her left hand, was conveyed again to the throne to St. Edward's chair; having a pair of sabatons on her feet, covered with crimson cloth of gold, lined with crimson satin, garnished with a ribbon of Venice gold, delivered by the master of her great guard-robe.

"And during the space of the homage doing, the Lord Chancellor having first done, departed into the four parts of the said mount, and declared a goodly large and ample pardon for all manner of offences except certain persons and conditions contained in the same not worthy to be pardoned. This done, the office of the mass began by the Bishop of Winchester, and at the time of the Gospel, the book was brought by a Bishop to the Queen, who kissed the same.

"Then at the time of the offering, her Grace was brought down to

make her offering,—viz. an oble of bread laid upon the paten of King Edward's chalice, a cruet of wine, and a pound of gold. Then, bowing her head, the Bishop of Winchester said a prayer over her. Then her Grace was conveyed again to her siege royal, and there sat till 'Agnus Dei.' Then the pax was brought to her to kiss by a Bishop. Then the Queen was conducted down to the said altar, and the Bishop of Winchester took the crown from her head and set it on the said altar. Then she was conveyed again into her traverse, and the Lord Great Chamberlain received of her all the regalia, and delivered them to the Dean of Westminster, to be laid upon the said altar. Then her Grace was unclad of her apparel, and other royal apparel given to her by the said Great Chamberlain, viz. a robe of purple velvet with the kirtle and surcoat overte, and a mantle with a train furred with miniver and powdered ermine, and a mantle lace of silk and gold, with buttons and tassels of the same, and riband of Venice gold, the crown set upon her head, and a goodly canopy borne over her by the barons of the cinque ports. And so was conveyed in goodly order with all her train unto Westminster Hall to dinner, in like manner as her Grace's coming thither was in all things saving procession."

The coronation banquet was most sumptuous:—

"At the first course there came riding in on two goodly coursers the Lord High Steward of England, and the Earl Marshal, both richly apparelled, and their horses trapped according to their estate. On the Queen's right hand sat the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lady Elizabeth, her Grace, and the Lady Anne of Cleves, on the left hand. Four swords were held before the Queen during the dinner. At the end of the second course, the Queen's Champion appeared upon a courser richly trapped with cloth of gold, holding in his hand a mace, and on the other side of him a page, one holding his spear, another his target with a herald before him. The usual challenge having been made, and repeated thrice, the champion received the cup as his fee from which her Majesty had drunk to him. The Queen's style was then proclaimed by Garter with the rest of the officers of arms, in Latin, French, and English, concluding with 'larges, larges, larges.'

"Her Majesty having dined arose, and stood in the 'hault place' with the Lady Elizabeth her Grace, and the Lady Anne of Cleves, and all the nobility, according to their degrees and estates. Then the Mayor of London brought a goodly standing cup of gold to the Queen's Majesty, and after her Highness had drunk so, gave the Mayor the cup. Then after, her Highness withdrew to her Parliament chamber, she shifted her there in her Privy Chamber, where she was first apparelled before her going to church. The Queen was then conveyed by water to the palace, where there was that night feasting and cheer."

Of the coronation of QUEEN ELIZABETH, the particulars are not ample. The tract published by Tottill, and represented in Nicholls's "*Royal Progresses*," gives a detailed account of the queen's procession through the city, previous to her coronation (see chapter on "*Coronation Processions from the*

Tower"), and concludes with that portion of the solemnity. Strype has briefly noticed the coronation thus: "On the 15th day of January [1559], she was crowned with the usual ceremonies at Westminster Abbey. She first came to Westminster Hall. There went before her trumpets, knights, and lords, heralds of arms in their rich coats. Then the nobles in their scarlet, and all the bishops in scarlet; then the Queen and all her footmen waiting upon her to the hall. There her Grace's apparel was changed. In the hall they met the bishop that was to perform the ceremony,* and all the chappel, with three crosses borne before them, in their copes, the bishop mitred; and singing as they passed 'Salvæ festa dies.' All the streets new laid with gravel and blue cloth, and railed in on each side. And so to the abbey to mass. And there her Grace was crowned. Thence, the ceremony ended, the Queen and her retinue went to Westminster Hall to dinner; and every officer took his place at service upon their lands; and so did the lord mayor of London and the aldermen."

Some particulars are also given in Ashmole's collections at Oxford (863, p. 211) of the "cerymonies of the coronacõn of the moost excellent Queene Elysabeth:"—

"Item, fyrst her Grace sett in a chayre of estate, in the middle of the church before the high aluter; and immediately hir Grace was conducted from the said chayre and lede between two lords to be proclaimed by a byshop Queene of Inglande. And immediately the Queenes Majestie was brought to the chayre of estate and immediately hir Grace was lede byfore the high aluter and there sittinge a bysshop the Queenes Maj^{tie} kneeling byfore the bysshop and kissed the patyn her Grace offered money and the bisshop laid it in the basyne and immediately offerid a part of red sylke wherein the paten was covered. And immediately hir Highnes sat in a chayre byfore the aluter there being a bisshop in the pulpitt preaching a sermon byfore the Queenes Maj^{tie} and all the lords spirituall and tempall. And after the sermon done, the bysshop 'bade the beads' her Grace voyde out of the chayre knelynge and said the Lords Prayer. And aftir that hir Grace satt in hir chayre, and the

* "The see of Canterbury," says Rapin, "being vacant, by the death of Cardinal Pole, the office of the coronation devolved on the Archbishop of York [Michael Heath], but that prelate, and all the rest having, with one voice, refused to assist in the office, because Elizabeth, both by proclamation, and the admission of men into her counsel, who had not the character of good catholics, had sufficiently declared her aversion to the church of Rome. Only Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, was at last brought to do the office, notwithstanding the complaints of his bretheren." This prelate, it is said by Burnet, afterwards died of remorse.

bysshop gave hir a booke which shee had takeing hir oathe. And after that, the bysshop knelynge byfore the aulter red in two bookes and hir Grace gave a little booke to a lord to deliver unto the bysshop. And he received the booke. The bysshop retornyed the booke to the lorde, not reading the saide booke, and red other bookes. And immediately y^e bysshop tooke the Queenes booke and red it byfore the Queene her Grace. And after that hir Grace kneeled byfore the aulter. And the bysshop red a booke byfore hir Grace. And immediately her Grace went to shift her apparell. And the bysshop sang the . . . of the masse in a booke which was brought in byfore the Queene and than and there was a carpet with kussyns of golde spread before the aulter. And secretary Cycill delivered a booke to the busshop, and there was a bysshop standing at the left hand of the aulter.

"Item, the Queenes Maj^{tie} being new apparrelled came byfore the aulter and leand upon the kussene and over her was spread a reed silken cloth. And than and there the bysshop annoynted her Grace. And y^t done changing apparell her Grace returned, and satt in her chayre. And there was a sword with a girdele putt over her & upon one of her shoulders and under the other: And soe the sword hangeing by her side. And after that two gartares uppon her hands; and than one crowne put the bysshop uppon her heade, and than trompetts sounding, and the bysshopp put a ringe upon her finger and delivered the sceptre in her hand, and then aftir the bysshopp satt a crowne upon her heed and the trompetts sounding. And aftir that hir Grace offerid the sword and laid it uppon the aulter and returned kneelinge. And the bysshop readeinge upon a booke and shee haveing the scepter and a crosse in her hand and aftir that hir Grace returned to the chayer of estate. And then the bysshop put his hand to the Queenes hand and read certaine wordes to her Grace. And then the lords went up to her Grace kneeling uppon their knees and kissed her Grace. And after the lords had done the bysshoppes came one after another kneeling and kissing her Grace. And after that the bisshop began the masse the Queenes Maj^{tie} haveinge the septer in the right hand, and the world [orb] in the left hand the Epystel red fyrst in Latyn and after that in English. And after that the bysshop brought her Grace the Gospell which also was read first in Latyn and after in Englishe: and shee kyssed the words of the Gospell. And immediately after her Maj^{tie} went to the offering and byfore hir Grace was borne iii naked swordes and a sword in the scabbard, and her Grace kneelyng byfore the aulter and kissed the patyn and offeryd certain money into the bassyn & than and there was rede to her Grace certaine wordes. And then her Grace returned into her closett hearing the consecration of the masse and hir Grace kissed the pax.* And when masse was done her Grace removed behinde the high aulter and than and there her Maj^{tie} changed her apparell and so her Maj^{tie} was conducted from the abby to Westminster hall and there dyned."

* The *pax* is a piece of board having the image of Christ upon the cross on it, which the people, before the Reformation, used to kiss after the service was ended, that ceremony being considered the kiss of peace.

In the Harleian MSS. (No. 1386) the queen's title is thus mentioned: "Of the most high and mightye Princesses our dread Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the trewe auncient and Catholic faithe, most worthy Empresse from the Orcade Isles to the Mountaynes Pyrenei."

Aikin, in his memoirs of Elizabeth, remarks that the increased seriousness of the time is shown in the contrast between the grave Biblical figures and the light classical imagery of the pageants that witnessed the passage of her mother.

The arrangements for the coronation of JAMES I. were intended to be of the most splendid character, but the plague was then raging, and, in consequence, the people were forbidden to come to Westminster to see the pageant. This event occurred February 25, 1603, the day of his namesake, the Apostle, Archbishop Whitgift performing the consecration service. An account of the proceedings is published in Nichols's "Royal Progresses," and in its principal features follows pretty closely the installation ceremonies of Queen Elizabeth, whose coronation, like that of James I., took place nearly a year after her accession.

A letter from Sir Simonds D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville, from his "Autobiography and Correspondence," gives some interesting particulars of the coronation of CHARLES I. :—

"About eight of the clocke [February 2, 1626], His Majestie was expected to have landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, my Lord Marshall having himselfe given order for carpets to bee laied. Sir Robert stooode readie ther to receave him, with a booke of Athelstane's, being the fouer Evangelists in Lattine, that King's Saxon Epistle prefixed, upon which for divers hundred yeares together, the Kings of England had solemlie taken the coronation oath.

"But the royall barge bawked these steppes soe fentie accomodated, and being put forward was ran on ground at Parliament stairs, by which both His Majestie and the Lordes were faine to use the neighbour boates for ther landing.

"Sir Robert told me, and I believe it, that this act might have brought a custome of setting ther, and so was glad it missed; but I conceived the Duke had prevented that act of grace to bee done him by reason of that peice I showed you which begann—'soe long as those attended our master now with God &c.' framed by him. You may remember how I told you that I doubted him the author by reason of the style and gravitie thereof.

"Yet I think a little while after the booke was delivered, His Majestie and the Peeres being receaved ther first, came into Westminster Hall, a high stage and throne being ther erected for that end.

I saw the Duke [of Buckingham] Lord Constable for this day, taking the right hand of him going upp the stairs, and putting foorth his left to beare upp the King ;—he, putting it foorth by which his right hand helped upp the Duke, and with a smiling countenance tolde him, ‘I have as much needs to assist you, as you to assist me.’ I dare say he meant it plainlie, yet searching brains might pick much from it. Upon a table placed on the left hande of the estate, weere the Regalia laide ; which the Duke upon his bringing to the King, here delivered them to several noblemen ; the first sworde to Marquesse Hambledon, the seconde to the Earle of Kent, the crowne to the Earle of Pembroke, the ball with the crosse to the Earle of Sussex, the long scepter to the Earle of Essex, St. Edward’s Rodd to the Earle of Hartforde, and onlie the Lorde Mayor carried the short scepter.

“These weere thinges ad placitu and noe claims allowed for this time. Then proceeded His Majestie bare (for after the deliverie of his crowne, having laied offe his hat, he continued soe till crowned) on foote, under a canopie to the churche : first went the Knights of the Bath, then the Kinges Serjeants, then Masters of Requests, then Judges, then Peeres, then carriers of the Regalia, and, lastlie, His Majesty.

“I was thinking to see his passage, and soe to go home, having in the morning, without colour of secresse, endeavoured to gett into the churche ; in my passage spying a doore guarded by one, and thronged at by few, I went, and with little trouble found an easie entrance,—the good genius of that guardman guiding his gentler thoughts.

“Being in, I instantlie settled myself at the stage on which stoode the royall seate. My expectation was soon answered with His Majestie’s approach, who, presenting himself bare-headed to the people, (all the doores being then opened for ther entrance) the Archbishopp on his right hand, and Earle Marshall on his left, the Bishopp said in my articulate hearing to this purpose :—‘My masters and freinds ; I am here come to present unto you your King, King Charles, to whome the crowne of his auncestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineall right, and hee himselve come hither to bee settled in that throne, which God and his birth have appointed for him ; and therefore I desire you by your generall acclamations to testifie your content and willingness therunto.’

“Upon which, whether some expected hee should have spoken moore, others hearing not well what hee saied, hindered those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes and greatnes of the action basied men’s thoughts, or the presence of so deare a King drew admiring silence, so that those which weere nearest doubted what to doe, but not one worde followed till my Lorde of Arundel tolde them they should crie out ‘God save King Charles !’ Upon which, as ashamed of ther first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other side, where he presented himselve, ther was not the like failing. Then going from this erected stage downe into St. Edward’s chappell, Dr. Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle preached, before which the organs and quire answered to two Bishoppes, whoe upon ther knees sang the letanie. Then followed His Majestie’s Coronation, where because the putting on of his crimson shirte, the anointing of his naked shoulders, armes, hands, and head weere *arcana*, a traverse was drawn, and I dare say boldlie few moore single lessons, than ther weere thousands within the church saw it ; yet might we guesse when the anointed glories and quoife, and robes, and crowne, weere brought then those weere to bee put on.

"The archbisshopp [Abbot], performed the unction, which I doubted hee should not, by reason of suspicion of irregularitie, upon the unfortunate killing of a man, som few yeares since: then receaved his Majestie the communion, and after crowned in his purple robes, ascending the stage, and throne, tooke homage of all the Peres—they putting ther handes into his, and being kissed by him did him both homage and fealtie. Then returned hee into an inner chappell, and ther putt on blacke velvett robes, lined with ermine, and soe crowned went backe to Westminster Hall, in the same manner hee had come thither wheree everie Lorde delivered backe againe his regalia. The crowne hee wore was narrower and higher than that my Lorde of Pembroke carried, yet both incomparable rich. After the Kinges crowning all the Earles and Viscounts putt on their coronets, and capps; the Bishopps ther capps; the Barons continued bare. Before this, the Lorde Keeper gave his Majestie's free pardon to all that would take it out, which was followed by an exceeding acclamation. The Lorde Conway tooke place of all barons, being a baron and principall secretarie; else he goeth below them. The Queen was neither crowned, nor at the church, yet saw their going. Other newes there is, much which my little time suffring mee not to write."

In 1633 Charles I. proceeded to Scotland, to be crowned. He arrived at Edinburgh, June 15,

"accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and divers other Scotch and English lords and gentlemen, to the number of about five hundred. His furniture and plate were carried about with him, in princely form. He, riding on horseback, was received at the West Port, in a theatrical manner, after the fashion of the allegorical entertainments with which Ben Jonson has made us familiar. There was a kind of theatre under an arch, where a nymph representing Edinburgh, appeared on a mountain, which was so arranged as to move at the approach of majesty. The nymph was attired in a sea-green velvet mantle, with sleeves and under-robe of blue tissue, and blue buskins on her feet; about her neck she wore a chain of diamonds; her head-dress represented a castle with turrets, and her locks dangled about her shoulders.

"A speech of welcome was delivered by this fair lady, together with the keys of the city. Meanwhile, the provost, Alexander Clark, and the bailies in furred red robes, with about threescore councillors and others, in black velvet gowns, had taken up a position on a wooden stand at the other side of the gate. Thence the provost addressed the king in a brief speech, presenting him at the same time with a gold basin, worth five thousand merks, into which were shaken out of an embroidered purse a thousand golden double angels, as a token of the town's love and service. 'The king looked gladly upon the speech and gifts both; but the Marquis of Hamilton, master of his Majesty's horse, hard beside, meddled with the gift, as due to him by virtue of his office.'

"The provost then mounted his own horse, which was sumptuously attired, and, followed by the councillors and others on foot, attended his Majesty along the Grassmarket. Here appeared 'a brave company of town's soldiers all clad in white satin doublets, black velvet breeches,

and silk stockings, with hats, feathers, scarfs, bands, and the rest correspondent. These gallants had dainty muskets, pikes, and gilded partisans, and such like,' and attended his Majesty as a guard. At the gate in the middle of the West Bow, there was another theatre, presenting a Highland scene, labelled with the word *Grampius*, and from which a female, representing the genius of Caledonia, welcomed his Majesty in verse. Coming to the west end of the Tolbooth, he there found an arch across the narrowed street, surmounted by a crown; Mars, as the protecting deity of the country, on one side, and Minerva on the other. Here, on the withdrawal of a curtain, Mercury appeared, as if just arrived from the Elysian fields, with his Majesty's deceased progenitors. This was a part of the spectacle really interesting to the King, for the portraits struck his faithful eye, as well executed; and so they were, being the work of George Jameson, of Aberdeen. Here there was a fourth speech.

"At the Mercat Cross, he had a fifth speech, where his Majestye's health was drunk by Bacchus on the cross, and the haill stroups [spouts] thereof running over with wine in abundance. At the Tron, Parnassus hill was erected curiously, all green with birks, where nine pretty boys, representing the nine nymphs or muses, were nymph-like clad [in varying taffetas, cloth of silver, and purple]. Amidst the trees appeared Endymion, like a shepherd, in a long coat of crimson velvet, with gilt leather buskins, telling the King in William Drummond's verse that he had been despatched by Cynthia to celebrate the day.

"At the Nether Bow, where he made his exit from the city, another speech was addressed to him. 'Whilk haill orations, his Majesty, with great pleasure and delight, sitting on horseback, as his company did, heard pleasantly; syne rode down the Canongate to his own palace of Holyrood house, where he stayed that night.'

"On the Monday following, the King was conducted by his nobility in state, in his royal robes, to the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood, and there was solemnly crowned by the Bishop of Brechin."

Of the coronation of CHARLES II. (April 23, 1661), in Westminster Abbey, we have ample details in the "Circumstantial Account" of Sir Edward Walker, Garter principal-at-arms at that period; in the "Entertainment of Charles II., in his passage through London to his Coronation, with a narrative of the ceremony at the Coronation by John Ogilby," with plates by Hollar, folio, London, 1662, and the "Cereimonial and Proceedings" as set forth by Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald; also notices in the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, spectators on that occasion.*

* Among the manuscripts of the Duke of Sutherland is a letter dated from Drury Lane, April 13, 1661, from William Smith to John Langley:—"The chieftest affairs now in hand are his Majesty's Coronation and marriage, the first of which now draws near, the four stately standing pageants being now almost finished. The first his Majesty shall encounter is in Leadenhall Street, and it presenteth Anarchy, and the confusion which that government brings: the second is erected at the Royal

Exchange, and it holds forth Presbetry, and with it the decay of Trade : the third, which is the most sumptuous, stands in Cheapside, relating the honours due to the Hierarchy, and sheweth the restoration of Episcopacy. In this magnificent building his Majesty is to be treated to a stately banquet, and to show the power which Episcopacy hath over Presbetry, just at his Majesty's departure will arise the form of the old Crosse which anciently stood at the same place, at whose appearance Presbetry vanisheth. The last, which is also very glorious, stands in Fleet Street, and represents Monarchy, whereby the former disorders are brought into their first conformities :—and these are to be the works of Monday, the 22. of this instant April . . .—For the Coronation, the Lord Wharton's furnitures for his horse, (as it is said) will amount to £8000 ; the bit of his bridle being valued at £500. The Duke of Buckingham has written to some friends (as they say) that, notwithstanding the malice of cards and dice, he has bestowed £30,000 upon a suit to attend his Majesty at his Coronation."

"Upon Tuesday," says Walker, "the 23rd of April, being St. George's Day, about half-past seven in the morning, the King entered his rich barge at Whitehall and landed at the parliament stairs, from whence he proceeded up to the room behind the lords house called the Prince's lodgings, where after he had reposed himself for a while, he was arrayed in his robes of crimson velvet, furred with ermine ; by which time the nobility being assembled, robed themselves in the lords house and painted chamber. The judges also, with those of the long robe, the knights of the Bath, and gentlemen of the privy chamber, met in the court of requests.

"After some space the King's heralds and pursuivants, began to set the proceeding in order, each of them taking his share assigned in chapter, (held at the heralds' office the evening before,) and thence directed all the above-mentioned degrees (except the nobility) down into Westminster Hall, where the rest of the proceeding attended, and from whence the march began. About half an hour after nine, the nobility, in their robes and coronets, before the King, ascended up to the estate, which was raised at the west end, and placed themselves upon each side thereof.

"His Majesty, having taken his chair, under a rich cloth of estate, first, Sir Gilbert Talbot, the master of the jewel-house, presented the sword of state, as also the sword called curtana, and two other swords to the Lord High-Constable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the last) laid them upon the table before the King. Then the said master of the jewel-house delivered likewise the spurs to the Lord High-Constable, and he, again, to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who also placed them upon the table.

"Immediately after, the Dean and prebends of Westminster (by whom the regalia had been brought in procession from the Abbey church into Westminster Hall), being invested in rich copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof in manner following :—

"The serjeant of the vestry in a scarlet mantle. The children of the King's chapel, being twelve in number, in scarlet mantles. The pursuivants, heralds, and provincial kings, the Dean, carrying St. Edward's crown, Doctor Helyn, the Sceptre with the Cross, Doctor Heywood, the Sceptre with the Dove, Doctor Nicholas, the Orb with the

Cross, Doctor Killigrew, St. Edward's Staff, Doctor Jones, the Chalice and Patena, Doctor Dowty, the Spoon, Doctor Busby, the Ampulla.

"All standing towards the lower end of the hall, ready to proceed, they made their first reverence together; then coming to the middle of the said hall, they made there a second; and thence going a little further, both the quires fell off, and stood on either side, through which lane, the pursuivants, heralds, and kings passing, fell likewise off on either side, the seniors still placing themselves uppermost towards the throne; after whom the Dean and prebends proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the stone steps, and approaching near to the table before the King, made their last reverence.

"The Dean first presented the crown, which was by the Lord High-Constable, and Lord Great-Chamberlain set upon the table; who afterwards took from each of the prebends that part of the regalia, which they carried, and laid them also by the crown: which done, they retired.

"Then the Lord Great-Chamberlain presenting the regalia severally to the King, his Majesty thereupon disposed of them unto the noblemen hereafter named, to be carried by them in the proceeding of the Abbey-church.

"All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten o'clock, the proceeding began from out the said hall into the palace yard, through the gate-house, and the end of King Street, thence along the great sanctuary, and so to the west-end of the Abbey-church, all upon blue cloth, which was spread upon the ground, from the throne in Westminster Hall, to the great steps in the Abbey-church, by Sir George Carteret, knight, vice-chamberlain, appointed by the King to be his almoner for this day." [The order of the procession is described: the King having entered the west door of the Abbey-church, was received with an anthem, and on arriving at the fald-stool, kneeled down, and used some private ejaculations, which being finished, he proceeded to the great theatre upon which the throne was placed, at the entrance of which was placed a chair, foot-stool and cushion, covered with cloth of gold, on which he reposed himself. The proceedings of the coronation thereupon commenced, the Bishop of London officiating in part (the Archbishop of Canterbury by age and infirmity not being able to sustain the whole duty), presenting the King to the people at three sides of the theatre, as the rightful inheritor of the crown, the King rising from his chair, and turning his face in each direction, and being received with loud shouts and acclamations.]

"The Bishop of London afterwards proceeded to the altar followed by the King and his suite, the regalia being carried before him. Being arrived at the altar, he kneeled down, having first offered the pall [of cloth of gold], as also a wedge of gold of a pound weight, which were received by the Bishop of London and laid reverently on the altar. The regalia were laid upon the altar, and the Bishop of Worcester preached a sermon from a pulpit placed on the north side of the altar, opposite to the King, the texts being the second verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Proverbs, the King having put on his cap of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine, during the discourse.

"Sermon being ended the King took the oath as administered by the Bishop of London. The ceremony of anointing took place on the

King's breast, between his shoulders, on both his shoulders, the two bowings of his arms, and on the crown of his head; during which a rich pall of gold was held over the King's head. After certain prayers, the Lord Great-Chamberlain delivered the coif to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who put it on the King's head, and immediately afterwards the Dean of Westminster put the coif with the colobium sindonis, or surplice, upon the King, and after a short prayer took the tissue-hose and sandals from the altar, with which he arrayed the King; as also with the super-tunica, or close pall of cloth of gold, and girded the same about him. The spurs were then delivered by the Dean to the Lord Great-Chamberlain, who touched the King's heels with them, and then returned them to the altar. The girding with the sword of state next occurred, and the armil, made of cloth of tissue, was placed about the King's neck, and tied to the bowing of his arms, the Archbishop standing before the King, with the Bishop of London on his right hand, and saying:—'receive the armil of sincerity and wisdom, as a token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thine enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Christ our Lord. Amen.'

"The mantle, or open pall, of cloth of gold and lined with red taffety was next put upon the King by the Dean of Westminster, with a prayer by the Archbishop, who afterwards took St. Edward's crown and blessed it, saying:—'God, the crown of the faithful, re-bless and sanctify this crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious stones, so this thy servant that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold graces of all precious virtues, through the King eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.'

"In the meantime St. Edward's Chair was removed into the middle of the aisle, and sat right over against the altar, whither the King went and sat down in it, and then the Archbishop brought St. Edward's crown from the altar, and put it upon his head. Whereupon, all the people with loud and repeated shouts cried, 'God save the King.' And by a signal then given the great ordnance from the Tower were also shot off.

"After the customary prayers, and an anthem, the master of the jewel-house delivered to the Archbishop a Ring, who after consecrating it, placed it on the fourth finger of the right hand with the address and prayer. The delivery of the sceptres was then made, after which the Archbishops and Bishops present kneeled before the King, and were kissed by him. In the meantime the chair of state was set above the upper steps at the entrance upon the theatre, whither the King went preceded by the bearers of the four swords, and attended by the Archbishop, the Bishops, and great officers. 'Te Deum' having been sung, the King ascended his throne placed in the middle of the theatre and the act of homage took place. During the performance of this ceremony, the Lord High-Chancellor proclaimed the King's general pardon, and medals of gold and silver, prepared for the Coronation, were flung about by the treasurer of the King's household. The Holy Communion was next administered, after which the King descended from his throne crowned with both the sceptres in his hands. The rest of the regalia (which lay all this while on the altar) being delivered to the noblemen that brought them to the church were carried before him to St. Edward's Chapel, where, on arrival, the King took off St. Edward's crown, and delivered it to the Bishop of London, who laid

it on St. Edward's altar: all the rest of the regalia were given into the hands of the Dean of Westminster, and laid there also. The King entering the traverse erected in the middle of the wall at the back of the high altar was disrobed of St. Edward's robes, which were afterwards delivered to the Dean of Westminster to lay up with the regalia.

"The King was then arrayed in his purple robes, and then came near to St. Edward's altar, where the Bishop of London stood ready with the imperial crown in his hands, and set that upon the King's head; thereupon the King took the sceptre with the cross in his right hand, with the globe in his left, and immediately the procession moved into Westminster Hall.

"The Coronation banquet was of the most splendid character. The King came forth from the Inner Court of Wards, in his royal robes, with the crown on his head, and sceptre in his hand, having the three swords borne naked before him, and went directly to his chair at the royal table. The Bishop of London said grace. The first course was carried in with great state, the Earl-Marshall, the Lord High-Steward, and the Lord High-Constable escorting the service on horseback in their robes, and wearing their coronets, their horses richly caparisoned; the dishes were set on the table by the Earl of Lincoln, Carver, assisted by the Earl Sewers. The usual feudal services were performed. A little before the second course was served, Sir Edward Dymoke, the King's Champion, entered the Hall. 'Largess' was proclaimed thrice by Garter, principal king-of-arms, and the King's style in Latin, French, and English.

"The banquet having been prolonged, 'the day being far spent,' the King washed and rose from dinner before the third course was brought in, and after disrobing in the Inner Court of Wards, went privately to his barge, and landed at Whitehall, 'where,' says Evelyn in his brief narrative of the Coronation, 'was extraordinary feasting.'

Charles had been previously crowned (January 1, 1651) by the Scots, at Scone, the southern part of the country being occupied at the time by Cromwell with a hostile army. Charles, who was then only twenty, being anxious to get a footing in his father's lost dominions, consented, much against his will, to accept the famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which inferred an active persecution of both popery and prelacy, and the Scots accordingly received him amongst them, fought a battle for him against Cromwell, at Dunbar, and now inaugurated him as sovereign. The crown was placed upon the young king's head by the Marquis of Argyle, whom, ten years after, he sent to the scaffold for compliances with Cromwell. The Earl of Crawford carried the sceptre, and after the crown had been placed on his Majesty's head, delivered it into his hand with an exhortation, saying, "Sir, resave this sceptere, the sign of the royal power of the kingdom, that you may govern yourself right,

and defend all Christian people committed by God to your charge, punishing the wicked, and protecting the just."

The rule, as settled by repeated orders of the Privy Council of Scotland, was that the crown, the sceptre, and the sword, constituting collectively the "honours" of the Scottish kingdom, should be carried at the coronations and "ridings" of the Parliament by the three peers respectively in rank present.

At this coronation a very extraordinary sermon was preached by "Master Robert Douglas," minister at Edinburgh, moderator of the General Assembly (from 2 Kings xi. 12, 17). He delivered a bitter philippic against the young king, and went so far as to compare his mother to the wicked Athaliah. After the ceremony was concluded, "the minister spoke to him a word of exhortation," being in fact, an oration of considerable length.*

The coronation of James II. took place on St. George's Day, April 23, 1685. "He was the last of our monarchs," says Pegge, "to keep up the regal state in its full splendour. His Majesty was extremely desirous of having his coronation magnificent, and took such care that it should be recorded by posterity as to command Sandford, Lancaster Herald, to minute down the ceremonial, and have the whole procession engraved." Noble, in his "History of the College of Arms," speaks of this work as a monument of the munificence of King James and the costume of the period.†

The following is an abridged notice of the coronation procession from Westminster Hall to the abbey, which commenced at twelve o'clock in the forenoon:—

"The Dean's Beadle of Westminster with his staff. The High Constable of Westminster and his staff. Fifes, drums and trumpets. The

* Several editions of the "Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone" were published in Aberdeen at the time, and were reprinted in London (1660).

† Noble says, "The Earl Marshal" (who had a pique against Sandford), "at the suggestion of some of the heralds, suspended him, under pretence that he had not finished the history of the coronation; but submitting, the suspension was soon taken off." The book did not answer expectation, for the engravings being many, and taking a long time to execute, it was not finished until Christmas, 1687, and the Revolution being in the following year, there was no time to dispose of the copies, so that the expenses were only just saved, which amounted to nearly £600.

six Clerks in Chancery in gowns of black flowered satin. The closet-keeper of the Chapel Royal. His Majesty's Chaplains in scarlet habits as doctors, and wearing black silk tippets. The aldermen of London in their scarlet gowns furred with foyns, and those who had passed the chair wearing their gold chains. Masters in Chancery in their gowns of black figured silk. The King's Serjeants at Law in their scarlet gowns wearing their coifs. The King's Solicitor and Attorney in gowns of black velvet. The King's Ancient Serjeants in scarlet gowns. Esquires of the body in rich habits. Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches, in their judges' robes. The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in judges' robes, wearing their collars of S.S. Children of the choir at Westminster, in surplices. Serjeant of his Majesty's Vestry, in scarlet robe, with his gilt verge. Serjeant Porter of his Majesty's palace, in scarlet robe, and with black ebony staff. The children of the Chapel Royal in surplices. Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in surplices and mantles. Prebendaries of Westminster in their surplices and rich copes. Dean of Westminster in a rich cope of purple velvet, embroidered in gold and silver. Master of the Jewel-house in a scarlet robe. Privy Councillors, not being peers, in rich habits. Two Pursuivants-of-Arms, in coats of his Majesty's arms, richly embroidered with gold and silver upon damask and satin, and lined with crimson taffeta. Baronesses in their robes of estate, with their coronets in their hands. Barons in their robes of estate, with their coronets in their hands. Bishops in their rochets, with their square caps in their hands. Two Pursuivants-of-Arms. Viscountesses in their robes of estate. Two Heralds-of-Arms. Countesses in their robes of estate. Earls in their robes of estate. Two Heralds-of-Arms. Duchesses in their robes of estate. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in his robes of estate, with his coronet in his hand, and wearing his collar of the order of the Garter. The two provincial Kings-of-Arms. The great officers in their robes of estate. Two persons representing the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, in robes of estate of crimson velvet, lined with white sarcenet, with deep capes and broad facings, all richly powdered with ermine, and with hats or caps of estate, of crimson and gold podesway, furred with ermine, etc. The Queen's Vice-Chamberlain. Two gentlemen ushers. The Queen's Lord Chamberlain. The Queen's regalia, all borne by noblemen in their robes of estate, with their coronets in their hands. The QUEEN, in royal robes of purple velvet, richly furred with ermine, and bordered with gold lace, with a circle of gold on her head, under a canopy of cloth of gold.* Assistants to the Queen's train, four in number.

* Lord Fountainhall, in his "Diary," remarks that "the Queen was not crowned with the imperial crown of England, but there was a new one of gold, valued at £300,000 sterling, and the jewels she had on her were reckoned at a million, which made her shine like an angel."

According to Evelyn, however, the price of the diamonds, pearls, and other jewels in the queen's crown amounted to £100,658 sterling. He mentions having seen the bills attested by the goldsmith and jeweller who set them. When completed, however, it was valued at £111,900.

The Duchess of Norfolk in her robes of estate, bearing the Queen's train. Two ladies of the bed-chamber. Two of her Majesty's women. His Majesty's regalia, borne by noblemen in their robes of estate, according to their respective dignities, with their coronets in their hands. St. Edward's Staff, borne by Robert Bruce, Earl of Aylesbury. The Golden Spurs, by Henry Yelverton, Lord Grey. The Sceptre with the Cross, called St. Edward's Sceptre, by Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough. Curtana, by Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. The second Sword, by the Earl of Derby. The third Sword, by the Earl of Pembroke. Garter, principal King-of-Arms, wearing the collar of S.S. and badge, or jewel, belonging to Garter, and carrying his coronet of pure gold in his hand. The Lord Mayor of London in a crimson velvet gown, wearing a collar of S.S. of gold, and the city jewel thereto appendant, and bearing the city mace, or sceptre. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, in very rich habit, wearing his badge in a gold chain, and bearing the black rod in his hand. The Lord Great Chamberlain of England, in his robes of estate, with his coronet and white staff in his hand. The Sword of State in the scabbard, borne by the Earl of Oxford, premier Earl of England, in his robes of estate, and collar of the order. The Earl Marshal of England, in his robes of estate, with his coronet and marshal's staff in his hand. The Lord High Constable of England, with his coronet, and Constable's staff or mace. St. Edward's Crown, with which his Majesty was crowned, borne by the Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward, in his collar of the order, and with his white staff. The Sceptre with the Dove, borne by the Duke of Albemarle, in his collar of the order. The Orb with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Somerset, in his collar of the order. The KING, in his royal robes of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, and bordered with gold lace, with his cap of estate of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine, under a canopy of cloth of gold. The King's train supported by four noblemen's eldest sons. The captain of the troop of horse-guards. The captain of the yeomen of the guard. The captain of the band of gentlemen-pensioners. A gentleman of the King's bed-chamber. The groom of the bed-chamber. The yeomen of his Majesty's body-guard, in number one hundred, with partizans on their shoulders (for many of them carried carabines that day), their coats of red broad-cloth, with large breeches of the same.

The coronation robes of the queen were of purple velvet, furred with ermine, and looped with ropes and tassels of pearls. Her kirtle, of rich white and silver brocade, was ornamented with pearls and precious stones, with a stomacher very elaborately set with jewels. On her head was a cap of purple velvet, turned up with ermine, powdered with gems, and a circlet of gold very richly adorned with large diamonds, curiously set, with a row of pearls round the upper edge.

In the days of her sorrowful exile and widowhood she declared that she had never taken any pleasure in the envied name of a queen, "yet she sometimes spoke of the glories of her coronation, and descended with true feminine delight on the magnificence of the regalia prepared for her." She told the nuns of Chaillot "that no coronation of any preceding King of England had been so well conducted."

"In this order," says Sandford, "did this glorious proceeding move from Westminster Hall through the new Palace Yard, into King Street, and so through the Great Sanctuary unto the west door of the collegiate church of St. Peter, the passage being railed in on both sides, from the north door of the hall to the entrance into the choir, and guarded by his Majesty's horse and foot guards."

The incidents of the coronation service are most circumstantially related in Sandford's work. After the recognition an anthem composed by Dr. Blow, organist to the king, was sung, and the first oblation, consisting of a pall of cloth of gold and an ingot, or wedge, of gold of a pound weight, were offered. After the reading of the Litany, a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ely, who took his text from 1 Chron. xxix. 23: "Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king instead of David his father, and prospered: and all Israel obeyed him." The oath was next administered, the king, with his hand on the Gospels, swearing to observe it. The anointing oil * was applied to the palms of his Majesty's hands, the breast, on both shoulders and between the shoulders, on the bowings of both arms, and on the crown of the head, with the customary invocations by the archbishop. An anthem succeeded; after which the investiture with the colobium sindonis, the supertunica, buskins and sandals, the spurs, the sword, the armil, the mantle or open pall, and orb took place.

At the moment the king was crowned, Lord Dartmouth, master-general of the ordnance, having ordered a signal to be given from the battlements of the north cross of the church, by two gunners, one of them took his station on the inner roof over the area to observe the exact minute of the event, and thereupon hastening to the battlements, com-

* This was, by the king's order, prepared by James St. Armand, Esq., the court apothecary, and was solemnly consecrated on the morning of the coronation by the Dean of Westminster. It was exceedingly rich and fragrant, and was so highly approved by their Majesties that the fortunate preparer of it was afterwards rewarded with a fee of £200, paid to him by a warrant from the lord chamberlain.

Messrs. Child, the famous bankers of Temple Bar, appear to have done some business as jewellers, for in the private account of "the King's and Queen's Majesties," under date 1687, May 17, we find the following entries on the debtor side:—"For loan of jewels for the Coronation to the Queen, £222;" "For diamond earrings to the Queen, £300;" "For a ring for his Majesty's own hand, £215." On the same page and the following are similar entries of rings given by James to the ambassadors from France, Savoy, and other countries.

manded his companion to fire a musket, and lighted a port-fire. Upon this the twenty-one great guns in St. James's Park were fired, and upon the same signal, the ordnance of the Tower being discharged by the master-gunner of England, were echoed by several peals of cannon from the ships and other vessels in the river.

The investiture with the ring and sceptres succeeded, and the second oblation was made, consisting of a mark weight of gold. During the enthroning and homage, gold and silver medals of two sorts, commemorative of the king's and the queen's coronation, were thrown amongst the people. A verse-anthem, composed by Dr. Blow, concluded the king's part of the coronation, after which the ceremony of anointing, crowning, and enthroning the queen was proceeded with.

The return of the splendid procession to the hall was in much the same order as its arrival at the abbey. The banquet was of the most sumptuous character. Their Majesties' table was furnished by Patrick Lamb, Esq., the king's master-cook, with an *ambigue* of ninety-nine dishes. The six other tables in the hall were supplied with a like *ambigue* of twelve hundred and seventy dishes, which with others made a total of twelve hundred and forty-five dishes. Before the second course was brought in, the king's champion entered the hall, completely armed, in one of his Majesty's best suits of white armour, mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, and performed the usual formalities, receiving as his fee the bowl from which the king had drunk to him.

Their Majesties withdrew from the banquet at seven o'clock, departing in the same manner as they came, "extremely well satisfied with the great order and magnificence that appeared in every part of this glorious solemnity."*

The coronation of WILLIAM III. and Queen MARY II. took place at Westminster, April 11, 1689. The ceremony did not materially differ from preceding solemnities, except in the alteration of the royal oath, which is mentioned in the chapter on "The Coronation Oath." Evelyn, who was an eye-witness of the solemnity, observes that "much of the

* Three relics, says Dean Stanley, of James's coronation remain: 1. The music, then first used, of Purcell and Blow (Planché, p. 52); 2. The tapestry, preserved in Westminster School and in the Jerusalem Chamber, of which two of the pieces, those of the Circumcision and of Goliath, can be identified in Sandford's engravings; 3. The attendance of the Westminster scholars (Sandford, 83).

splendour of the proceeding was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five bishops, four judges (no more being yet sworn), and several noblemen and great ladies wanting."

The Archbishop of Canterbury excused himself from officiating at the coronation,* which was performed by the Bishop of London, assisted by the Archbishop of York. Dr. Barnet, Bishop of Salisbury, preached the sermon.

The coronation of QUEEN ANNE was solemnized on St. George's Day, April 23, 1702, O.S. An account of the ceremony is preserved in the official records of the College of Arms and manuscripts in the British Museum. The account in the *London Gazette* is very brief. Planché, in "Regal Records," has given the whole of the proceedings. Anne, although only thirty-eight years of age when she ascended the throne, had suffered much from gout and corpulence, and in consequence occasionally lost the use of her feet. This happened at the time of her coronation, and she was obliged to be carried in some of the processions in a low arm-chair, instead of walking.

The ceremonial of the installation was, in most respects, similar to former precedents, and was conducted with great state. The Archbishop of York preached the coronation sermon from Isaiah xlix. 23, "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." In the *London Gazette* the act of homage is thus mentioned: "Then the Holy Bible was presented to her Majesty, and she vouchsafed to kiss the Bishops, and being enthroned, *first*, his Royal Highness Prince George, and then the Archbishop and Bishops, and *lastly*, the temporal lords did then homage, and *seemingly* kissed her Majesty's left cheek, and afterwards touched the crown, whilst the treasurer of the household threw about the coronation medals."

The banquet in the hall was of the usual sumptuous character. Prince George of Denmark sat at the queen's left hand, two of her Majesty's women sitting at her feet. "The Lord the Sewer, with the Lord his assistant, went to the

* Evelyn, in his "Diary" (June 8, 1688), says, "This day the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give baile for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience; they refused to give baile as it would have prejudiced their peerage."

dresser of the Kitchen, where the Master of the Horse to her Majesty, as serjeant of the Silver-scellery, called for a dish of meat, wiped the bottom of the dish, and likewise the cover within and without, took assay of that dish, and covered it, then delivered that dish and the rest of the hot meat to the Gentlemen Pensioners, who carried it to the Queen's table," and "placed it was thereon by the Lord Carver, with the help of the Lord the Sewer, and his assistant."

The queen's champion had his challenge proclaimed against any who should deny or gainsay the Sovereign Lady Queen Anne of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.; and the other usual formalities were strictly observed.

"Dinner being ended" (*London Gazette*), "and all things performed with great splendour and magnificence, about half an hour past eight in the evening, her Majesty returned to St. James's; the day concluding with bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of a general satisfaction and joy."

The accession to the throne of the house of Hanover in the person of GEORGE I. was inaugurated by a splendid coronation ceremonial (October 20, 1714), at which it was remarked that no such appearance of lords, spiritual and temporal, had ever been seen since the Conquest.

His Majesty came to Westminster about nine in the morning, and retired into the Court of Wards, until the nobility, and those who performed the first part of the proceeding, being put into order by the heralds, came in solemn procession to Westminster Hall, where his Majesty being seated under a canopy of state, the swords and spurs were presented to him, and laid upon the table at the upper end of the hall. Then the dean and prebendaries of Westminster having brought the crown and other regalia, with the Bible, chalice, and patena, they were presented severally to his Majesty, and shortly after were, together with the swords and spurs, delivered to the lords appointed to carry them.

The procession to the abbey was in the usual order. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales followed the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, wearing his robes of estate of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, his coronet set with precious stones, and cap borne by the Earl of Hertford on a crimson velvet cushion, his train supported by two grooms of the bed-chamber. After the officials bearing the regalia,

the king appeared in his royal robes of crimson velvet, furred with ermine and bordered with a rich broad gold lace, wearing the collar of St. George, and on his head a cap of estate of crimson velvet, turned up with ermine, adorned with a circle of gold, enriched with diamonds, supported by the Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, under a canopy borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. On arriving at the abbey, the Archbishop of Canterbury began the coronation proceedings with the recognition, which ended with a great shout from each side of the theatre; then his Majesty made his first oblation, and the lords who bore the regalia presented them at the altar; the Litany was sung, and after the Epistle, Gospel, and Nicene Creed, the Bishop of Oxford preached a sermon from the text, Psalm cxviii. 24, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it."

After sermon, his Majesty repeated and signed the declaration or test, made in the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne, and took the oath, which he subscribed; and in King Edward's chair, placed in the middle of the area before the altar, was anointed, then presented with the spurs, girt with the sword, then vested with his purple robes, and having received the ring, the orb, and the sceptres, was solemnly crowned about two o'clock, the people expressing their joy with loud and repeated acclamations, the drums beating, trumpets sounding, and the great guns being discharged; whereupon the Prince of Wales and the peers put on their coronets, and the bishops their caps, the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, or their representatives, their hats,* and the kings-of-arms their coronets.

* "King George was crowned King of *France*, as well as of Great Britain and Ireland. In proof of his right, two persons representing the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy consorted with peers of more sterling coinage. These persons were, on this occasion, a couple of players. They wore crimson velvet mantles, with white sarcenet, furred with miniver, and powdered with ermine. Each of these held in his hand a cap of cloth of gold, also furred and powdered with ermine. They did homage to the king, as the English peers did, and when these put on their coronets in the royal presence, the sham dukes clapped their caps jauntily on their heads.

"This part of the spectacle was the only part that afforded amusement to the Jacobite party" (Doran's "London in the Jacobite Times").

The absurd assumption of King of France was renounced by George III. on the occasion of the Peace of Amiens, in 1802, although such renunciation was not one of the stipulations of the treaty.

Then the Holy Bible was presented to his Majesty by the archbishop; and his Majesty having received the benediction, sat down in his chair, and then kissed the archbishops and bishops, and being enthroned, the Prince of Wales, and the lords spiritual and temporal, performed homage, seemingly kissing the king's left cheek, and afterwards touching the crown. The second oblation being made, the king received the Holy Communion, and, after the final prayers, retired into King Edward's chapel; and being vested in his robes of velvet, and the procession being again put in order, his Majesty returned to Westminster Hall, wearing his crown of state, and the peers and kings-of-arms their coronets.

At the coronation banquet the king had on his left hand the Prince of Wales, and the various services were performed with great splendour, his Majesty's champion doing his part with grace and dignity. About seven o'clock the king returned to St. James's.

GEORGE II. was crowned, with his consort, Queen CAROLINE, October 11, 1727. The circumstances attending this coronation present but little change from those of the preceding ceremonial. "His Majesty," remarks Lord Hervey, "despite his low stature and fair hair, which heightened the weakness of his expression at this period, was, on this occasion, every inch a king."

The national enthusiasm for a sovereign was, perhaps, never more fully displayed than at the coronation of GEORGE III. and Queen CHARLOTTE, September 22, 1761, the august pair having been united in marriage only a fortnight before. "Never," remarks Mr. Jesse (in his *Life of George III.*), "shone a more beautiful morn on seas of heads, on tapestried balconies, on glittering troops, on waving plumes, and blazoned heraldry. Thousands of persons slept all night in the open air, and all London poured forth to greet their young King and his gentle consort. That part of the ceremony which took place in Westminster Abbey, passed off with its usual solemnity, and more than its usual tediousness. But when later in the day the King and Queen entered the great hall of William Rufus,—when, at their entrance, a thousand lights, as if by enchantment, suddenly illuminated the colossal banquetting room of the Norman kings,—when the eye fell upon long galleries filled with gorgeous beauty, on peers and peeresses robed in velvet and ermine, on the plumed hats of the knights of the Bath,—on the judges in their scarlet robes,

and on prelates in their vestments,—on pursuivants and heralds,—then, indeed, was presented as magnificent a spectacle as the mind can well imagine.” Gray, the poet, writes, “The instant the Queen’s canopy entered, fire was given to all the lustres at once by trains of prepared flax that reached from one to the other. To me it seemed an interval of not half a minute before the whole was in a blaze of splendour. It is true that for that half minute it rained fire upon the heads of all the spectators, the flax falling in large flakes; and the ladies, Queen and all, were in no small terror, but no mischief ensued. It was out as soon as it fell, and the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld, remained. The King bowing to the lords as he passed, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre and orb in his hands, took his place with great majesty and grace. So did the Queen with her crown, sceptre, and rod. Then supper was served in gold plate. The Earl Talbot, Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Effingham in their robes, all three on horseback prancing and curveting like the hobby horses in the ‘Rehearsal,’ ushered in the courses to the foot of the *haut-pas*. Between the courses the Champion performed his part with applause. The Earl of Denbigh carved for the King; the Earl of Holderness for the Queen.”

“The King’s whole behaviour at the coronation,” writes Bishop Newton, “was justly admired and commended by every one, and, particularly, his manner of ascending and seating himself on the throne after his coronation. No actor in the character of Pyrrhus, in the ‘Distressed Mother’ (a tragedy of Ambrose Philips), not even Booth himself, who was celebrated for it in the *Spectator*, ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity.”

Horace Walpole, who was a spectator at the coronation, has also described the scene in one of the most graphic of his charming letters: “For the *Coronation*, if a puppet show could be worth a million, *that is*: the multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions, made Palace Yard the liveliest spectacle in the world. The Hall was the most glorious. The blaze of lights, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of peers and peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful as a pageant can be, and yet, for the King’s sake, and my own, I never wish to see another. My Lady Harrington covered with all the jewels she could borrow, hire, or seize, and with the air of Roxana, was the finest

figure in the distance. She complained to George Selwyn that she was to walk with Lady Portsmouth, who *would* have a wig and a stick. 'Pooh,' said he, 'you would only look as if you were taken up by the constable.' She told this everywhere, thinking that the reflection was only on my Lady Portsmouth. Lady Pembroke, alone at the head of the countesses, was the picture of majestic modesty. The Duchess of Richmond, as pretty as nature and dress, with no pains of her own, could make her; Lady Spencer, Lady Sutherland, and Lady Northampton very pretty figures; Lady Kildare, still beauty itself, if not a little too large. The ancient peeresses were, by no means, the worst party, Lady Westmoreland still handsome, and with more dignity than all; the Duchess of Queensbury looked well, though her locks milkwhite. Lady Albemarle, very genteel; nay, the middle age had some good representatives in Lady Holderness, Lady Rochfort, and Lady Strafford, the perfectest little figure of all. My Lady Suffolk ordered her robes, and I dressed part of her head, as I made some of my Lord Hertford's dress, for, you know, no profession comes amiss to me, from a tribune of the people to a habit maker. Do not imagine that there were not figures as excellent on the other side: old Exeter who told the Queen he was the handsomest man she ever saw; old Effingham, and a Lady Say and Seale with her hair powdered, and her tresses black, were an excellent contrast to the handsome. Lord B—— put rouge upon his wife and the Duchess of Bedford, in the Painted Chamber; the Duchess of Queensbury told me of the latter that she looked like an orange peach, half red and half yellow. The coronets of the peers and their robes disguised them strangely. It required all the beauty of the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough to make them noticed. One there was, though of another species, the noblest figure I ever saw, the High Constable of Scotland, the Lord Errol. As one saw him in a space capable of containing him, one admired him. At the royal wedding, dressed in tissue, he looked like one of the giants at Guildhall, newly gilt. It added to the energy of his person that he was then acting so considerable a part in that very Hall, where, so few years ago, one saw his father, Lord Kilmarnock, condemned to the block.* The Champion acted his

* Lord Errol was accounted the handsomest man in Britain. At the coronation he neglected, by accident, to take off his cap when the king entered. He apologized for his negligence in the most respectful

part admirably, and dashed down his gauntlet with proud defiance. His associates, Lord Effingham, Lord Talbot, and the Duke of Bedford, were woeful."

Amongst many anecdotes connected with the coronation of George III., it has been noticed of Archbishop Secker that he had baptized the king, confirming him when Prince of Wales, marrying him at St. James's, and crowning him at Westminster.

The account of the coronation of George IV., an event of the greatest splendour and cost in modern times, has been, in part, published, but not completed; two portions only having appeared.* Of course, the details of the ceremonial are most ample, derived from contemporary sources, for no pains were spared to render this event illustrious in every respect. But still, notwithstanding the enormous expense incurred (amounting to £238,238), there was a lack of the enthusiasm and earnest good-will shown at the installation of his august father. The character of the monarch as Prince of Wales was highly exceptionable; his intrigues at court, his entire disregard of filial respect and obedience, and his treatment of his unfortunate and weak-minded consort had alienated from him the good-will and devotion of many of his subjects. Nevertheless, as a pageant from its commencement to the end, as a mere matter of ceremonial and lavish display, the coronation of George IV. (July 19, 1821) is, so far, remarkable.

"During the arrangements for the assembling of the peers and officials for the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, the King was in his chamber, near the south entrance to the Hall. The peers were then called over in the House of Lords by deputy Garter, and proceeded to the Hall, where the other persons appointed to walk in the procession

manner, but his Majesty, with great complacency, entreated him to be covered, as he looked upon his presence at that solemnity as a very particular honour. As hereditary High Constable of Scotland, his family charter to this office dated from 1316.

* The "Illustrated History of the Coronation of George IV." contained forty-five splendidly coloured plates, atlas folio, at the price of fifty guineas per copy. Sir George Naylor lost a considerable sum by the publication, though Government voted £5000 towards the expenses. Sir George also undertook a much more costly memorial of this coronation for George IV., but it was never completed. The portion executed contains seventy-three coloured drawings, finished like enamels, on velvet and white satin. The portraits are very accurate likenesses, and many of the coronets have rubies, pearls, and brilliants, set in gold; each portrait costing fifty guineas, first hand.

had been previously marshalled on the right and left by the officers of arms; leaving an open passage in the middle, so that the procession with the regalia might pass uninterruptedly up the hall.

"His Majesty, preceded by the great officers of state, entered the Hall a few minutes after ten, and took his seat in the chair of state at the table, when a gun was fired. The deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the deputy Earl Marshal, ascended the steps, and placed themselves at the outer side of the table. The Lord High Steward, the great officers, deputy Garter, and Black Rod, arranged themselves near the chair of state; the royal train-bearers on each side of the throne.

"The Lord Chamberlain, assisted by officers of the jewel-house, then brought the Sword of State to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, by whom it was laid upon the table; then Curtana, or the sword of mercy, with the two Swords of Justice, being in like manner presented, were drawn from their scabbards by the deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and laid on the table before his Majesty; after which the gold Spurs were delivered, and also placed on the table. Immediately after, a procession, consisting of the Dean and prebendaries of Westminster, in their surplices and rich copes, proceeded up the hall from the upper end thereof, in manner following:—Serjeant of the Vestry in a scarlet mantle. Children of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast. Children of the choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast. Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast. Choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast. Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal. Two pursuivants-of-Arms. Two heralds. The two provincial Kings-of-Arms. The Dean of Westminster, carrying St. Edward's Crown, on a cushion of cloth of gold. First prebendary of Westminster, carrying the Orb. Second prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Dove. Third prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Cross. Fourth prebendary, carrying St. Edward's Staff. Fifth prebendary, carrying the Chalice and Patina. Sixth prebendary, carrying the Bible.

"In this procession they made their reverences, first at the lower end of the Hall, secondly about the middle, where both the choirs opening to the right and left a passage, through which the officers of arms passing opened likewise on each side, the seniors placing themselves nearest towards the steps: then the Dean and prebendaries having come to the front of the steps made their third reverence. This being done the Dean and prebendaries being come to the foot of the steps, deputy Garter preceding them (he having waited their coming there), ascended the steps, and approaching near the table before the King, made their last reverence. The Dean then presented the crown to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the deputy Lord High Chamberlain, and it was by him placed on the table before the King. The rest of the regalia was severally delivered by each prebendary, on his knee, to the Dean, by him to the Lord High Constable, by him to the deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and by him laid on the table. The regalia being thus delivered, the prebendaries and Dean returned to the middle of the hall. His Majesty having commanded deputy Garter to summon the noblemen and Bishops who were to bear the regalia, the deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, then taking up the several swords, sceptres,

the orb, and crown, placed them in the hands of those by whom they were to be carried. St. Edward's Staff, by the Marquis of Salisbury. The Spurs, by Lord Calthorpe, as deputy to the Baroness Grey de Ruthyn. The Sceptre with the cross, by the Marquis Wellesley. The pointed Sword of temporal justice, by the Earl of Galloway. The pointed Sword of spiritual justice, by the Duke of Northumberland. Curtana, or sword of mercy, by the Duke of Newcastle. The Sword of State, by the Duke of Dorset. The Sceptre with the dove, by the Duke of Rutland. The Orb, by the Duke of Devonshire. St. Edward's Crown, by the Marquis of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward. The Patina, by the Bishop of Gloucester. The Chalice, by the Bishop of Chester. The Bible, by the Bishop of Ely.

"The procession to the Abbey then commenced; the second gun was fired; blue cloth had been spread from the throne in the Hall to the great steps in the church. An anthem 'Oh Lord, grant the King in long life, &c.' was sung, with his Majesty's band playing, the sounding of trumpets, and the beating of drums. The King entered the west door of the Abbey church at eleven o'clock, taking his place on a chair placed below the throne, when the Recognition was made, and the first oblation offered, consisting of an altar-cloth of gold, and a wedge of gold of a pound weight. The litany and communion service followed, succeeded by the sermon, preached by the Archbishop of York from the text of 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4: 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds.' The Oath was next administered, the King advancing to the altar, uncovered, and laying his right hand on the Holy Gospel in the great Bible, kneeling upon the steps, promising to perform the same. After the anointing, the presentation of the Spurs and Sword, and the girding and oblation of the latter, took place; then the investing with the Armil and royal robe, and the delivery of the Orb. After the investiture with the Ring and Sceptre, the King was crowned amidst the acclamations of the people, the sounding of trumpets, and the firing of the great guns at the Tower. The presentation of the Holy Bible, the benediction, and the singing of 'Te Deum' succeeded, and the homage was performed, the treasurer of the household throwing among the people medals of gold and silver as largess. With the Holy Communion and final prayers the ceremony of the installation concluded, the return of the procession to the Hall being more irregular than on its arrival at the Abbey, owing probably to the great fatigue which all the parties had undergone, and their anxiety to get to their seats; in this latter respect the aldermen shewed an undue haste, breaking the line of the procession, and taking by storm one of the tables, an irregularity which was corrected by the heralds, and the civic magistrates were re-conducted to their former station in the procession.

"The entrance of the King into the banquet-hall was announced soon after five o'clock by one of the principal heralds. His Majesty was followed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Cambridge, Sussex, and Gloucester, and Prince Leopold, who appeared in the full dress of the Order of the Garter. The King wore the same robes as those with which he had been invested in the Abbey, and the same crown. In his right hand he carried the sceptre, and in his left the

orb, which, on taking his seat on the throne, he delivered to two peers stationed at his side for the purpose of receiving them. The first course consisted of twenty-four gold covers and dishes, carried by as many gentlemen pensioners. Before the dishes were placed on the table, the great doors at the bottom of the Hall were thrown open to the sound of trumpets and clarionets, and the Duke of Wellington, as Lord High Constable, the Marquis of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward, and Lord Howard of Effingham, as deputy Earl Marshal, entered on horseback. The two former were mounted on beautiful white horses gorgeously trapped, and the latter on his favourite dun-coloured Arabian.

"Before the second course the deputy appointed to officiate as King's Champion entered the Hall with his supporters and attendants, and the usual challenge was given, no 'false traitor' being present to answer the defiance. The proclamation of the royal style, and the services in pursuance of claims, were next performed, and the sumptuous banquet concluded with the King's health being drank by all present in the Hall, with three times three, and the singing of the national anthem. The Duke of Norfolk then said, 'The King thanks his peers for drinking his health; he does them the honour to drink their health and that of his good people.' His Majesty rose, and bowing three times to various parts of the immense concourse, he drank the health of all present. The King quitted the Hall at a quarter before eight o'clock; afterwards the company was indiscriminately admitted to partake of such refreshments as remained on the table of the peers."

The coronation of WILLIAM IV. and QUEEN ADELAIDE (September 8, 1831), although by no means approaching the gorgeous character of the preceding ceremony, was distinguished by a due regard to the public purse, costing only one-fifth of the money lavished at the installation of George IV. It was this sensible plea that furnished Earl Grey, in the House of Lords (in the preceding August), with an answer to Viscount Strangford's accusations of "unseemly mutilations" of the intended coronation ceremonial: "It was the hope of the king and his ministers to prevent a heavy burden from falling on the people: to preserve all necessary forms, to dispense with many that were unsuited to the age, and yet not to do anything inconsistent with due respect to the peerage, or the dignity of the crown." A vote of £50,000 was granted to cover the whole expense of the coronation.

"At daybreak on the day of the ceremonial the bells were rung, at five o'clock a royal salute was fired in the Green Park, and at six all the household troops were in attendance. In the whole line of route, temporary balconies had been erected in every part where a view of the pageant could be obtained. In front of the grand west entrance of the Abbey, a temporary building had been erected as a robing-room for their Majesties; it was a structure of wood and canvas painted in the

style of Henry III., the architectural design and ornaments being appropriate, and the painting excellent. The central doorway of the building led into a passage, on each side of which were elegantly furnished apartments for their Majesties and their immediate attendants. In the interior of the Abbey, the ornaments of the throne, platform, &c., were in the best taste, and every arrangement had been made for the accommodation of those who had assembled to witness the ceremony.

"At ten o'clock the military and carriages appointed to form the procession from the palace, moved on under a royal salute—his Majesty's being the only carriage that entered the quadrangle, all the others stopping to take up at the outer gate. The procession passed through Pall Mall, Charing Cross, Parliament Street, and King Street in the following order:—A squadron of Life Guards. The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester and attendants, in their Royal Highnesses' two carriages, each drawn by six horses, and escorted by Life Guards. The Duchess of Cambridge and attendants, in her Royal Highness's two carriages, each drawn by six horses, and escorted by Life Guards. The Duke of Sussex and attendants, and the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and attendants, in their carriages, escorted by Life Guards. The King's Barge-Master, and the King's forty-eight watermen in scarlet clothes and wearing badges. Their Majesties' Carriages, ten in number, each drawn by six horses, and containing officials and royal attendants. A squadron of Life Guards. His Majesty's equerries and aides-de-camp on horseback; other officials, yeomen of the guard, grooms, footmen, &c. The State Coach, drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, conveying the King and the Queen, the mistress of the robes, and lady of the bed-chamber.

"On the first appearance of the state carriage, a simultaneous cheer arose from all present, with every demonstration of loyalty, which continued throughout the whole progress, but nothing could surpass the enthusiasm displayed in the grand area in front of the western entrance of the Abbey. It was nearly eleven o'clock when their Majesties arrived, and they retired with their suite to the apartments before mentioned, while the Regalia were distributed in the Jerusalem Chamber to the persons whose office it was to bear them, and the procession formed at the great west entrance. It being announced to their Majesties that all was prepared, the procession moved into the church:—Officers of Arms. Prebendaries and Dean of Westminster. His Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain. Comptroller of his Majesty's Household. The Lord Chamberlain and Lord Privy Seal. Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, bearing the crimson bag with the medals. The Lord Steward and Lord President of the Council. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Lord High Chancellor. The Archbishop of Canterbury. The Princesses of the Blood Royal. The Queen's Vice Chamberlain. The Queen's Regalia. The QUEEN, attended on either side by the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Winchester. The King's Regalia: St Edward's Staff borne by the Duke of Grafton; the Golden Spurs, by the Marquis of Hastings; the Sceptre with the Cross, by the Duke of St. Albans; Curtana, by the Marquis of Salisbury; the second Sword, by the Marquis of Downshire; the third Sword, by the Marquis of Cleveland. Black Rod, and Garter, and Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain of England. The Princes of the Blood Royal. The High Constable of Ireland, the Duke of Leinster;

the High Constable of Scotland, the Earl of Errol. The Earl Marshal of England; the Sword of State borne by Earl Grey. The Lord High Constable of England, the Duke of Wellington. The Sceptre with the Dove, borne by the Duke of Richmond. St. Edward's Crown, borne by the Lord High Steward, the Duke of Hamilton. The Orb, borne by the Duke of Somerset. The Bible, by the Bishop of Chichester; the Patina, by the Bishop of Carlisle; the Chalice, by the Bishop of Rochester. The KING, in his royal crimson robe of State; his Majesty's train borne by six eldest sons of Dukes. The Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Archbishop of York on either side of the King. Master and Groom of the robes; Gold-stick of the Life Guards; Groom of the Stole; Master of the Horse; Captain of the yeoman of the guard; Captain of the band of gentlemen-pensioners; Lords of the bed-chamber; Yeomen of the guard; Exons of yeomen of the guards.

"When the King and Queen had reached the smaller chairs of state, on the east side of the choir, the ceremony of the recognition took place, the King standing up in his chair and shewing himself to the people, who cried, as with one voice, 'God save King William!' The trumpets then sounded, the oblation next took place, the litany was read, the Archbishop entered on the communion service, after which the Bishop of London preached the sermon. The ceremonies of the oath; the anointing; the investing with the supertunica; the spurs; the sword; offering the sword; investing with the mantle; the orb; St. Edward's crown; the investiture with the ring and sceptre; the gloves (presented by the Duke of Norfolk); the putting on of the crown; the presenting of the Holy Bible; the benediction, enthronement, and homage, then followed, which was succeeded by a general scramble for the medals.

"The ceremony of anointing, crowning, and enthroning the Queen next took place, great cheering attending the whole of the ceremony. Their Majesties then received the sacrament; appropriate anthems were performed, and when the ceremony was concluded the trumpets again sounded. Their Majesties entered St. Edward's Chapel, where the King delivered the sceptre with the dove, to the Archbishop, and was disrobed of his robe of state, and arrayed in his royal robe of purple velvet. At three o'clock the King and the Queen left the chapel, when, all being in readiness, their Majesties and the Princes and Princesses proceeded out of the choir, attended as before, their Majesties wearing their crowns; the King bearing the Sceptre with the Cross in his right hand, and in his left the orb; the Queen bearing in her right hand her Sceptre with the Cross, and in her left the ivory rod with the dove; the peeresses wearing their coronets; the Archbishops and Bishops supporting their Majesties wearing their caps, and the kings-of-arms their crowns. The Dean, prebendaries, and Bishops, who carried the Bible, the chalice and patina, remained in the choir. On arriving at the west door of the Abbey, Garter king-of-arms proclaimed the King's style, and the sword and the regalia were received by the officers of the Jewel office. After remaining a short time in the robing-room, their Majesties, the Princes, and Princesses, returned to St. James's in the same order in which they came, the King and Queen continuing to wear their crowns and robes.

"There was a grand dinner given at St. James's. In the evening the illuminations in the metropolis were splendid and general. The

royal banquet in Westminster Hall, with its attendant ceremonies, particularly that of the King's Champion, and other feudal services hitherto performed on that occasion, were dispensed with: it may be 'sic transit' for ever." *

The coronation of QUEEN VICTORIA on June 28, 1838, was of a peculiarly interesting character; the youth and amiable character of the young monarch securing the universal homage of the nation. Perhaps no coronation, excepting that of George III., excited so greatly the enthusiasm and devotion of the people, and however the august ceremonial

* Macaulay, in one of his letters to his sister (September 9, 1831), gives a brief and lively account of the impression made upon him by the coronation ceremonial: "Our gallery [that for the House of Commons] was immediately over the great altar. The whole vast avenue of lofty pillars was directly in front of us. At eleven the guns fired, the organ struck up, and the procession entered. All down that immense vista of gloomy arches, there was one blaze of scarlet and gold. First came heralds in coats stiff with embroidered lions, unicorns, and harps; then nobles bearing the regalia, with pages in rich dresses, carrying their coronets on cushions; then the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster in splendid copes; then a crowd of beautiful girls and women, who at a distance looked altogether beautiful, attending on the Queen. Her train of purple velvet and ermine was borne by six of these fair creatures. All the great officers of state in full robes, the Duke of Wellington with his Marshal's staff, the Duke of Devonshire with his white rod, Lord Grey with the Sword of State, and the Chancellor with his Seals, came in procession. Then all the royal Dukes with their trains borne behind them, and at last the King, leaning on two Bishops. . . . The whole Abbey was one blaze of gorgeous dresses, mingled with lovely faces.

"The Queen behaved admirably, with wonderful grace and dignity. The King very awkwardly. The Duke of Devonshire looked as if he came to be crowned instead of his master. I never saw so princely a manner and air. The Chancellor looked like Mephistopheles behind Margaret in the church. The ceremony was much too long, and some parts of it were carelessly performed. The Archbishop mumbled. The Bishop of London preached, well enough, indeed, but not so effectively as the occasion required; and above all, the bearing of the King made the foolish parts of the ritual appear monstrously ridiculous, and deprived many of the better parts of their proper effect. Persons who were at a distance did not, perhaps, feel this, but I was near enough to see every turn of his finger, and every glance of his eye. The moment of the crowning was extremely fine. When the Archbishop placed the crown on the head of the King, the trumpets sounded, and the whole audience cried out 'God save the King!' All the Peers and Peeresses put on their coronets, and the blaze of splendour through the Abbey seemed to be doubled. The King was then conducted to the raised throne, where the Peers successively did him homage, each of them kissing his cheek, and touching the crown."

may have been eclipsed in lavish display and grandeur by that attending the installation of George IV., the pageant—for such it always must be—received its best illustration in the affection and good-will of the people to a most refined, accomplished, and virtuous sovereign. This coronation was especially distinguished by the number and distinction of the persons officiating. The representatives of foreign potentates (so we read in the journals of that time), never made such a display of magnificence as at this event. Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, represented the court of France, and received the most popular ovation; the representatives of the Sultan being the next thus distinguished.

“Soon after nine o’clock the procession left the palace, the discharge of a gun announcing that the Queen had entered the state-carriage. The equipages of the foreign ambassadors formed the first part of the line. The Duchess of Kent was the first of the royal family who passed through the gateway, and she was received with loud cheering by the multitude, as were also the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, but the popular feeling was roused to the utmost when the young Queen appeared. The route to Westminster through Piccadilly, St. James’s Street, Pall Mall, and Charing Cross was thronged by a dense mass of spectators of the most jubilant character. The scene at the entrance into the Abbey was most striking, where arrangements had been made for receiving her Majesty. At ten o’clock the great officers of State had assembled: about eleven o’clock the Duke de Nemours arrived at the Abbey. The ambassadors then came, and met with a warm reception. Prince Esterhazy excited admiration from his incomparable display of diamonds, but the most enthusiastic reception was reserved for the Duke of Wellington. At half-past eleven the officers of the army, and the Dean and prebendaries of Westminster clothed in full canonicals, marshalled themselves in order to receive her Majesty, who at length arrived, attended by the Mistress of the Robes (the Duchess of Sutherland), and the Master of the Horse (the Earl of Albemarle). The Queen bowed repeatedly to the enthusiastic multitude, and the deepest satisfaction was manifested, not only by her graceful and courteous manner, but by the kindly expression of her animated features.

“Upon her Majesty entering the Abbey, the procession was formed:—The prebendaries and Dean of Westminster. Officers of arms. Comptroller of the Queen’s Household. Treasurer of the Queen’s Household. Her Majesty’s Vice-Chamberlain and Lord Steward of the Household. Lord Privy Seal. Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Lord President of the Council. Archbishop of Armagh. Archbishop of York. Lord High Chancellor. Archbishop of Canterbury. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, in a robe of estate of purple velvet; and wearing a circlet of gold on her head. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, similarly attired. St. Edward’s Staff, borne by the Duke of Roxburghe; the golden Spurs, by Lord Byron; the Sceptre with the Cross, by the

Duke of Cleveland; Curtana, by the Duke of Devonshire; the second Sword, by the Duke of Sutherland; the third Sword, by the Marquis of Westminster. Black Rod and deputy Garter. Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, as Lord Great Chamberlain of England. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, in his robes of estate, with baton as Field-Marshal. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in his robes of estate. High Constable of Ireland, Duke of Leinster. High Constable of Scotland, Earl of Errol. The Earl-Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk, with his staff; the Sword of State borne by Viscount Melbourne; the Lord High-Constable of England, the Duke of Wellington, with his staff and baton as Field-Marshal. The Sceptre with the Dove, borne by the Duke of Richmond; St. Edward's Crown, by the Duke of Hamilton; the Orb, by the Duke of Somerset; the Patina, by the Bishop of Bangor; the Bible, by the Bishop of Winchester; the Chalice, by the Bishop of Lincoln. The QUEEN, in her robe of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, and bordered with gold lace, wearing the collars of her Orders: a circlet of gold on her head: attended on either side by ten gentlemen-at-arms, with their standard-bearer, and supported by the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Bishop of Durham. Her Majesty's train borne by eight noble ladies. The Lord Chamberlain of the Household. The Groom of the Robes. The Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes; the Marchioness of Lansdowne, first Lady of the bed-chamber. Ladies of the bed-chamber; Maids of honour; women of the bed-chamber. Gold-stick of the Life Guards in waiting; the Master of the Horse. Captain-general of the royal archer-guard of Scotland. Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard; Captain of the band of the Gentlemen-at-Arms. Keeper of her Majesty's privy-purse. Ensign of the Yeomen of the Guard, and Lieutenant of the same. Exons, clerk of the cheque, and twenty yeomen of the guard.

"The Queen, ascending the theatre, passed on the south side of her throne to her chair of state (being the Recognition Chair), and after her private devotions (kneeling on her fald-stool), took her seat, the Bishops, her supporters, standing on each side; the noblemen bearing the four swords on her Majesty's right hand, the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord High Constable on her left: the other great officers of State, the noblemen bearing the regalia, the Dean of Westminster, deputy Garter, and Black Rod, standing near the Queen's chair.

"After the singing of the anthem, the *Recognition* took place, and the first oblation made, consisting of an altar cloth of gold, and a wedge of gold of a pound weight; the Litany followed, read by the Bishops of Worcester and St. David's, and the sermon, preached by the Bishop of London, from the second of Chronicles (chap. xxxiv. verse 31): 'And the King stood in his place, and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep His commandments, and His testimonies, and His statutes, with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant, which are written in this book.'

"The sermon being concluded, the *Oath* was administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen proceeding to the altar, and kneeling on a cushion placed on the steps, laying her right hand on the Holy

Gospel in the great Bible, and saying :—‘The things which I have here-before promised, I will perform and keep ; so help me God !’ *

“The *Anointing* was preceded by the singing of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, by the choir, the Archbishop of Canterbury reading the first line. At the commencement of the anthem, the Queen, rising from her devotions, went before the altar, attended by her supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before her, where her Majesty was divested of her crimson robe, and then proceeded to St. Edward’s chair, and sat down to be anointed. Four Knights of the Garter held over the Queen a rich pall of silk or cloth of gold. The Dean of Westminster taking the *Ampulla* and *Spoon* from the altar, poured some of the consecrating oil into the spoon, with which the Archbishop then anointed the Queen, in the form of a cross, on the crown of the head, and on the palms of both the hands, pronouncing the usual formulary.

“The *Spurs* were then brought from the altar by the Dean of Westminster, and delivered to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who, kneeling down, presented them to the Queen, who forthwith returned them to be laid upon the altar. Lord Viscount Melbourne, who carried the Sword of State, now delivered it to the Lord Chamberlain, and received in lieu thereof, another sword in a scabbard of purple velvet, and this, after a short prayer, was placed by the Archbishop in the Queen’s right hand, with the usual injunction. Then the Queen rising up and going to the altar offered the sword there in the scabbard, and delivered it to the Archbishop, who placed it upon the altar. The sword was then redeemed for one hundred shillings by Viscount Melbourne, who carried it, unsheathed, before her Majesty during the remainder of the solemnity.

“The *Investiture* with the royal robe, of cloth of gold, and the delivery of the *Orb* with the cross, succeeded, the Archbishop pronouncing a blessing and exhortation, as also with the *Ring* and *Sceptre*. The ceremony of *Crowning* then took place ; the Queen still sitting in King Edward’s chair, the Archbishop placed the crown reverently on her Majesty’s head ; on which the peers and peeresses put on their coronets, the Bishops their caps, and Kings-of-Arms their crowns, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering of all present :—

“ ‘ Soon as the royal brow received the crown,
And Majesty put all her glories on,
Straight on a thousand coronets we gaze—
Straight all around was one imperial blaze.’ ”

“The great guns at the Tower fired a royal salute. The scene at this moment was intensely exciting. To this succeeded the presentation of the *Holy Bible*, the *benediction* and *Te Deum*, during the singing of which, a gleam of sunshine, breaking through the south great rose-window of the Abbey, lighted direct on the Queen’s crown, the dazzling effect of which was remarkable.

* The Bible on which Queen Victoria took the coronation oath is in the possession of the Rev. J. H. Sumner, Rector of Buriton, Hants. This interesting relic came to him from his father, the Bishop of Winchester, to whom it was given after the coronation.

"The *Te Deum* being ended, her Majesty ascended the theatre, and was supported to her throne by the Archbishops, Bishops, and Peers, with the great officers of the state around her, and after a preparatory admonition and benediction by the Archbishop, the ceremony of *Homage* commenced. The performance of this was peculiarly affecting, especially when the Duke of Sussex embraced her Majesty, and was so overcome with emotion, that he was obliged to be led from the theatre by the peers around him; the warmest indication of popular feeling was, however, shown when the Duke of Wellington presented himself to do homage for the dukes, when a shout of enthusiastic recognition was raised, and prolonged after his grace had descended from the theatre.

"The peers having performed their homage stood near the Queen, and each degree, in order, putting off their coronets, stretching forth their hands, touched the crown on her Majesty's head, and then kissed the Queen's hand. Lord Rolle, in attempting to ascend the theatre, stumbled, and fell back from the second step to the floor. He was immediately raised and supported by two noble lords in the area. The Queen seemed to view the occurrence with emotion, and on the noble Baron again presenting himself, she rose from the throne, and advancing several paces, took him by the hand, a graceful condescension which elicited hearty acclamations. The *Holy Communion* followed the homage, and the Coronation ceremonial was closed by the *benediction* of the Archbishop.

"Her Majesty then proceeded through the choir to the west door of the Abbey, in the same manner in which she came, wearing her Crown, and bearing in her right hand the Sceptre with the Cross, and in her left the Orb; all peers wearing their coronets, and the Archbishops and Bishops their copes.

"When to St. Peter's dome the lords repair,
 Their robes are splendid, but their heads are bare;
 When back, the Monarch crowned, the train proceeds,
 Their coronets adorned their noble heads.
 Homage performed, reflected glory brings,
 They march like nobles, they return as kings."

The richness and variety of this grand spectacle rendered it one of the most interesting that could possibly be conceived. It almost justified the hyperbolical language in which "Old Decker" makes Fortunatus describe the wonders which he saw at the court of Cyprus:—

"Here you shall see faces angelical
 Whose star-like eyes have power, might they still shine,
 To make night day, and day more crystalline.
 Near them shall you behold great heroes,
 White-headed counsellors, and gallant spirits,
 Standing like fiery cherubims to guard
 The monarch who in god-like glory sits,
 In midst of these, as if this deity
 Had with a look erected a new world,
 The standers-by being the fair workmanship."

On May 24th, 1883, Queen Victoria attained her sixty-fourth birthday, and completed the forty-sixth year of her reign. Her Majesty has already worn the crown one year longer than our famous Queen Elizabeth, and there are but three English monarchs whose tenure of the sovereignty has exceeded these limits.

Brilliant, indeed, has been the reign of her Majesty—the model of a patriot monarch—

Whom may God long preserve!

The earliest details we have respecting the CORONATION OF A QUEEN CONSORT * in our country are those which have been

* The Queen-Consort has been regarded in all countries as a person of eminent dignity. A peculiar protection is thrown over her person. It is as much treason to compass or imagine the death of the king's consort as of the king himself.

The coronation of the Queen-Consort has been pronounced to be, “as an acknowledgment of the right of succession in her issue” and “as a recognition of her constitutional character, as essential as that of the monarch himself,” but the coronation of a Queen-Consort proceeds, in fact, from the king, and is granted to his consort for the honour of the kingly office.

The queen consort has also many exemptions and minute prerogatives, but, in general, unless where the law has expressly declared her exempted, she is on the same footing as other subjects; being to all intents and purposes the king's subject, and not his equal. The queen consort of England has also separate courts and officers distinct from the king's, not only in matters of ceremony, but even of law; and her attorney and solicitor-general are entitled to a place within the bar of his Majesty's courts, together with the king's counsel.

The original revenue of our ancient queen's consort seems to have consisted of certain reservations or rents out of the demesne lands of the Crown, which were expressly appropriated to her Majesty, distinct from the king. It is frequent in Domesday Book, after specifying the rent due to the crown, to add likewise the quantity of gold or other renders reserved to the queen, and which were frequently appropriated to particular purposes; as, to buy wool for her Majesty's use, to purchase oil for her lamps,—or to furnish her attire from head to foot; which was frequently very costly, as one single robe in the fifth year of Henry II. stood the city of London in upwards of fourscore pounds. She had a further addition to her income in that ancient perquisite called queen-gold, or *Aurum Reginae*, which is supposed to have been originally granted in consequence of those matters of grace and favour, out of which it arose, being frequently obtained from the Crown by the powerful intercession of the queen. No attempt, however, has been made to force this claim since Charles I., at the petition of his queen, Henrietta Maria. issued out his writ for levying it, but afterwards purchased it of his consort for ten thousand pounds, finding it, perhaps, too trifling and troublesome to levy.

preserved by Du Chésne, of the inauguration of Judith (daughter of Charles the Bald, King of France), who was united to Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, in 856. It is the only record extant of the phraseology used at these solemnities. Amid the general dissatisfaction at the infringement of the West Saxon law, which pronounced it illegal for a queen of England to wear a crown of state, Ethelwulf convened the three estates of his kingdom to *sanction* the ceremony of Judith's coronation. The ceremony was performed with all possible pomp. A rather long and elegant prayer was offered on anointing the head of the young and beautiful queen, in which it was supplicated that she might possess "the simplicity and meekness of the dove," after which the coronation took place in the following words:—"May the Lord crown thee with glory and honour, and place upon thy head a crown of spiritual precious stones, that whatever may be typified by the brightness of gold, or the changeful splendour of gems, may ever shine forth in thy life and conduct, which may He grant, to whom be honour and glory, world without end."

Then follows the blessing thus:—"Bless, O Lord, this thine handmaiden, Thou who rulest the kingdom of kings through all generations. Accept the offerings of her hands, and may she be replenished with the blessings of the fruits of the earth, of the heavens, of the dews of the depths, from the heights of the ancient mountains, and from the eternal hills. May the blessing of Him who dwelt in the bush come upon her head. Grant to her showers from heaven, the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn and wine, that their people and their posterity may obey them, and this nation bring honour to her and to her children." The service concludes with a short prayer, probably the same still said after the communion, and, truly beautiful and simple as it is,

Another ancient perquisite belonging to the queen consort, mentioned by all our old writers, is that on the taking of a whale on the coasts, which is a royal fish, it shall be divided between the king and the queen; the head only being the king's property, the tail of it the queen's. The reason of this whimsical division was, according to ancient records, that the queen's wardrobe might be furnished with whalebone!

Before the Conquest the queens consort were anointed and crowned, and sate with the kings in seats of state. The time when these honours were first allowed to them is uncertain; the earliest evidence is the ritual assigned to the age of Ethelred II., who was elected in 978. The Anglo-Saxon queens were deprived of the right in the ninth century, from the crimes of Eadburga, but Judith, queen of Ethelwulf, regained it.

claims no small interest from the fact of its having been in use among our ancestors no less than a thousand years ago.

The coronation of Matilda, the consort of William the Conqueror, took place at Winchester in April (Whit-Sunday), 1068. William, who had been exceedingly anxious to share his newly acquired honours with Matilda, chose to be re-crowned at the same time, to render the pageant of her consecration more imposing. This coronation was far more splendid than that which had preceded it in Westminster Abbey, at William's first inauguration. The company was exceedingly numerous and noble, and the Conqueror was in one of his most gracious moods, conferring favours liberally. The graceful and majestic person of Queen Matilda charmed the beholders. The nobles of Normandy attended their duchess to the church, but after the crown was placed on her head by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, she was served by her new subjects, the English. The ceremonial of Matilda's inauguration banquet afforded precedents for most of the grand feudal offices at subsequent coronations.*

* The ceremonies attending the coronation of a QUEEN CONSORT OF SICILY in 1177—that of Joanna, third daughter of Henry II. of England, married to William the Good, King of Sicily—are detailed by Inveges. Two couches were prepared, on one of which sat the king, attired in his regal robes, while the other was occupied by the Archbishop of Palermo, surrounded by his prelates. The service commenced by the performance of the mass, and at the chanting of the "Hallelujah," the king, wearing his crown, and the sword of state carried before him, advanced to the altar, and standing before the footstool of the archbishop, who sat, mitred, on his throne of state, he took off his crown and thus addressed him: "We entreat, O reverend father, that you will deign to bless and adorn with the crown royal our consort united to us by God, to the praise and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ." He then returned to his couch, and the queen, her hair loosely flowing down her shoulders, and her head veiled, was conducted by two prelates to the archbishop, who still remained seated, and lowly kneeling before him, and kissing his hand, seemed silently to urge the petition. On this he rose, and wearing his mitre, knelt on his footstool, while the queen, on his left hand, prostrated herself to the ground. A short litany was then said, after which the archbishop stood up, and uncovering himself, pronounced a prayer over the kneeling queen, and then anointed her with the holy oil, making the sign of the cross on the wrist and elbow of her right arm, and between her shoulders, saying, "God the Father," etc. She then withdrew to a pavilion, where she assumed the royal robes; after which she was reconducted to the archbishop, and again kneeling before him, he placed the diadem on her head, saying, "Receive the crown of glory, that thou mayst know thyself to be the consort of a king," and giving her the sceptre, said, "Receive the rod of equity and virtue, and be merciful and condescending to the poor." After

In Banks's MSS. in the British Museum, (No. 9297 of Additional MSS.), we are told that "Queens [of England] formerly proceeded from the Tower to their coronation in litters of cloth and gold, or white tissue without cover or baytes; their hair dishevelled about their shoulders, with a circlet of gold on their heads, richly set with precious stones. Their kirtells of cloth and tissue, and mantells of the same, furred with ermine, and two palfreys clad in white damask, head and all over, down to the ground, or with some other rich covertures suitable in colour to the litter, and they bear the same. Over the Queen was carried a cloth of gold or tissue, with gilt curtains, and sometimes silver bells at the end, borne by sixteen knights, disposed four and four by turns. A palfrey of state with a side-saddle, trapped with cloth of tissue, was led after her by the Master of the Horse. Queens have had three, and, at other times, four chariots following them; the first two of red cloth of gold, the third of white, and the fourth of red satin; every chariot being drawn by six horses longways, and open in all ways except the top. Betwixt the Queen's litter and every of these chariots, rode six or seven ladies richly apparelled in crimson velvet, &c., and last of all, the ladies' women, all clad in the liveries of their ladies."

One of the most magnificent coronations in early times appears to have been that of Eleanor, the beautiful young queen of Henry III., which took place on her marriage (January 20, 1236). Matthew Paris, speaking of this solemnity, says, "To this nuptial entertainment there came such a multitude of the nobility of both sexes,—such hosts of religious persons,—such crowds of people, and such a variety of jugglers and buffoons, that London could scarcely contain them in her capacious bosom." He further says, "Why need I recount the train of those who performed the sacred offices of the church; why describe the profusion of dishes which furnished the table,—the abundance of venison,—the variety of fish,—the diversity of wine,—the gaiety of jugglers,—the readiness of the attendants,—whatever the world could produce for glory or delight was there conspicuous."

this the bishops and the maids of honour led her back to her seat. When the offertory was finished the king and queen came together to the altar, and presented as much gold as they thought proper, and at mass they both communicated. On the conclusion of these ceremonies, Joanna was proclaimed throughout Palermo, as Queen of Sicily.

In a Cottonian MS. we read that the queen of Henry V., Katherine of Valois, was crowned with all royalty at Westminster, and the rich English diadem was placed upon her head. The feast was great with all princely services, and the state such as deserved the report, for the queen sitting at table, at the right side of her chair kneeled the Earl of March, holding a sceptre in his hand; the Earl Marshal, kneeling on the left side, held another, and the Countess of Kent sat under the table at her right foot. Upon her right hand at table sat the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, and upon the left the King of Scots, the Duchess of York, and the Countess of Huntingdon; the nobles giving their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

Alluding to the coronation banquet, "Ye shall understand," says Fabyan, "that this feast was all of fish, for being February 24th Lent was entered upon, and nothing of meat was there, saving brawn served with mustard." Among the fish dishes of the first course, Fabyan mentions especially *dead eels stewed*.

To the coronation of the queen of Henry VII. I have alluded in the account of the ceremonial.

The account of the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn, given by contemporary writers, has so many picturesque details that it is printed *in extenso* :—

"On Whitsondaie, the 1st. of June [1533] the maior, clad in crimosin velvet, with his collar, and all the aldermen and sheriffes in scarlet, and the counsell of the citty, took their barge at the Crane by seven of the clocke, and came to Westminster, where they were welcommed and brought into the hall by M. Treasurer, and other of the King's house, and so gave their attendance till the Queene should come forth: betweene eight and nine of the clocke shee came into the hall, and stood under the cloth of estate, and then came in the King's chappell; and the monks of Westminster, all in rich coapes, and many bishops and abbots in coapes and miters, which went into the middest of the hall, and there stood a season; then there was a ray cloth spread from the Queene's standing in the hall, through the pallace and sanctuarie, which was railed on both sides, to the high altar of Westminster; after that the ray cloth was cast, the officers of arms appoynted the order accustomed. First went gentlemen, then esquires, then knights, then aldermen of London in their cloaks of scarlet cast over their gownes of scarlet. After them the judges in their mantles of scarlet and coifes; then followed the knights of the Bath being no lords, every man having a white lace on his left sleeve; then followed barons and viscounts in their parliament robes of scarlet; after them came earles, marquesses and dukes, in their robes of estate, of crimosin velvet, furred with

ermin, poudred according to their degrees; after them came the lord chancellor in a robe of scarlet, open before, bordered with lettice; after him came the King's chappell, and the monks solemnly singing, with procession. Then came abbots and byshops mitered; then serjeants and officers at armes, then the maior of London with his mace, and Garter in his coate of armes; then the marques Dorset in his robe of estate, which bare the scepter of golde, and the earle of Arundell, which bare the rod of ivorie with the dove, both together; then alone, the earle of Oxford, high chamberlaine of England, which bare the crowne; after him the duke of Suffolke, in his robe of estate; for that daie being high stewarde of England, having a long white rod in his hande, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshal's-ship, and everie knight of the Garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded forth the Queene, in a circote and robe of purple velvet, furred with ermine in her hayre, coife, and circlet, as shee had the Saturdaie; and over her was borne the canapie, by foure of the Cinque Portes, all in crimosin, with points of blew and redde hanging on their sleeves; and the byshops of London and Winchester bare up the laps of the Queenes robe; and her traine, which was verie long, was borne by the olde dutchesse of Norfolke; after her followed ladies being lordes wives, which hadde circotes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves, the breast all lettice, with barres of pouders according to their degrees, and over that they had mantles of scarlet furred, and every mantle had lettice about the necke like a neckerchiefe, likewise poudered, so that by the pouderings their degrees might bee known; then followed ladies being knights' wives, in gownes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves, without traines, onelie edged with lettice, likewise had all the Queenes gentlewomen.

"When shee was thus brought to the high place made in the midst of the church, betweene the queere and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire; and after that shee had rested a while, shee descended downe unto the high altar, and there prostrated herselfe, while the archbyshop of Canterburie said certain collects over her. Then shee rose, and the byshop annointed her on the head and on the breast, and then shee was led uppe againe to her chaire, where, after divers orisons saide, the archbyshop set the crowne of St. Edward on her head, and then delivered her the scepter of golde in her right hand, and the rod of ivory with the dove, in her left hand; and then all the queere sung *Te Deum* &c.; which done, the bishop tooke off the crowne of St. Edward, being heavie, and set on her heade the crowne made for her,* and so went to masse; and when the offering was begunne, she descended

* Alas! within that crown

"Kept death his court, and there the antick sate,
 Scoffing her state, and grinning at her pomp.
 Allowing her a little breath, a little scene
 To monarchize, be feared, and kill with looks.
 Infusing her with self and vain conceit,
 As if the flesh which walled about her life
 Were brass impregnable, and honoured thus
 Bored through her castle walls; and, farewell, Queen."

downe and offered, being crowned, and so ascended up againe, and sate in her chaire till *Agnus* was sayd, and then shee went downe and kneeled before the high altar, where shee received of the archbishop the holy sacrament, and then went up to the place againe. After that masse was done, she went to St. Edward's shrine, and there offered; after which offering doone, she withdrew into a little place made for the purpose on the one side of the queere. Now in the meane season every dutchesse put on her bonet a coronell of golde wrought with flowers; and every marchioness put on a demy coronell of golde; and every countesse a plain circle of golde without flowers; and every king-at-armes put on a crown of copper and gilte; all which were worne till night.

"When the Queene had a little reposed her, the companie returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Queene went crowned, and so did the ladies aforesaid; her right hand was sustained by the earle of Wilshire her father, and her left hand by the lord Talbot, deputy for the earle of Shrewsbury, and lord Furnivall his father. And when she was out of the sanctuarie within the pallace, the trumpets played marveylous freshly, and so shee was brought to Westminster-hall, and so to her withdrawing chamber: during which time the lords, judges, maior, and aldermen, put off their robes, mantles, and cloakes, and tooke their hoores from their neckes, and cast them about their shoulders; and the lordes sate onely in their circotes; and the judges and aldermen in their gownes; and all the lordes that served that day served in their circotes, and their hoods about their shoulders; also diverse officers of the Kinges house, being no lords, had circotes and hoods of scarlet, edged with miniver, as treasurer, controller, and master of the jewell-house, but their circotes were not gilt. While the Queen was in her chamber, every lord and other that ought to doe service at the coronation, did prepare them according to their dutie; as the duke of Suffolke high steward of Englande, which was richly apparelled, his dublet and jacket set with orient pearle, his gowne crimosin velvet embrothered, his courser trapped with a close trapper, head and all to the ground of crimosin velvet, set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke, having a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputy for his brother, as earle marshall, with the marshal's rod, whose gowne was crimosin velvet, and his horse trapper purple velvet cutte on white sattin, embrothered with white lions; the earle of Oxforde was high chamberlaine; the earle of Essex carver; the earle of Sussex sewer; the earle of Arundell chiefe butler, on whom 12 citizens of London did give their attendance at the cupboord; the earle of Darby cupbearer; the viscount Lisle panter; the lord Burgeiny chiefe larder; the lord Bray almoner for him and his copartners; and the maior of Oxford kept the buttery-bar; and Thomas Wyatt was chosen ewerer for Sir Henry Wyatt his father.

"When all things were ready and ordered, the Queen under her canapie came into the hall and washed, and sate downe in the midst of the table under her cloth of estate; on the right side of her chaire stode the countesse of Oxford, widdow, and on her left hand stode the countesse of Worcester all the dinner season, which divers times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the Queenes face when she list to spit, or doe otherwise at her pleasure: and at the table's end sate the archbishop of Canterburie; on the right hande of the Queene, and in the

middest between the archbishophe, and the countesse of Oxford, stode the earle of Oxford with a white staffe all dinner time; and at the Queenes feet under the table sate two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all these things were thus ordered, came in the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horsebacke, and the serjeants of armes before them, and after them the sewer, and then the Knights of the Bathe, bringing in the first course, which was eyght and twentie dishes, besides subtleties, and shippes made of ware, marveyulous gorgeous to beholde; al which time of service the trumpets, standing in the window at the neather end of the hall, played.

"When shee was served of two dishes, then the archbishop's service was set downe, whose sewer came equall with the third dish of the Queenes service on his left hand. After that the Queene and the archbishophe were served, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall; then at the table sate the maisters and clearkes of the Chancerie; and beneath them other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on the left hande by the cupboorde was begunne by the maior and aldermen, the chamberlaine and counsell of the city of London; and beneath them sate substantiall merchants, and so downewarde other worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand, in the middest of the hall, sate the lord chancellor, and other temporall lordes, on the right side of the table in their circotes; and on the left side of the same table sate bishops and abbots in their parliament robes; beneath them sate the judges, serjeants and the Kinges counsell; beneath them the knights of the Bath. At the table on the left hande in the middle part sate duchesses, marquesses, countesses, baronesses in their robes, and other ladies in circotes, and gentlewomen in gownes, all which gentlewomen and ladies sate on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side; and when all were thus set, they were incontinent served so quicklie that it was marvellous; for the servitors gave so good attendance, that meat, nor drinke, nor anything else needed to be called for, which in so great a multitude was marvell. As touching the fare, there could be devised no more costlie dishes nor subtleties. The maior of London was served with foure and thirtie dishes at two courses, and so were all his brethren, and such as sate at his table. The Queene had at her second course foure and twentie dishes, and thirtie at the third course; and betweene the last courses, the kinges of armes crowned, and other officers of armes, cryed 'Larges' in three partes of the hall, and after stood in their place, which was in the bekens of the Kinges Bench; and on the right hand, out of the cloyster of St. Stephen's Chappell, was made a little closet, in which the King with divers ambassadours, stode to beholde the service. The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode oftentimes about the hall, cheering the lords, ladies, and the maior and his brethren.

"After they in the hall had dined, they had wafers and ipocrase, and then they washed, and were commanded to rise and stand still in their places before the tables, or on the fourmes, till the Queene had washed. When shee had taken wafers and ipocrase, the table was taken up, and the earle of Rutland brought up the surnape, and laid it at the boord's end, which immediately was drawne and cast by Mr. Reade, marshall of the hall, and the Queene washed and after the archbishophe; and after the surnape was withdrawn. Then shee rose, and stode in the middest

of the hall-place, to whome the earle of Sussex, in a goodlie spice plate, brought a void of spice and confections. After him the maior of London brought a standing cup of golde, set in a cup of assay of golde; and after that shee had drunke she gave the maior the cuppe, with the cup of assay, because there was no cover, according to the claime of the cittie, thanking him and all his brethren of their paine.

"Then shee under her canapy departed to her chamber; and at the entry of her chamber, she gave the canapie, with bells and all to the barons of the ports according to their claime, with great thanks; then the maior of London, bearing his cuppe in his hande, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noblemen and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke."

Shakspere gives a description of the ceremonies attending this coronation:—

"At length her grace rose, and with modest paces
Came to the altar; where she kneel'd, and, saint-like,
Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and pray'd devoutly:
Then rose again and bow'd her to the people;
When by the Archbishop of Canterbury,
She had all the royal makings of a queen,
As holy oil, Edward Confessor's crown,
The rod, and bird of peace, and all such emblems,
Laid nobly on her; which perform'd, the choir,
With all the choicest music of the kingdom,
Together sung 'Te Deum.' So she parted,
And with the same full state pac'd back again
To York-place, where the feast is held."

Catharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn were the only consorts of Henry VIII. who were honoured with a coronation. Jane Seymour would have been thus distinguished, but for the plague, which raged in the precincts of the abbey.

We have some curious notices from the papers of contemporary writers of the coronation of Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI., as *QUEEN OF SCOTLAND*. This event took place on Sunday, May 17, 1590, within the abbey-church of Holyrood; Miss Strickland, from whom I quote the particulars, having collated them from the Bannatyne Papers and the chroniclers, Melville, Majoribanks, and Moysie.

"Twa high places were appointed there; one for the King and the other for the Queen. The King's procession having entered the Abbey, that of the Queen followed, preceded by several Danish nobles magnificently dressed, with diamond chains about their necks; then came the Scottish nobles and the heralds. Lord Lyon, King-at-arms, ushered Lord Thirlestaine 'bearing twixt his twa hands' the Queen's crown. Then followed the Queen herself in her royal robes, supported on the right hand by Thomas Bowes, ambassador from England; on the left by Peter

Munch, the Danish admiral, and Stene Brahé and Bredou Ranzou, ambassadors of Denmark. Mrs. Bowes and dame Annable, Countess of Mar, 'quha (who) had brought up the King's majesty from his birth and minority,' followed directly after the Queen. After them the Countesses of Bothwell and Orkney, Lady Seaton and Lady Thirlestaine, the Chancellor's wife, and other Scottish ladies. Next to them followed certain noble Danish virgins, as Katrine Skinkell and Anna Kraas, and after them other noble ladies and virgins, which accompanied the Queen to the place where she was to sit in the church; quhilk (which) all being set down, Maister Paitrik Galloway, the King's minister, goes up into the pulpit, and after prayers made, chooses his text out of the 45th Psalm.

"The preaching being ended the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamilton, maister Robert Bruce, and maister David Lindsay, go, all four together to the King's majesty that he might publicly order them to proceed to the act of coronation. Maister Robert Bruce then declared to the assembled people 'that he was directed by his Majesty to crown the Queen.' The Countess of Mar immediately came to her Majesty, and took her right arm, and opened the craig (neck) of her gown, and laid bare part of the arm and neck; Maister Robert Bruce then poured on her breast and arm a bonny quantity of oil, and then covered them with white silk. The Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton and the virgins of Denmark then convoyed the Queen to her retiring room, where she put on another princely robe, and came and sat in her former high place. Silence being demanded, the King commanded the Queen's crown to be brought to him; which being done he gave it to the Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, and the Chancellor, who placed it on the Queen's head. The crown being *firmly knit* on her head, the King sent immediately the sceptre which maister Robert delivered to her. Thus the Coronation of a Queen-consort of Scotland was ostensibly and publicly shewn to be entirely an act of grace of her royal lord, who, by the hands of his chamberlain and chancellor, actually crowned her himself. The officiating religious minister addressed the following words to her: 'We, by the authority of the King's Majesty, with the consent of his states, representing the whole body of his country, place the crown on your Majesty's head; and we deliver this sceptre to your Highness, acknowledging you to be our Sovereign Queen and Lady, to whom we promise all points of office and obedience, dutiful in those things that concern the glory of God, the comfort of the Kirk, and the preservation of his Majesty; and we crave from your Majesty the confession of the faith and religion we profess.'

"This request Mr. David Lindsay, who had resided in Denmark for the preceding seven months, expounded in her Majesty's language, who agreed, and by touching the Bible with her right hand, made oath to the following tenor:—'I, Anne, Queen of Scotland, profess, and before God and his angels wholly promise, that during the whole course of my life, as far as I can, I shall sincerely worship the same eternal God according to His will revealed in the Holy Scriptures. That I withstand and despise all papistical superstitions, and ceremonies, and rites, contrary to the word of God, and I will procure peace to the Kirk of God within this kingdom. So, God, the Father of all mercies, have mercy on me!'

"When the whole prayers were ended, the heralds (the Lord Lyon and his brethren) cried with loud voices 'God save the Queen!' and the whole people echoed the exclamation, and the trumpets sounded. 'Then her Majesty was raised off the seat where she was sitting and brought to a higher place; and silence being made, Mr. Andrew Melvin, principal of the college of Theologians, made ane oration in twa hunder Latin verses,' which, it will be owned, was an unreasonable number. Maister Robert Bruce then addressed the people 'on the subject of the great benefit that would accrue to Scotland, by God having given their King a helpmate of the same religion,' after which the nobility knelt before the Queen, and holding up their hands, offered her the oath of homage as Queen and spouse of their most clement sovereign.' Maister Paitrik Galloway then pronounced a blessing on the coronation from the pulpit, and the royal procession retired from the Abbey of Holyrood, the Queen still wearing the crown on her head, and the Chancellor going directly before her Majesty. The remainder of the day was spent in princely revelry at Holyrood Palace."

At this coronation the religious rites were performed by the Presbyterian clergy, who, at first, demurred upon the point of the unction, and, strange to say, the objection to it was its being a Jewish ceremony. In this simple matter these conscientious men forgot their apostle Knox's application of Samuel's hewing Agag in pieces. James knew how to manage them; a threat to employ the bishops in the coronation was sufficient to remove their scruples.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CORONATION OATH.

"'Tis not the many oaths that make the truth,
But the plain simple vow, that is vow'd true."

SHAKSPERE.



REGARDING the CORONATION OATH," observes Dr. Lingard in his "History of the Anglo-Saxon Church," "it may be traced in its origin to Anthemius, the patriarch of Constantinople,* whose zeal refused to place the crown of Anastasius, a prince of suspected orthodoxy, till he had sworn to make no innovation in the established religion.

But the oath of the Anglo-

Saxons was more comprehensive; it was a species of compact between the monarch and the people, which the bishop, as the representative of Heaven, ratified with his benediction."

The following is the oath which St. Dunstan administered to King Ethelred, at his coronation at Kingston, in 978, with an admonition that he should give no other pledge whatever. The original manuscript from which it is transcribed is in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Claud. A. 3). (See chapter on "Coronations of English Sovereigns.") "In the name of Christ, I promise three things to the Christian people, my subjects: first, that the Church of God and all

* In the history of the Jewish kings, there are informal traces of the king pledging or binding himself to observe the laws. It was still more the case among the tribal chiefs who broke up the western Roman empire, and established themselves upon its ruins.

the Christian people shall always preserve true peace under our auspices; second, that I will interdict rapacity, and all iniquities to every condition; third, that I will command equity and mercy in all judgments, that to me, and to you, the gracious and merciful God may extend His mercy." This oath the king pronounced from a written copy, which he then laid for a memorial upon the altar.

The next copy of the oath on record is that of Henry I., which agrees exactly with that of the former—a proof that, in this respect, no change was made by the Norman Conquest. Lord Lyttleton thus notices their identity: "I agree entirely with Mr. Carte in the opinion that the old office used at King Ethelred's coronation, and, after him, by all our Kings of the Anglo-Saxon race, was made use of by William I., as we know it was by his successors."

The oath of Henry II., though not preserved by itself, or in any account of his coronation, is recorded as it was cited in a Parliament during his reign; from the report of this citation it appears to have been the same as his predecessors.

John Lackland, when he wrongfully assumed the crown, took an oath "to love the Catholic Church and Ordinances thereof: to keep and defend the same harmless from all invasion of evil-disposed persons; to disannul perverse laws, and erect good laws; and according to the same, to minister true judgment throughout the kingdom."

His son and successor, Henry III., at nine years of age, swore "to bear Reverence and Honour to God, and to His Holy Church, and to do right and justice to all the people."

The oath made by Edward I. is thus recorded: "I, Edward, son and heir of King Henry, do profess, protest, and promise, before God and his holy Angels, from this time forward, to maintain without partiality the Law, Justice, and Peace, of the Church of God, and the People subject unto me; so far as we can devise by the counsel of our liege and legal Ministers; as, also, to exhibit due and canonical honour to the Bishops of God's Church; to preserve unto them, inviolably, whatsoever has been granted by former Emperors and Kings to the Church of God; and to pay due honour to the Abbots and the Lord's Ministers, according to the advice of our Lieges, &c. So help me God, and the Holy Gospels of the Lord."

On examining the oath of Edward II., we see that some

important changes had been made in the intervening period. This oath, which is in the French language, agrees with the old one in the number, but not in the contents of its clauses; it further differs in being arranged interrogatively, and not in the manner of a promissory engagement.

The laws of Edward the Confessor were justly regarded by our forefathers with the greatest respect, and it appears that the Conqueror himself had been more than once obliged to promise that they should be kept inviolate—a promise repeated with great solemnity by Henry I., and ratified in his great charter. It is probable, however, that their restoration by this king was far from complete, and that a disposition was manifested by all the Norman kings to depart from the strict observance of the English code. Such a disposition did not lessen the nation's zeal for the attainment of their favourite object; they made the keeping of their old laws a primary condition in their acceptance of a candidate for the crown. This, with the Norman princes, and some of their immediate successors, was the subject of previous treaty and compact; but afterwards, when the public right was rather to be preserved than acquired, the condition was proposed at the time of the coronation, and hence it became a permanent custom that every king, before he received the crown, and before he took the regular official oath, should renew the pledge which had been thus exacted.

The oath of King Edward II. recites:—

“*Archbishop.* Sir, will you grant to keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and, namely, the laws, customs, and franchises, granted by the glorious King, St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeing to the prerogatives of the Kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm? *King.* I grant and promise to keep them. *Archbishop.* Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely, according to your power, to the holy Church, the Clergy, and the People? *King.* I will keep it. *Archbishop.* Sir, will you, to your power, cause law, justice, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments? *King.* I will. *Archbishop.* Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the rightful customs which the commonalty of this your kingdom have? And will you defend and

uphold them to the honour of God, as much as in you lieth? *King.* I grant and promise so to do.*

A petition of the bishops to the king follows, the Latin of which is in the "*Liber Regalis*" in the coronation of Richard II.

The oath of Edward III. is in the same words as his predecessors, and agrees in substance with the form continued during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Of the latter king we find a "*Serement en Fraunceys*" like that of Edward II., except in orthography.

The oath of Henry VII. was as follows:—"The cardinall shall ask the king under this form, with an open and distinct voyce: Will ye graunte and keepe to the people of Englande, the lawes and customes to them as old rightfull and devoute kings graunted; and the same ratifie and confirme by your othe? and specially lawes, customes, and liberties, graunted to the clergie and people by your predecessor and glorious king Saynct Edward? The king shall answer, I graunt and permit. Then shall the said cardinall open unto him the speciall articles wherunto the king shall be sworne; the same cardinall saying as followeth: Ye shall keepe, after your strenght and power [to] the church of God, to the

* A pamphlet published against Charles I., during the time of the Rebellion, entitled, "A Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament," etc., informs us that the oath taken by Edward II. and till after the reign of Henry VIII., as found in the record in Latin and French (in which language it used to be taken by the king), and translated into English (not correctly, however), is in an old book in the Heralds' Office, belonging to Clarencieux Hanley, who lived in Henry VIII.'s time. The French is as follows:—

"Sire, volez vous graunter et garder, et par vostre serment confirmer, au poeple d'Engleterre les leys et les custumes à eux grauntees par les auintenes rois d'Engleterre vos predecessours, droitures et devotz à Dieu, et nomenent les lois, les custumes, et les franchises grauntez au clergie et au poeple par le gloriens roi Seint Edward vostre predecessour?

"*Respons.* Jeo les graunte et promette.

"Sire, garderez vous a Dieu et seint Eglise, et au clerge et au poeple, paeis et accord en Dieu entierment, solenc vostre poer?

"*Respons.* Jeo les garderai.

"Sire, freez vous faire en touz voiz jugemens ovele et droit justice et discretion, en misericorde et verite, a vostre poer?

"*Respons.* Jeo le frai.

"Sire, grauntez vous a tenir et garder les leys et les custumes droitureles les quiels la communaute de vostre roiaume aura esleu, et les defendrez et afforterez al honur de Dieu, a vostre poer?

"*Respons.* Jeo les graunte et promette."

clergie, and the people, hoole peace and godlie concord? The king shall answer, I shall keepe. Ye shall make to be done, after your strenght and power [equal and] rightfull justice in all your domes and judgements, and discrecion, with mercie and trowthe? The king shall answer, I shall do. Do ye graunt the rightfull lawes and customes to be holden; and permitte you, after your strenght and power, such lawes as to the worship of God shall be chosen by your people, by yow to be strenghtenid and defendid? The king shall answer, I graunte and permitte."

In the first volume of Sir Henry Ellis's "Letters Illustrative of English History," we have a facsimile of the coronation oath of Henry VIII., altered and interlined *by his own hand*. One of such interlineations, namely, of the words "nott prejudyciall to hys jurysdyction and dygnite royall"—after the promise to maintain the rights and privileges of the Holy Church—is very curious, as showing that Henry looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England at the very outset of his reign.

The oath in its original form was:—"This is the Othe that the King shall swere at his Coronation; that he shall kepe and mayntene the right and the liberties of Holie Church of old tyme graunted by the rightuous Cristen Kings of England; and that he shall kepe all the londs, honours, and dignytees rightuous and fre of the Crowne of England in all maner hole, without any maner of mynyssement; and the rights of the Crowne, hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auntyent astate; and that he shall kepe the peax of the Holie Church, and of the Clergie, and of the People, with good accorde; and that he shall do in his judgements equitye and right justice, with discrecion and mercye; and that he shall graunte to holde the Lawes and Customes of the Realme; and to his power kepe them and affirme them which the folk and people have made and chosen; and the evill Lawes and Customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to the people of his Realme kepe, and cause to be kept to his power."

The oath as altered stands thus:—

"The Othe of the King's Highness *at every Coronation*.

"The King shall *then* swere that he shall kepe and mayntene the lawfull right and the libertees of old tyme graunted by the ryghtuous Cristen Kings of England *to the HOLY CHIRCHE off ENGLAND* nott prejudyciall to hys Jurysdyction and

Dignite ryall, and that he shall kepe all the londs, honours, and dignytees rightuous, and fredommes of the Crowne of Englund in all maner hole, without any maner of mynysshement and the rights of the Crowne hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auneyent astate; and that he shall indevore hymselfe TO KEEP UNITE in his CLERGYE, and temporell subjects; and that he shall, accordyng to his consiens in all his judgements mynystere equitye, right, and justice, shewyng wher is to be shewyd mercy; and that he shall graunte to holde the lawes and approvyd customes of the Realme, and lawfull and not prejudiciall to hys Crowne or Imperial duty, to his power kepe them and affirme them which the noblys and people have made and chosen with his consent; and the evill Lawes and Customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to the people of his realme kepe and cause to be kept to his power, in that whych honour and equite do require."

The coronation oath of King Edward VI. was altered by the Lord Protector and king's council in words, but not in sense, in consequence of the Reformation:—"Doe you grant to make no new lawes, but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the Commonwealth, and that the same shall bee made by consent of your people as hath been accustomed?" This part of the oath, observes Prynne ("Signal Loyalty," ii. 251), "referres wholly and onely to future new lawes, to be chosen, and made, by the people's consent, not to lawes formerly enacted."

For the disputes which arose respecting this clause, "perhaps," says Taylor, "we may agree with Johnson that the controversy upon the words was of little value; for if the laws were anciently made by the people, as the oath asserts, and the kings were bound to confirm and keep them when made, then must they still be bound to do so, whether the terms of the obligation be past or future."

With regard to Queen Elizabeth's coronation oath, Archbishop Whitgift, in a sermon before her Majesty, thus addresses her: "As all your predecessors were at this coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in His stead to one of them that anointed you, 'to maintain the church lands, and the rights belonging to it,' and this testified openly at the Holy Altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it."

The form of coronation oath seems to have been adhered to with but little alteration until the reign of James I., at whose inauguration the following was read to him by the archbishop, and sworn to by him at the altar:—"Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and, namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the clergy by the glorious King Edward the Third, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm? *Answer.* I grant and promise to keep them. Will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely, according to your power, both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People? *Answer.* I will keep it. Will you, to your power, cause Law, Justice, and Discretion in mercy and truth to be executed to your judgment? I will. Will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs, which the Commonalty of this, your kingdom, have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth? *Answer.* I grant and promise so to do." Then one of the bishops read this passage to the king, before the people, with a loud voice:—

"Our Lord and king, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant and preserve unto us, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical laws and privileges, and due law and justice, and that you would protect and defend us as every good king in his kingdom ought to be protector and defender of the bishops, and the churches under their government."

The King answered, "With a willing and devout heart, I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you and the churches committed to your charge all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender to my power by the assistance of God, as every good king in his dominion, in right ought to protect and defend the bishops and churches under his government."

Then the king arose, and was led to the communion table, where he took a solemn oath, in sight of all people, to observe all the promises, and laying his hand upon the Bible, said, "The things which I have here promised, I shall perform and keep; so help me God, and the contents of this book."

In the reign of Charles I., Archbishop Laud was accused of making both a serious interpolation and an important omission in the coronation oath—a circumstance which, on his trial, brought its introductory clauses into warm discussion. Our forefathers had ever been jealous of all encroachments on what some copies of the old oath call “the lawes and custumes of the people,” by “old, rightfull and devoute kings graunted to the clergy, and to the people by the glorious King St. Edward, according and conformable to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom,” etc. They had even compelled the Conqueror to engage repeatedly that these ancient statutes of the kingdom should not be violated—a stipulation renewed expressly in the great charter of his son, Henry I. Laud was charged with adding after the clause last quoted these words, “which the people have chosen or shall choose.” Of the latter charge he soon disposed by proving there were no such words in the oath of James I., and of the former he stated, “First, I humbly conceive this clause takes off none of the people’s assurance. Secondly, that alteration, whatever it be, was not made by me—’tis not altogether improbable it was added to the oath in Edward the Sixth, or Queen Elizabeth’s time, and hath no relation at all to the laws of this kingdom absolutely mentioned before in the beginning of this oath; but only to the words ‘the profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom;’ and then immediately follows, ‘and agreeing to the prerogative of the kings thereof.’ If this be the meaning he that made the alteration, whoever it were, for I did not, deserves thanks for it, and not the reward of a traitor.”

When Charles I. was crowned in Scotland, the form of his coronation oath was as follows:—

Archbishop. Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God, and as every good king in his kingdom ought to do, maintain the gospel of Jesus Christ in this your kingdom, against all atheism, profaneness, heresy, schism, or superstition whatsoever? *King.* I promise faithfully so to do.—*Archbishop.* Sir, will you promise to rule this people subject to you, and committed to your charge, according to the laws, constitutions, and customs of this your kingdom, causing (as much as in you lieth) justice and equity to be ministered without partiality? And to endeavour the peace of the church of Christ and all Christians? *King.* I grant and

promise so to do.—*Archbishop*. Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve the rights and privileges of the crown of Scotland? *King*. I promise so to do.—*Archbishop*. Sir, we do also beseech you to grant unto us of the clergy, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and that you will defend and protect us as every good king ought in his kingdom, to defend his bishops and the churches that be under their government. *King*. With a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you, and every one of you, with all the churches committed to your charge, in your old rights and privileges, according to law and justice.”*

In the oath of James II., in which the precedent of Charles II.’s coronation was followed, both these alleged alterations are found.

The present coronation oath dates only from the accession of William and Mary. Immediately upon that event “An Act for Establishing the Coronation Oath” (1 Will. and Mary, c. 6) was passed, which recites that—

“Whereas, by the Law and ancient Usage of this Realm, the Kings and Queens thereof have taken solemn Oath upon the Evangelists at their respective Coronations, to maintain the Statutes, Laws, and Customs of the said Realm, and all the People and Inhabitants thereof in their Spiritual and Civil Rights and Properties; but forasmuch as the Oath itself, on such occasion administered, hath heretofore been framed in doubtful Words and Expressions, with relation to ancient Laws and Constitutions at this time unknown. To

* In the debates of Parliament in 1657, it was resolved that a form of oath should be submitted to the Lord Protector, to be solemnly taken by him:—“I do, in the presence and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed, Protestant, Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament; and encourage the profession and the professors of the same: and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour as Chief Magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preservation of the just rights and privileges of the people thereof; and shall, in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these nations, according to law.”

From the journals of the House it appears “that his Highness was well satisfied with the form of the oath; only, he desires these words may be inserted, ‘to the utmost of my power and understanding,’ next after the word ‘Testament,’ and that these words, ‘of the peace and safety, and’ may be added to the oath, next after the word ‘preservation.’”

the end, therefore, that One uniform Oath may be in all Times to come taken by the Kings and Queens of this Realm, and to them respectively administered at the times of their and every of their Coronations.

“That the Oath herein mentioned, and hereafter expressed, shall and may be administered to Their Most Excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary (whom God long preserve) at the time of their Coronation, in the presence of all persons that shall be then and there present at the solemnising thereof, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, or either of them, or by any other Bishop of this Realm whom the King’s Majesty shall thereunto appoint, and who shall be hereby thereunto respectively authorized; which Oath followeth, and shall be administered in this manner; that is to say,

“The *Archbishop*, or *Bishop* shall say—‘Will you solemnly promise to govern the people of this kingdom of England and Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and customs of the same?’

“The *King* and *Queen* shall say—I solemnly promise so to do.

“*Archbishop* or *Bishop*—Will you to your power cause Law and Justice in Mercy to be executed in all your judgments?

“*King* and *Queen*—I will.”

The Coronation Oath is as follows:—

“*Archbishop* or *Bishop*—Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them?

“*King* and *Queen*—All this I promise to do.

“After this the King and Queen, laying his and her hand upon the Holy Gospels, shall say,

“*King* and *Queen*—The things which I have herebefore promised, I will perform and keep, *So help me, God!*

“Then the King and the Queen shall kiss the Book.

“And be it further enacted, That the said Oath shall be in like manner administered to every King or Queen who shall succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm at their respective Coronations,” etc.

Previous to Queen Anne taking the oath, the Archbishop of Canterbury inquired, "Is your Majesty willing to make the *Declaration*?" The queen answered, "I am willing." The archbishop having provided himself with the required declaration, written on a roll of parchment, read it as follows:—

"I, Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. 2ndly, that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. 3rdly, and I do solemnly in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read to me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted to me for this purpose, by the Pope, or any other authority or person, or without any hope of such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or of any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

The queen audibly made and repeated the same, and afterwards subscribed it.

In 1706, twenty years after the declaration of Parliament, an Act (6 Anne, c. 8) was passed "for securing the Church of England as by law established," and by this Act, which was inserted bodily in the Act of Union with Scotland, in which it forms the twenty-fifth article, it was enacted:—

"That after the Demise of Her Majesty (whom God long preserve) the Sovereign next succeeding to Her Majesty in the Royal Government of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and so for ever hereafter, every King or Queen succeeding, and coming to the Royal Government of the Kingdom of Great Britain, at his or her Coronation, shall, in the presence of all

persons who shall be attending, assisting, or otherwise then and there present, take and subscribe an Oath, to maintain and preserve inviolably the said Settlement of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the Territories thereunto belonging." The two latter places having been included in all English Acts by 20 George II., cc. 42 and 43, these words were afterwards omitted from the oath.*

The oath taken by George IV. was altered so far only as to meet the requirements of the Act of Union with Ireland :—

"*Archbishop.* Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established within England and Ireland, and the Territories thereunto belonging? And will you preserve to the Bishops and Clergy of England and Ireland, and the United Church committed to their charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?"

"*King.* All this I promise to do."

This was the oath taken by King William IV. and Queen Victoria—the coronation oath as it now exists, except that in these two later cases the words "the Churches there" have been substituted for "the United Church."

The following is an accurate copy of the oath taken by Queen Victoria, as preserved in the Record Office :—

"*Archbishop;* Madam, is Your Majesty willing to take the

* George III. attached peculiar sanctity to the coronation oath. Lord Eldon relates that when the king was pressed to give his consent to Roman Catholic emancipation, he said, "I can give up my crown and retire from power; I can quit my palace and live in a cottage; I can lay my head on a block and lose my life; but I cannot break my coronation oath." The king told the Duke of Portland that were he to consent to Catholic emancipation, he would not only betray his trust and forfeit his crown, but, in all probability, the framers of the measure would be brought to the scaffold. [See "Letters from his late Majesty to the late Lord Kenyon on the Coronation Oath, with his Lordship's Answers, also letters of the Right Hon. W. Pitt to his late Majesty (George III.)." 1827.]

Oath? *Queen*; I am willing. *Archbishop*; Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the People of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament, agreed on, and the respective laws and customs of the same?

Queen: I solemnly promise so to do. *Archbishop*: Will you to Your Power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your Judgments? *Queen*: I will. *Archbishop*:

Will You to the utmost of Your Power maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will You maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established within England and Ireland, and the Territories thereunto belonging? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England and Ireland, and to the Churches there committed to their charge, all such Rights and Privileges, as by Law, do, and shall, appertain to them, or any of them? *Queen*: All this I promise to do. The things which I have herebefore promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

The oath, of which the foregoing is a copy, is written on vellum, and attached to that part of the coronation roll which describes the mode in which the oath is administered. On the accession of a sovereign to the throne of these realms, a commission is issued under the great seal, constituting certain members of the Privy Council a court for adjudicating on the claims of persons who desire to render certain services, or to receive certain fees and perquisites at the coronation. The clerk of the Crown for the time being is always the clerk to such court of claims, and as such it afterwards becomes his duty to prepare the coronation roll, on which is recorded the whole particulars of the ceremony, with the names of those who did homage.

This roll is afterwards deposited with great ceremony among the records of the Court of Chancery—a fact which is duly recorded on the roll itself.

The original oath, as already stated, taken by the sovereign is always attached to the coronation roll; an exception must be made in the case of the coronation roll of George IV.

At the coronation of that sovereign, when the time came for him to subscribe the oath, it was found that by some over-

sight the vellum copy of the oath, which the sovereign was to subscribe, was not upon the altar. In this dilemma the king, with great presence of mind, suggested that he should subscribe the oath printed in the book of the form and order of the service; and the fact that he did so is recorded in a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, which is attached to the roll, and where, after certifying the administration of the oath in the manner prescribed, is added, as a "memorandum:" "The above mentioned Oaths not being in this instance prepared upon Vellum, His Majesty placed his signature to the said Oaths in a book containing the form and order of the Service to be performed, and of the Ceremonies to be observed in the Coronation of his said Majesty, which book having the signature of His Majesty to the said Oaths therein, remains deposited in the manuscript library of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth.—C. CANTUAR."

The following is a record of the mode in which the coronation roll was delivered:—

"Be it remembered that on Friday, the twenty-third day of January, in the fourth year of the Reign of the said most Serene Lord King George the Fourth, the before-named the Right Honorable Sir Charles Abbott, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, brought this Process into the open Court of Chancery, in Lincoln's Inn Hall. And the said Sir Charles Abbott with his own proper hand delivered the same Process into the hands of the Right Honorable John, Earl of Eldon, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, sitting the Court there, which same Lord Chancellor, then and there likewise delivered the same into the hands of the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Plumer, Knight, Master, or Keeper of the Rolls of the said Court of Chancery, to remain of Record amongst the Records and Rolls of the Court of Chancery aforesaid, as well as in the presence of the said Sir Charles Abbott, as of the whole court aforesaid."

The coronation rolls contain the commission and proceedings of the commissioners appointed to hear and declare claims of service to be performed at coronations, as well as the oaths taken by the king or queen when crowned—the collection of which, with the exception of the coronation rolls of Charles I. and George III., which are wanting, is perfect from James I. to Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANOINTING.

"Not all the water in the rough, rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king."

SHAKSPERE, *Richard III.*

"Hail, you anointed deputies of heaven!"

King John.



N a rare and curious old book in the British Museum, "The royal Charter granted unto Kings by God himself, and collected out of his Holy Word in both Testaments, by T. B., D^r in Divinitie," are the following observations:—

"*Anointing* is a sacred signature, betokening sovereignty, obedience to the throne, submission to the scepter, allegiance to the crown; and, supremacy to the oyle must needs be given, for oyle will have it; pour oyle, and wine, and water, and vinegar, or what other liqueur you please, together oyle

will be sure to be the uttermost. Kings are the Lord's anointed, because they are anointed with his own oyle, *oleo sancto meo*, with my holy oyl have I anointed him. *Psal. LXXXIX. 20.* It is not with any common or vulgar oyl, or oyl that any laies claim to but himself; but it is *oleo meo*, my oyl: neither is it oyl that was fetched out of any common shop or warehouse; but it is *oleo sancto*, with holy oyl, oyl out of the sanctuary: and no question but that this is a main reason (if they would speak out) why some have such an aking tooth at the sanctuaries; because they maintain in them oyl for the anointing of kings: but if the alabaster box were broken, the ointment w^d soon be lost; if they c^d persuade the king out of the church into the barne, they

w^d soon pull a reed out of the thatch, to put into his hand instead of a scepter; or if they c^d get him to hear sermons under a hedge, there w^d not be materials wanting to make a crown of thorns to pleat it on his head."

In another chapter the author endeavours to prove that bad kings as well as good are to be held sacred and divine: "When in the cave of Engidi, David m^t have cut off Saul's head; like precious oyntment! he descends only to the skirts of his garment; and with a *quid feci?* checks himself and beshrews his heart that he had done so much," etc. After adducing many such cases from Holy Writ, the author comes to the conclusion "that no faults or pretences whatsoever can make it lawful to depose, or so much as to touch, the Lord's anointed."

In the Holy Scriptures we have the first detailed mention of the inauguration of a sovereign by ANOINTING. The Israelites having assembled and urged Samuel—who was drawing near to his end—to name a king to reign over them, he at first refused, but in obedience to the command of God he did so, and Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was elected.

"Then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over His inheritance?" (1 Sam. x. 1). The consecration was repeated at Gilgal, after the slaughter of the Ammonites (B.C. 1095).*

The reign of Saul was of short duration; David was elected in his place, and as soon as Samuel had anointed him, "the spirit of the Lord left Saul, and filled David."

* The anointing of rulers previous to the time of Saul, however, must have been usual from the words in Judges ix. 8: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us."

"Though," observes Menin in his "Histoire du Sacre," "the anointing of kings was only practised among the Hebrews, and not introduced into any other kingdoms before Christianity; yet, God, who has a particular care for monarchs, whom He makes the delegates of His supreme authority here below, has always inspired the most barbarous people, plunged in the darkness of paganism and idolatry, with sentiments of love and veneration for their kings; so that all nations of the world, from their first origin, have observed, and still keep up, some ceremonies of show and splendour in the election and coronation of their kings, or governors; which, though they differ according to the manners, laws, and customs of such people in particular, yet all tend to the same purpose, which is, to stamp a singular character upon the prince, that points out his greatness, and the authority he has over his people; and creates a due fear and respect to his government."

The Scriptures tell us that when a certain Amalekite brought to David the news of the death of Saul, and represented himself as the person who had slain him, expecting without doubt a splendid reward for the presumed service, David said to him, "How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand against the Lord's anointed?" After a glorious reign, when old and infirm, the royal Psalmist delegated the affairs of sovereignty to his son Solomon, whom he caused to be proclaimed king, after having placed him upon his throne; for he feared that after his death the succession might be disputed, and bring heavy troubles upon the people. Solomon, mounted upon the mule of his father, was conducted by the high priest Zadok and the prophet Nathan to Gihon, where the king was anointed with the oil taken from the tabernacle, where it had been deposited; for it was regarded with peculiar sanctity. Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon king. And they blew the trumpets, and "piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them." And they said, "God save King Solomon! Long live the king! May the king live for ever!"

We have also in the Scriptures some particulars of the crowning and *anointing* of Joash, the eight king of Judah, in his seventh year (B.C. 878). By the contrivance of the high priest Jehoiada, to elude the vigilance of the usurper Athaliah, the child—the only surviving scion of David's illustrious house—was brought forth secretly on an appointed day, and appeared in the place of the kings, by a particular pillar in the Temple court; the book of the law was placed in his hands, and he was crowned and *anointed* with the usual ceremonies, and amidst the cries of "Long live the king!" from the people.

Tertullian mentions that the sacred oil* was always used in the coronation ceremonials of the Hebrew monarchs—

* Of the composition of the unguents for the purposes of consecration, the most ancient of which we have any knowledge is the ointment prepared at the Divine command by Moses, and particularly described in the Book of Exodus (xxx. 23, 25). This unguent, which is distinguished from consecrated oil, was, however, a fluid; it is said—though perhaps figuratively—to have run down upon Aaron's beard, and descended to the skirts of his garment.

The oil spoken of in Holy Scripture is always pure olive oil, or the holy oil, which contained other ingredients besides. And it is to be noted that the olive was in many ways a sacred tree, and always associated with peace and blessedness, fruitfulness and prosperity.

which included a period of nine ages—to the destruction of the Temple of Solomon, in which it was kept and regarded with peculiar sanctity. At this time the holy chrism of the Jews was lost, and, as it was deemed unlawful to attempt renovation of it, the practice of anointing was laid aside.

The Jews probably derived the practices of crowning and anointing from the Egyptians, “whose temples,” as Sir Gardiner Wilkinson informs us (“Ancient Egyptians,” vol. v. p. 277, *et seq.*, edit. 1847), “and more particularly those of Memnonium, or Remesseum, and Medenet Haboo, contain to this day pictorial representations of the pomp and ceremonies common to such occasions, and which agree in the most remarkable particulars with the several descriptions of similar institutions contained in Holy Writ.”

Dr. Kitto supports this presumption, from the circumstance that the custom of inaugural anointing first occurs among the Israelites immediately after they left Egypt, and no example of the same kind is met with previously; thus it is fair to conclude that the practice and the motives connected with it were acquired in that country. As the Jewish lawgiver mentions the ceremony of pouring oil upon the head of the high priest *after* he had put on his entire dress, with the mitre and crown, the Egyptians represent the anointing of their priests and kings *after* they were attired in their full robes, with the cap and crown upon their heads.

Cyrus, King of Persia, is called the “Lord’s anointed,” which is a frequent expression of kings in the Scriptures.

Sri d’hamasauka, King of Birmah (289 years B.C.), is described in Birmese story as having received the “sacred effusion,” the Hindoo coronation equivalent to our anointment.

From the East is, therefore, derived the custom of *anointing* the sovereigns of Christendom.*

“The many instances,” remarks Lingard, “of royal

* The chief of the descriptive names and official titles of the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind is the *Messiah*, which in Greek has been rendered *Christ*, and in our own language *Anointed*. At a very early period, oil appears to have been a divinely instituted symbol of the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier; not merely a type, but a sacramental sign and means of consecration. By it, inanimate objects were made sacred. Thus Jacob poured oil on a memorial or dedication stone at Bethel, and thus the tabernacle and its furniture were consecrated. Moreover, oil entered largely into the ritual of offerings and sacrifices. By it, prophets, priests, and kings were consecrated, and were thereby endued with the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

unction in the Scriptures offer a sufficient reason why every Christian nation should, at a very early period, have initiated the practice." Gildas, doubtless more oratorical than historical, states that the kings who reigned in Britain about the close of the fifth century were accustomed to receive the royal unction.

The earliest authentic instances of the ceremony of unction, as an essential element in Christian coronations in Europe, appear in the annals of the Spanish kingdoms. The rite is mentioned in the Acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo (A.D. 636). The unction, it appears, was an established custom, and took place at Toledo.

From the "Pontificale" of Archbishop Egbert (732-767) it may be concluded that the Northumbrian princes in our country were anointed in his time.

The ritual, together with other ceremonies, expressly includes the anointing of the king's head with oil: "Benedictio super regem noviter electum. Hic verget oleum cum cornu super caput ipsius cum antiphone 'unxerunt Salomonem' et Psalmo 'Domine in virtute tua.' Unus ex pontificibus dicat orationem et alii unguant."

The twelfth Canon of the Council of Celchyth (A.D. 787) contains a valuable incidental mention of unction, as an essential element of the kingly office, in the words "Nec *Christus* Domini esse valet nec rex totius regni qui ex legitimo non fuerit connubis generatus." Of Egferth, son of Offa, who was crowned at this council as his father's colleague, the language of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, in which this is the earliest coronation mentioned, "hallowed to king," can only be interpreted of unction, and so William of Malmsbury has understood it "in regem inunctum." Eardwulf, King of Northumberland, is recorded to have been consecrated and elevated to his throne by Archbishop Eanbald and three bishops; and, finally, of Alfred the same chronicle says (A.D. 854) that when Pope Leo IV. heard of the death of Ethelwulf, he consecrated him king. The rhyming chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, in describing this coronation, uses the remarkable phrase "he oiled him to be king."

Pepin, the successor of Charles Martel, was, according to strict historical evidence,* the first anointed sovereign in

* Le Noble, in his "Histoire du Sacre, etc., des rois de France" (Paris, 1825), observes, with regard to the *Sainte Ampoule*, that the early annalists, in alluding to the consecration of Pepin, state that it was done "according to ancient usage." D'Yvés de Chartres says that Goutran,

France. He was twice consecrated, once at Soissons, by Saint Boniface, the papal legate, in the year 750, and in 755 in the abbey of St. Denis by Pope Stephen III., who poured the sacred oil upon his head, his breast, and under the shoulders, with the words, "With this holy oil I consecrate thee king, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Charlemagne, King of the Franks, who obtained the empire of the West, was anointed Emperor of the Romans (November 24, 800), at St. Peter's, by Pope Leo III. On this occasion, says Constantin Manasses, the monarch received the oil from the head to the feet, "according to the custom prescribed by the Jewish law."

In the earliest detailed particulars of the coronation service of our English monarchs, that of Ethelred II. (A.D. 978), preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, after the consecrating prayer by the bishops, concluding with the words that "God would anoint thee king with the grace of His Holy Spirit," the unction was performed, but in what manner is not mentioned. This differed considerably in succeeding consecrations.* Richard I. was stripped to his shirt and drawers to receive the anointment. In some ordinals the king was anointed in three places, in some five, others seven. So much sanctity was attached to this ceremonial, that, formerly, the piece of fine linen with which the oil was wiped off was religiously burnt, from a dread of pollution; the king's head was to be covered with a thin small cap, which was to be worn for eight days, when the Abbot of Westminster was to take it off and wash the part.

In the "Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII." (Rutland Papers, "Camden Society") is given the formula connected with the anointing of the monarch, "who shall go to

King of Orleans, and Caribert, or Cherebert, King of Paris, were consecrated in the sixth century with the holy unction.

* "With regard to the *unction*, it strikes me," says Dr. Freeman, "that according to the ancient English rite, the king was simply anointed on the head. The rubric in Ethelred's office, copied in the French office, is simply '*hic unguatur oleo.*' In the later offices, the king is anointed on the hands, breasts, shoulders, and elbows, and on the head last of all. In the very ancient office printed by Maskell (p. 76) from the '*Pontifical*' of Archbishop Egberht, the rubric is '*hic verget oleum cum cornu super caput ipsius,*' but another rubric follows, '*unus ex pontificibus dicat orationem et alii unguant.*' This may possibly mean such a manifold unction as we find in the later offices, but at any rate the order is different."

the high aulter susteynged with the said Busshoppes, as aboue said, wher as the King shalbe vnraied and vnclothed by his Chamberlayn, vnto his cote of crymesyn saten largely opened as the sherts be, which all iij coots and ij sherts shall be opend afor, behinde, on the shuldres, and the elbowes, by the said Cardinall, to thentent that in those places he be annoynted.

"And whiles he is anynted, Sir Thomas Montgomery and Sir Thomas Borough ben appoynted for to hold a pall ouer hym, and, furst, the said Cardinall, sitting, shall anynt the King, kneling on quissbons, with holy oile, in the palmes of his hands, saying thise wordes, *Vngatur manus* &c., with this colet *Respice Omnipotens Deus*, the quere synging in the meanetym, and contynuelly whiles the Kinge is anynted, *Vnserunt Regem*, and the salme, *Domine, in vertute tua letabitur Rex*, &c., he shall anynte the King with the same oile on the brest, in the myddes of his bak, on his ij shuldres, on his ij elbowes, and on his hed, with the said oile making a crosse, and afterward making an other crosse with the holy creme on his said hed, after the end of that colet, the Cardynall seying to eury place to be anynted, wordes conveniently, as is in example, to the hed these wordes *Vngatur caput*, and to the shuldres *Vngantur scapule*.

"And it is to be remembered, that the abbot of Westminster, after the Kinges inunccion, shall drye all the places of his body wher he was anynted, with som coton or som lynon cloth, which is to be brend, and forthwith close and luse ayen the openyngs of the Kinges said shurte and cote, puttyng on the Kinges hands a pair of lynon gloves, to be brought thidre by his said Chamberlayn."

The king's head is afterwards to be "washed, dried, and kymbed." In the "Liber Regalis" St. Edward's *ivory* comb is to be used if the king's hair, after the anointing, lie not smooth. In Sporley's catalogue of the regalia (see chapter on the "Regalia of England and Scotland") there is also mention of a golden comb, but Mr. Planché states that the Parliament Commissioners in 1649 found neither a gold nor an ivory comb, but "one old comb of horne, worth nothing."

The ceremony of the queen's anointing is thus related: "Then the Quene, lad as aboue, shall go to the aulter, the greces afor it honorably arraied with carpetts and quissbons, by thusschers of the quene's chambre, wher yppon the Quene shall lie prostrat as the King dud afor, the Cardinal

seing ouer this orison, *Deus qui solus habes*; that ended she shall arise and knele and by (her) the great ladye that shalbe alwaies attending vppon her, the cerle of gold taken from her brest by the cardynall opnyed, the same Cardinall shall anoynt her twoo tymes; furst, in her forhed, with hole oyle, making a crosse, saying thise words, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amen, prosit tibi hec unctio*; secondly, with the same oile in her brest, with the same words and maner folowingly, the Cardinall shall say this orison, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, which ended the said grete lady shall close her brest."

The mediæval rite of royal unction is peculiar in anointing the head, breast, and arms, denoting glory, sanctity, and strength.

The chrism (such as was used in baptisms, confirmations, and consecrations) was an unguent of oil mingled with balm, which was prepared at a particular season, and always consecrated by a bishop, by whom only it could be used, except in case of necessity, in the rites of baptism. This, says Taylor, was the chrism of our coronations, such as was used in the unction of Edward VI., and in that of Mary. The latter monarch would not be anointed, it is said, with the same chrism that had been consecrated on the previous occasion by the ministers of the reformed religion, but the sacred unction was sent from Brussels by the Emperor Charles V., at her request.

A *legendary* interest is attached to the consecrated oil used at the coronation of our earlier monarchs. It is stated that Thomas à Becket was in banishment at Lyons, and was praying one night in a church, when the Virgin appeared to him with a golden eagle and a small vial of stone or glass, which she delivered to the archbishop, assuring him of the happiest effects on those kings who should be anointed with it, and commanded him to deliver it to a monk of Poitiers, who would conceal it in a large stone in the church of St. Gregory. In this place the ampulla with the eagle, and an account of the vision written by St. Thomas, were preserved until the reign of Edward III., when they were discovered in consequence of a dream by a holy man, who brought the sacred vessel to the Duke of Lancaster, and by him it was delivered to the Black Prince, who sent it to the Tower, where it was kept in a strong chest. Here it was found by Richard

II., who wished to be anointed with it; but he was told it was enough for him to have received the holy unction, and that it ought not to be repeated; nor was it used until the accession of Henry IV., who was anointed with it at his coronation in 1399.

One of the accusations against Richard II. was, says Walsingham, "that he had carried with him towards Ireland, without the consent of the states of the kingdom, the treasures, relics, and jewels of the Crown." The holy oil of anointing used at coronations, he kept about him during the remainder of his difficulties, till it was "wrested from him at Chester by the Duke, who entertained, or affected to entertain, the same superstitious value for it."

A still greater legendary interest, in point of antiquity, is attached to the *SAINTE AMPOULE*, which occupied a very prominent position in French coronations from the ninth century to the consecration of Charles X. in 1824. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims in the ninth century, relates, in his "Life of St. Remi," that the vial containing the celestial unction was brought from heaven by a white dove for the coronation of King Clovis. "And, behold," says the legend, "a dove fairer than snow, suddenly brought down a vial in his mouth, full of holy oil. All present were delighted with the fragrance of it, and when the Archbishop received it, the dove vanished."*

Solemn ceremonies attended the removal of the holy vial to *Nôtre Dame de Rheims* from the abbey of St. Remi, where it was preserved within the founder's tomb. Before the relic

* "Guillermus Brito," observes Selden, in his "Titles of Honour," speaking of the coronation of Philip I., "describes the consecrating oil as having been derived from heaven. 'And for the manner how it came, he says that the Devil broke the viol of oil which St. Remigius held in his hand ready to use it in the baptism of King Clovis, and that the oil being so spilt, he obtained by prayer a supply from heaven.'"

In Flodoard, who wrote in the first half of the tenth century, we find the legend fully developed. He tells us that at the baptism of Clovis the clerk who bore the chrism was prevented by the crowd from reaching his proper station; and that when the moment of unction arrived, St. Remi raised his eyes to heaven and prayed, when "*ecce subito columba cœnix advolat candida rostro deferens ampullam cœlestis doni chrismate repletam.*"

But, alas! for poetry and legend, the miracle of the *Sancta Ampulla*, it must be added, was not heard of till *four hundred years* after the date of the supposed event, and then in connection with the baptism and confirmation of Clovis!

was removed, hostages, consisting of four noblemen, selected by the king, were sent to the abbey as a guarantee of its safe restoration, and a guard of honour, consisting of fifty inhabitants of Chêne-le-Pouilleux (a town six leagues from Rheims), who claimed this privilege from time immemorial, was appointed to watch over it during its transfer. Upon these occasions it was transported in a richly chased reliquary in the form of a dove suspended to the neck of the grand prior (by a silver chain), who rode on a beautiful white palfrey, which, with its embroidered trappings and the costly canopy borne over the prior's head, were gifts from the king to the chapter of St. Remi. First in the procession appeared a long train of priests, monks, and choristers; then came a deputy master of the ceremonies, and a field officer of the king's guards, attired in rich mantles; the grand prior followed, with the Sainte Ampoule, the four poles of the canopy over him being borne by the knights barons of the Sainte Ampoule. The guard of honour and military closed the procession, which, upon reaching the door of the metropolitan church, was met by the archbishop and clergy.

The prior, having dismounted, requested the archbishop to engage, on oath, to restore the precious relic, and the latter having given the required assurance, "on the faith of a prelate," the former delivered the Sainte Ampoule into his hands, and it was then placed on the altar. In the ceremony of anointing, the archbishop, having dipped the tip of his right thumb in the ointment, proceeded to apply it to the king—first, on the summit of the head; secondly, on the breast; thirdly, on the back; then on the right and left shoulder, and on the joints of the right and left arm. Two officiating bishops opened the king's camisole at the appointed places, whilst the archbishop crossed himself, and accompanied each unction with the following words:—"I anoint thee king with the holy oil, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

The ceremony of the first seven unctions being completed, the bishops closed the openings in the royal camisole with the gold laces attached to them, and the grand chamberlain placed the tunic and dalmatic—which the kings of France assumed as lay canons—and royal mantle on the king, who again knelt down and was anointed twice more on the hands.

The anointing in *nine* places was a later development of

the rite of unction. When Charles the Bald was crowned by Hincmar (A.D. 869), the head alone was anointed, in three places—the right ear, the forehead round to the left ear, and the crown on the head.

Monstrelet mentions that in 1483 Louis XI. determined, in consequence of his illness, to have the holy ampulla brought to him from Rheims. Monfaucon, Governor of Auvergne, was specially commissioned for this purpose. It was brought to Paris, and was carried with much reverence in a solemn procession, and afterwards conveyed to the king at Plessis-le-Parc. It was accompanied by the rods of Moses and Aaron, and the cross of victory, which had been sent to Charlemagne that he might vanquish the infidels.

In Menestrier's "*Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand*," on the reverse of a medal of Louis XIV., above the view of the city of Rheims, is a dove descending, holding a flask in its beak, and surrounded by rays of light. The explanation given is ("Socrat. ac. salut. Rhemis."), "*Sacré et salué à Rheims le 7 Juin 1654.—le revers est la Sainte Ampoule qui descend du ciel, avec la ville de Rheims, où se fit le Sacre, et où il fut salué Roy par les princes, etc.*" The vial called the *Sainte Ampoule* was about an inch in diameter at the bottom, and not more than two inches high. It contained a balsam of a reddish-brown colour, and used to be enclosed in a shrine of gold, surrounded with precious stones, and kept in a bag of crimson velvet. At a coronation a small portion of congealed balsam was taken out by the Archbishop of Rheims with a golden pin, and mixed with holy chrism, to which it gave a reddish colour. When the Revolution broke out the sacred vial was taken from the tomb of St. Remigius and concealed; but Philip Ruhl, a deputy of the Convention, had it brought forth, on October 6, 1793, into the public square at Rheims, and broke the vial to pieces with a hammer. The officer, however, who brought the vial is said to have dipped a needle into it, and thus obtained a small portion of its contents; and some persons who stood near, particularly a M. L. Champagne Prevotau, picked up and preserved some fragments of the glass, with some of the holy balsam adhering to them. On May 22, previous to the coronation of Charles X., which took place May 29, 1825, the Archbishop of Rheims took the depositions of those persons who had preserved any portions of the *Sainte Ampoule*, and collected the remains of the balsam which adhered to the fragments. These were deposited in a new

vial, and from this the archbishop took a little to mix with the holy chrism with which he anointed King Charles X. The new vial was deposited, like the former, in the tomb of St. Remigius.

France can boast of a *double legend* in connection with the *Sainte Ampoule*—that of St. Martin of Marmoutier-les-Tours—with which Henry IV. was consecrated. A celestial origin is ascribed to it, according to which St. Martin, having fallen from a ladder, was so injured that his life was despaired of. An angel appeared to him, carrying a small vial, full of fragrant oil, with which he anointed his wounds, and he was immediately relieved. This legend is related in the life of the saint by St. Paulin.*

At the coronation of Henry IV., the precious oil was conveyed in a chariot made for the purpose, amidst great pomp. A white horse was sent for the sacristan of the abbey of Marmoutier, who carried the sacred vial under a damask covering.

The emperors of Austria, being Catholics, are crowned according to the order of coronation in the Roman pontifical, which prescribes anointing with the *Oleum Catechumentorum*,—the right arm at the wrist, at the elbow, and between the shoulders. Charlemagne, when crowned in Rome as Emperor of the West by Pope Leo. I., was anointed with oil *from head to foot*; but this was exceptional. According to Goar (quoted by Selden), the emperors of the East were not anointed “before that Charles the Great was crowned in the West.”

The anointing of the Russian emperors is the most essential distinction between the ceremonials of that country and other European coronations. *There* the coronation takes precedence of the anointing; whereas in Germany and England, and during the monarchy of France, the sovereigns are, and were, first anointed and then crowned. The metropolitan

* Among the relics of the treasury of the cathedral of Monza in Italy, is an ampulla for sacred oil said to have been presented by Gregory the Great to Theodelinda, wife of Antharis, King of Lombardy, probably some time soon after A.D. 590. It is circular, and the head of our Lord, with a cruciform nimbus, is placed at the top. Below, to right and left, are the two thieves with extended arms, but without crosses; and below them two figures are kneeling by a cross which seems to be budding into leaves. Two saints, or angels, are on the extreme right and left, and the usual holy sepulchre below, with an angel watching it on the right in the act of benediction, while St. John and St. Mary Magdalene are (apparently) approaching it on the other side.

immerses a golden branch into the vessel containing the chrism, and with it anoints the emperor's forehead, eyelids, nostrils, ears, and lips, and the backs and palms of his hands, saying, "This is a token of the gift of the Holy Ghost."

The empress receives the unction only on the forehead.

CHAPTER X.

OMENS AND INCIDENTS AT CORONATIONS.

"'Tis thought the king is dead; we will not stay.
 The bay-trees in our country are all withered,
 And meteors fright the fixèd stars of heaven;
 The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth,
 And lean-looked prophets whisper fearful change;
 Rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap,
 (The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
 The other to enjoy by rage and war):
 These signs forerun the death or fall of kings."

SHAKSPEARE, *Richard II.*, Act ii. sc. 4.



MEN is a word representing a sign, good or bad, as a prognostic. It may be defined as that indication of something future which we get, as it were, by accident, and without our seeking for. In this sense I have now to enter upon the present chapter, as regards the coronations of the sovereigns of our country. By our forefathers, the least untoward incident or event on these

solemn occasions was magnified by superstitious tendencies into a forecast of the future; and although, happily, we are released at the present day from the heaviest trammels of a diseased imagination, yet a lingering feeling of the old leaven exists, and will probably remain, until education and refinement eradicate these remnants of weakness and folly.*

* Referring to omens at a great national crisis, a writer in the *Times* (September 22, 1863) says, "Every throb in the political ground is acutely felt, every tremor in the air is caught by the ear

It is curious to observe the strength and vitality of superstition in the Middle Ages, and in regard to the august ceremony of the consecration of sovereigns, the slightest circumstance of remissness or accident furnished matter for prognostics, good or evil, the latter, of course, predominating.

An untoward event is said to have disturbed the coronation festivities of EDWY, or King Edwin the Fair, son of King Edmund, in 955. An extraordinary outrage was practised upon the person of this sovereign, giving rise to a prognostic that the power of the Church would predominate over the monarchy. It seems that King Edwin had retired from the coronation banquet to enjoy the society of his wife, to whom he was related in the prohibited degree. The guests at the feast were displeased at his absence, and incited by the provocative words of Archbishop Odo, who had just crowned the monarch, deputed the famous Dunstan and Cynesius, Bishop of Lichfield, to recall the king to his place at the table. The commission was performed with an amount of brutality which can only be ascribed to the licence of the age. Ethelgiva was in the royal chamber with King Edwin and her daughter, when the two priests entered rudely and unannounced. The king was in a gay mood, and had taken off his crown, which he had placed on the ground, and probably thought irksome, because he had not been able to share it with the woman he loved. He refused to go, and Dunstan dragged him rudely from his seat, and forced the crown again upon his head. Ethelgiva upbraided the abbot for his insolence, who retorted with violence. The young king, however, recovered his dignity, and one of his first acts was to deprive Dunstan of all the offices he held, and to sentence him to banishment. Retaliation, however, ensued, and the miserable fate of Ethelgiva is well known.

The coronation of King ETHELRED, in 979, was clouded by the ominous denunciations of Dunstan against the monarch, for wearing a crown bought with the price of blood (the murder of Edward by Edgar's first wife, but of which crime Ethelred, being very young at the period,

instantly, and every motion on the surface of things is observed with anxiety; it is made an *omen* on one side or the other, it speaks to the whole nation, it *prophesies* an issue. The air of a troubled state becomes soon thick with *signs* and *prognostics*, and everybody becomes an *augur*, a *soothsayer*, an *interpreter of dreams*, and every event is hailed as a *bright*, or a *black one*."

was innocent).^{*} Dunstan, on this occasion, moved as by a prophetic spirit, declared to the young monarch all the calamities to which the kingdom would be exposed in his reign: "Because thou hast aspired to the crown by the death of thy brother, whom thy mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord. The sword shall not depart from thine house, but shall furiously rage all the days of thy life, killing thy seed, until such time as thy kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the nation thou governest know not; neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy mother, and the sins of those men who were partakers of her counsels and executors of her wicked designs, be expiated, but by a long and most severe vengeance."

HAROLD'S assumption of the crown was inaugurated by an ominous incident: Edward the Confessor lay on his death-bed (January 5, 1066). It is traditionally stated that Harold and his kinsmen forced their way into the apartment of the dying monarch, and exhorted him to name a successor. "Ye know full well, my lords," said Edward, "that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy, and are there not those *here* whose oaths have been given to secure his succession?" Harold stepped nearer, and interrupted the king. He asked of Edward upon whom the crown should be bestowed. The king answered, "Harold, take it, if such be thy wish, but the gift will be thy ruin. Against the duke and his baronage, no power can avail thee." Harold replied "that he did not fear the Norman nor any other enemy." The dying king, wearied, turned himself upon the couch, and faintly intimated that the English nation might name a king, Harold or whom they liked, and then expired.

The coronation of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR was ominously marked by the absence (it is said by some writers) of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to William of Newbury, "manfully refused to crown one who was covered with the blood of men, and the invader of others' rights." †

^{*} Ethelred had, on the contrary, tenderly loved his brother, and was inconsolable on hearing the news of his death, which so excited his mother Elfrida, "that," relates Holinshed, "she furiously assaulted him with a huge wax taper, and beat the boy so severely that she had almost made an end of him also. So impressed upon the memory of Ethelred was this cruelty that he could not bear afterwards to have these candles lighted before him."

† The biography of William the Conqueror from the first sailing of his fleet from Normandy to England, to the battle of Hastings, is

At the moment when the crown was placed on the king's head, the Norman guards, mistaking the acclamations of the spectators for some tumult, fell upon the people outside, and began to set fire to the neighbouring houses, until the king showed himself to them in his state robes, when the fears of his followers were allayed, and the riots ceased. The spectators in the abbey, noticing the glare of the burning houses, fled from the church precipitately. William alone, with a few

marked by superstitious incidents, to which, however, we must add that the duke rose superior to his followers. After being detained in the Dive by contrary winds, the invading fleet succeeded in reaching the harbour of St. Valery. Still it could not make sail, and so many obstacles occurred, in addition to the adverse elements, that the bravest began to doubt, and the duke was compelled to have recourse to his old expedient of reassuring the minds of the weak and wavering by a fresh appeal to their ignorance and superstition. He proclaimed a religious ceremony, at which the entire armament was to attend, to invoke the aid of all their tutelary saints. The desired success followed. Some of his vessels had already been beaten back, others lost, and in this dilemma he was accosted by a holy man, who inquired why he looked so downcast. "I want a fair wind," was the duke's reply. "Then why," answered the stranger, "do you not address your prayers to Saint Valery, and he will send you a fair wind and all you need." At this comfortable assurance the duke instantly ordered a public procession to take place in honour of the saint, accompanied by all his relics, and his body itself, which was conveyed from the adjacent abbey.

On arriving at Pevensey (September 28, 1066), so great was the duke's impatience to effect a landing unopposed, that, advancing first, he leaped upon the shore, and his foot slipping, he fell; but, observing his followers disconcerted at this bad augury, he grasped the earth with both hands, exclaiming, "By the splendour of the earth, I have seized England with both hands."

A similar story to this is related by Froissart of Edward III.: "When the fleet of England were all safely arrived at La Hogue, the King leaped on shore first, but by accident he fell, and with such violence that the blood gushed out of his nose. The knights that were near him said, 'Dear sir, let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not to think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen.' The King instantly replied, 'For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me.'"

It is recorded of Julius Cæsar that, on alighting from shipboard in Africa, his foot slipped, and he fell. He also averted the omen, and turned it to good account by exclaiming, "Africa, I hold thee fast!"

In arming for the battle at Hastings, Duke William called for his harness. His coat of mail was brought forth; but in putting it on, by some accident, the forepart was turned hindmost. It was an evil omen to some of his followers; but (said the duke) the sign was a good one, for as the hauberk had been turned about, so he who bore it would be turned from a duke into a king.

priests, remained, and although he is said to have "trembled violently," he refused to postpone the coronation, and, amidst a scene of confusion, the ceremony was proceeded with.

"The deeds of wrong," remarks Dr. Freeman, "of that mid-winter day were not forgotten. Men saw in them an omen of what the rule of the Norman would be. There can be no doubt that they did much to set the minds of Englishmen against the new king and his government. And in truth the deeds of wrong of that day were, in every way, a presage of what the reign of William was to be."

When HENRY I. came to the throne, Becket was not yet Archbishop of Canterbury. That title was then in the keeping of Ralph of Escures, a bold divine who could insist upon a seemly bearing at church which he did not himself observe. Archbishop Ralph had the right to "fix the crowns" on the heads of the king and his queen Adeline, but the prelate was stricken with palsy, and Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed to actually crown the sovereign. Ralph knew nothing of this arrangement until he saw Roger take up the crown to place it on the king's brow, and then the palsied man stretched forth his shaking hands to arrest it from Roger, who was ill inclined to let it go. In the struggle they held it together, for a moment, above the king's head, but rage gave strength to the palsied Ralph, and he got the object for which they were struggling out of his rival's grasp. Overhaste nearly made shipwreck of the solemnity, for Ralph's shaking hand overturned the crown from Henry's head as soon as he had placed it there, and it would have fallen to the ground, but for the interference of officials, who saved the august memorial from being marred by a gloomy omen.

STEPHEN, a grandson of the Conqueror, was elected king on the death of his uncle Henry I., and was crowned on St. Stephen's Day. The superstitious spectators of the ceremonial regarded as an evil omen that, by some mistake, the benediction, or, according to some writers, the kiss of peace, was omitted in the performance of the sacrament. It was also remarked afterwards, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose consent to Stephen's usurpation was directly opposed to his oath to Maud, died within the same year as that in which the coronation took place, and that the greatest personage who assisted at the ceremony perished miserably. It was noticed, also, that the host given at the Communion suddenly disap-

peared. In the twelfth year of Stephen's reign, remarks William of Huntingdon, he wore his crown during Christmas at Lincoln, which no king, from some superstitious feeling, had before ventured to do.*

In 1170 HENRY II. adopted a measure not common in England—that of associating his eldest son in the royal dignity as a titular king. The prince was crowned in that year, at Westminster, by the Archbishop of York, the primate, Thomas à Becket, being in exile. This violation of the rights of the see of Canterbury led to the suspension of the officiating prelates, and contributed to the subsequent misfortunes of the king. Even at the coronation feast the arrogant spirit of the young prince appeared, in his answer to those who complimented him when his royal father waited upon him at the table. "It was," he said, ironically, "such great condescension for the son of an *earl* to wait upon the son of a *king*." †

The coronation of RICHARD I. was ominously and disgracefully tarnished by the massacre of the Jews on that occasion. The circumstance is quaintly related by Richard of Devizes: "Now in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1189 Richard the son of King Henry the Second, by Eleanor,—brother of Henry the Third, was consecrated King of the

* Prodigies and omens of every kind were rampant at this period. At Wallingford, when Henry, Duke of Normandy, and Stephen were contesting for the crown, an accidental circumstance prevented the deadly effusion of kindred blood from staining the snows of the wintry plain of Egilaw. "That day," says Matthew Paris, "Stephen's horse reared furiously thrice, as he advanced to the front to array his battle, and thrice fell with his fore-feet flat to the earth, and threw his royal rider. The nobles exclaimed it was a portent of evil, and the men murmured among themselves." Advantage was taken of this pause by William de Albiñi to address the king on the horrors of civil war, and to urge an amicable arrangement with Henry Plantagenet.

† As a reverse to this unfilial conduct, we read, in Sir Walter Scott's "Letter on the Coronation Banquet of George IV.," "The duties of service at the banquet and of attendance in general were performed by pages, dressed very elegantly in *Henri Quatre* coats of scarlet, etc. There were also Marshal's-men for keeping order. Both departments were filled up almost entirely by young gentlemen, many of them of the very first condition, who took these menial characters to gain admission to the show. When I saw many of my young acquaintance thus attending upon their fathers and kinsmen, the peers, knights, and so forth, I could not help thinking of Crabbe's lines, with a little alteration—

"'Twas schooling pride to see the menial wait,
Smile on his father, and receive his plate.'"

English, by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the third of the nones of September [3rd September]. On the very day of the coronation, about that solemn hour in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a Sacrifice of the Jews to their father, the Devil, was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their blood-suckers [the Jews] with blood to hell."

Besides the evil presage derived from the massacre of the Jews, much alarm was caused during the coronation ceremonial, says Richard of Devizes, by the appearance of a bat "in the middle of the bright part of the day, fluttering about the church, inconveniently circling in the same tracks, especially around the king's throne."

Another evil augury was the peal of bells, rung without any agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the abbey; "of such portentous omen as then was hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper. At Complin, the last hour of the day, the first peal happened to be rung, neither by any agreement, nor even by the ministers of the church themselves being aware of it, until after it was done, for prime, tierce, sext, nones, and the solemn service of vespers, and two masses were celebrated without any ringing of peals." Astrologers also noticed that it was an Egyptian day.*

It was significant, however, of the self-reliance and determination of the lion-hearted monarch to uphold his power, when he took the crown from the altar on the day of con-

* A Saxon manuscript among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Vitell. C. viii. fo. 20) gives the following account of these unlucky days:—"Three days there are in the year, which we call Egyptian days; that is in our language, dangerous days, on any occasion whatever, to the blood of man or beast. In the month which we call April, the last Monday; and then is the second at the coming in of the month we call August; then is the third, which is the first monday of the going out of the month of December (*i.e.* the last fifteen days of any month). He who on any of these three days reduces blood, be it of man, be it of beast, this we have heard say, that speedily in the first or seventh day, his life he will end. Or, if his life be longer, so that he come not to the seventh day, or if he drink some time in these three days, he will end his life; and he that tastes of goose-flesh within forty days' space his life he will end."

secration to crown himself, signifying that he only held it from God; after which the archbishop accomplished the other ceremonies.

JOHN was crowned on Ascension Day, the same fatal festival as astrologers predicted would close his reign. It was also remarked as an evil omen that the king hurried away without receiving the Holy Sacrament. At the religious ceremony which was to have hallowed his investiture as Duke of Normandy, he laughed most irreverently, from no other reason, however, than seeing his young lawless associates amusing themselves. He was so little master of himself that, when as a part of the ceremony a spear was placed in his hand, he was so shaking with laughter that he let it fall. This circumstance was severely commented upon at the time, and it was remembered afterwards when John lost that ducal sovereignty of which the spear was the outward sign.*

The name "John," which comes from *Iona*, a remote feminine root, has been reckoned unfortunate for the king's name both in England and in France. The reason of this does not appear to be anywhere stated.

The sacred unction was not administered at the coronation of HENRY III., nor was there an imposition of hands, lest the rights of the see of Canterbury to those sacred offices should be infringed. The king was crowned with a golden fillet or garland rather than a crown, owing to the loss of the regalia by King John when crossing the Wash, near Wisbeach (October 14, 1216). At the same time an edict was issued that for a month no person, male or female, should appear in public without a chaplet, in order to testify that the king was really crowned.

As a picture of the times it is recorded that, at the coronation of the queen of Henry III., an incident occurred which marred the splendour of the royal banquet. Its presiding officer, the hereditary chief butler, Hugh de Albini, was absent, having been excommunicated by the Archbishop

* With that union of superstition and profaneness so common in the religious belief of the Middle Ages, King John was anxious, after death, to elude the demons whom he had so faithfully served in life. For this purpose he not only gave orders to disguise his body in a monk's cowl, but to bury it between two saints. The royal cathedral of Worcester, which John had specially favoured in life, possessed two Saxon saints in close juxtaposition, and between these two (Wulfstan and Oswald) the wicked king was laid.

of Canterbury for refusing to let the primate hunt in his Sussex forest!

The coronation of EDWARD I. was remarkable for several incidents of a peculiar character. Alexander, King of Scotland, was present "to doe homage," says Holinshed, "to King Edward for the realm of Scotland, and," he adds, "at the solemnite of this coronation, there were let goe at libertie (catch them that catch might), five hundred great horses of the King of Scots, the Earles of Cornwall, Glocester, Pembroke, Warren, and others, as they alighted from their backs."

The coronation of EDWARD II. was marked by an inauspicious circumstance; an omen of the evil fortunes which befell the unhappy king, in the fact of Piers Gaveston, the unworthy favourite, "carrying St. Edward's Crowne in that pompe," as to excite the indignation of the jealous barons who had reason to mistrust him. "None," says Speed, "was near to Piers in bravery of apparell, or delicacie of fashion." These, no doubt, were additional reasons for increasing the dislike to him.

The selection of Woodcock, Bishop of Winchester, to crown the king and queen was also an evidence of the weak and unworthy character of the monarch, that prelate having conspired against his sovereign, Edward I.

Gaveston had either taken on himself the whole management of the coronation ceremonial or made his arrangements with want of judgment; but, as it was, from beginning to end it was a scene of confusion and disorder. It was three o'clock before the consecration of the king and queen was over, and the short wintry days protracted the banquet till dark. This lateness appears to have excited the wrath of the hungry nobles more than any other of Gaveston's misdeeds that day. The food also was badly cooked, and was ill served, with a total want of ceremony. The queen experienced many slights, but whether intentional on the part of Gaveston or otherwise is not known; but Queen Isabella sent a letter to the King of France, her father, complaining bitterly of Gaveston.

At this coronation, so great was the pressure of the crowd that a knight, Sir John Bakewell, was trodden to death.

A noteworthy feature at the coronation of Edward III. was the hypocritical demeanour of the queen-mother, Isabella, who, although she had been the principal cause of her

husband's deposition, affected to weep during the whole of the ceremony.

At the coronation of RICHARD II., which was remarkable for its profuse extravagance, the Bishop of Rochester in his sermon, as if with a prescience of Wat Tyler, uttered a warning against excessive taxation. After the ceremonial, on returning to his palace, the king was carried on the shoulders of knights, "being oppressed with fatigue and long fasting."* Other omens were mentioned, and served to prognosticate that the splendours of the opening reign were destined, as in the case of Edward II., to be clouded at its end with sorrow.

In the chapter on "Anointing" I have alluded to the ampulla containing the sacred oil, discovered in the Tower in the last year of his reign, having been carried to Ireland by Richard II. On his return he delivered it to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Chester, who had refused to anoint him with it, on the plea that the regal unction could not be repeated, the king observing, as a melancholy presage, "that it was meant for some more fortunate king."

At the coronation of HENRY V. a terrible thunderstorm occurred, which was supposed to predict the conflagration of Norwich, Gloucester, and other cities during the ensuing summer, the snow and rain during the winter, and the wars and tumults during the rest of the king's reign.

A somewhat similar occurrence to that at the consecration of Richard II. is recorded at the coronation of another juvenile king, HENRY VI.† It was observed that, young as

* In the coronation offices of different ages, mention is often made of the weariness of the king, caused, according to Maskell, by his obligation to receive the Communion fasting. It was therefore necessary to begin the ceremony early in the day.

† "The Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, having been named Regent of England by the late king, was allowed to assume the government under that title. At the end of a month from the death of Henry V. a council was held at Windsor, at which the baby monarch was present in his nurse's arms, and was supposed to preside. Longley, Lord Chancellor to the late king, put the great seal into the royal lap, and placed upon it the hands of the child, who was too young even to be amused with it as a toy" (Campbell's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors").

In April, 1425, at the opening of Parliament, the royal infant was carried on a great horse from the Tower of London through the City to Westminster. Having taken a peep at the palace, he was from thence conducted to the House of Lords, and sat on his mother's knee on the throne. "It was a strange sight," says Speed, "and the first time it

he was (nine years), "he sat on the platform beholding the people about him, *sadly and wisely*, as with a prescient glance at the evils before him."

The coronation of Henry VI. was on the 6th of November, corresponding, as was fancifully thought, to the 6th of December, his birthday, and to the perfection of the number *six* in the sixth Henry.

There was a difficulty in deciding the day for the coronation of EDWARD IV. It was to have taken place early in March, 1461. In consequence, however, of the siege of Carlisle, it was put off until the 28th of June in that year, the Sunday after midsummer. The coronation, however, was again deferred until the 29th, in consequence of the singular superstition which prevailed regarding the 28th of any month to be a repetition of Childermas Day—always considered unlucky.

It seems natural that inauspicious circumstances would mark the coronation of the brutal and usurping Richard III. It was remarked that Bouchier, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, served the Holy Sacrament to the king and queen, and yet had pledged "his own body and soul" to the widowed queen, mother of the murdered infant Duke of York, when receiving him from sanctuary, scarcely three weeks before the coronation, not only for his "surety," but also for his estate.

The monks of Westminster, we are told, "sung the *Te Deum* with a faint courage."

The absence from the ceremony of Richard's heir, the youthful Earl of Salisbury, for whom no place had been apportioned, was also noticed. In Rymer we find a proclamation respecting the precautionary measures taken by Richard—distrusting the peaceable recognition of his claims to the throne—at his coronation. Amongst other matters, it was commanded that no man, under pain of imprisonment, should take any lodging in the city or suburbs of London, except by appointment of the king's harbingers. Buck, who wrote a panegyrical account of Richard's reign, relates that four thousand gentlemen of the north came up to assist at his coronation. Hall and Grafton say there were five thousand, but speak opprobriously of them, "as evil apparelled

ever was seen in England; an infant sitting on his mother's lap, and before it could tell what English meant, to exercise the place of sovereign direction in open parliament."

and worse harnessed, which, when mustered, were the contempt of the beholders." Fabian, who lived at the time, has left this account of them: "Richard, not daring to trust the Londoners, for fear of the Queene's Blood, an other of which he had jealousie, sent for a strength of men from the North. The which came shortly to London, a little before his coronation, and mustered in the Morefeelds, well upon four thousand men in their best jacks, and rusty salletts, with a few in white harnesse, but not burnished, to the Sale, and shortly after his coronation were countermaunded home with sufficient rewardes for their travaille."

Bishop Burnet mentions that at the coronation of Edward VI., Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, left out the usual address to the people to ask them whether they chose Edward for their king.

An incident at this coronation is peculiar, as showing the solemn recognition of the young monarch as the head of the Reformed Church. There was no sermon, but Archbishop Cranmer delivered an address, perhaps, says Dean Stanley, the boldest and most pregnant utterance ever delivered in the abbey: "The promises your Highness hath made here, at your Coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, *are not to be taken in the Bishop of Rome's sense*, when you commit anything distasteful to that see, to hit your Majesty in the teeth, as Pope Paul the Third, late Bishop of Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, 'Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy Coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please? We, your Majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this promise reacheth not at your Highness's sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your Highness swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the Bishop of Rome, or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony. The Bishops of Canterbury, for the most part, have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them kings of this land; yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although the Bishops of Rome would encroach upon your

predecessors by their act and oil, that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their crowns at their pleasure. *But the wiser sort will look to their claws and clip them."*

In Strype's account of the coronation of QUEEN MARY in 1553, he describes the jewels worn on the royal head-dress, during the procession, as so numerous and ponderous, that her Majesty was fain to bear up her head with her hand, an omen, probably considered, of the cares and troubles which beset her reign. At the enthronization, as an evil augury for Protestantism, it was noticed that the queen avoided being crowned in the same chair as that once occupied by her deceased brother, but sat in one which had been blessed by the Pope, and sent to her for that purpose. (This chair is now said to be in the cathedral of Winchester.)

At the act of homage, which was performed by the prelates and nobles kissing the queen's left cheek, it was observed that "every one of them held both their hands together, in manner of lamenting."

The queen had been alarmed lest Henry IV.'s holy oil should have lost its efficacy through the interdict, and, accordingly, a fresh supply was sent through the imperial ambassador, blessed by the Bishop of Arras.

The coronation day of QUEEN ELIZABETH was fixed in deference to her astrologer, the famous charlatan, Dr. Dee, who pronounced it a day of "good luck." It was long observed as an anniversary at Westminster Abbey.*

* Henry IV. of France, contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, had a similar superstition with regard to lucky or sinister days. He put off the coronation of his queen as long as he could, owing to a prediction that he would not survive the event one day. Sully, the great statesman, was quite as credulous in this respect as his royal master. The coronation took place May 13, 1610, and on the next day Henry was pierced to the heart by the maniac regicide Ravailiac. A few nights before this fatal event, his queen dreamed that all the jewels in her crown were changed into pearls, and she was told that pearls were significant of tears.

At the coronation of Henry III., King of France, at Rheims, in 1575, when the crown was placed on his head, he exclaimed that it hurt him, and it looked as if it would fall from his head—"ce qui fut remarqué et interprété à mauvais présage." The same monarch, assassinated by Jacques Clement, in 1589, three days before that event had a dream, in which he saw all the royal ornaments of the coronation, the large and small crown, the sceptre, and the hand of justice, the gold spurs and sword, all covered with blood, and trodden under feet by monks and the

Some incidents are mentioned in connection with this coronation—that of the refusal of the bishops, excepting one, Oglethorpe, to assist at the ceremony. The coronation mass was celebrated, and the Abbot of Westminster took his part in the service for the last time. The queen observed to her maids after the unction, that the anointing oil was “grease, and smelt ill;” but, notwithstanding the efforts of the papists to draw evil omens of the queen’s reign, her coronation went off brilliantly, and she attained the height of royal popularity.

The coronation of JAMES I. was remarkable as being the *first* celebrated by the Anglican Reformed Church. When the king was seated on the “stone of Scone,” the first king of Great Britain, the Scots believed the ancient prediction to have been at last fulfilled. The queen, Anne, refused to take the sacrament, saying “she had changed her religion once before” for the Presbyterian forms of Scotland, and that was enough. The weather at the coronation was unusually stormy, and the plague raged so violently that the people were forbidden to go to Westminster, to see the shows and pageants.

Perhaps no coronation has occurred from which so many prognostics of evil were derived as that of CHARLES I., whose unfortunate career afforded ample opportunities for superstitious conclusions. Sir Simonds d’Ewes records in his autobiography that, in company with Sir Robert Cotton, he went on the day of the coronation to see the arrival of the royal barge in which the king proceeded to the palace. A landing-place had been prepared, the steps being covered with carpets, but the barge passed on unaccountably to the stairs belonging to the backyard of the palace, where the landing was dirty and inconvenient; the barge, dashing into the ground, stuck fast a little before it reached the causeway. “This was taken to be an evil and ominous presage.”

It is said that Sir Edward Zouch, when proclaiming the king at the “court-gate” at Theobald’s, instead of “indubitable,” said “*dubitable* heir to the throne.”

people. He was so terrified that he gave orders to the sacristan of St. Denis, where the regalia was kept, to look after it.

Among the numerous devices made for Mary, Queen of Scots, was one which prognosticated her misfortune. This was three crowns, two opposite, and one above in the sky; the motto “*aliamque moratur*” (And awaits another), implying that the Queen of France and Scotland awaited a crown celestial in the heavens.

The coronation ceremony had been deferred to the 2nd of February on account of the plague, and the procession from the Tower was omitted for the same reason. The king chose to be clothed in *white*, rather than purple, as his predecessors usually were, and this was regarded, when he was afterwards led out as a victim, as having drawn upon him the misfortunes, predicted in ancient days, for the "white" king.* When Laud presented the king to the

* In "A Prophecy of the White King and Dreadfull Dead-man explained," etc., by William Lilly, Student in Astrology (1644), we find, in relation to Charles I., "The occasion of the Prophets calling him *White King* was this, the Kings of *England* antiently did weare the day of their *Coronation purple clothes*, being colour onely fit for Kings, bothe Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and all their Ancestors did weare that colour the day of their *Coronation*, as any may perceive by the *Records* of the *Wardrobe*; contrary unto this custome, and led unto it by the indirect and fallall advise of *William Laud*, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, hee was perswaded to apparell himself the day of his *Coronation* in a *White Garment*; there were some dehorted him from wearing the white apparell, but hee obstinately refused their Counsell. *Canterbury* would have it as an apparell representing the King's innocency, or I know not what other superstitious devise of his. And of this there is no question to bee made, myselfe though not ocularly seeing him that day, yet have had it related verbally by above twenty whose eyes beheld it, one or two were workmen that carried his Majestie apparell that day, so that I challenge al the men upon earth living to deny his wearing *White* apparell that day of his *Coronation*," etc.

"It is a very old idea," remarks Jennings in his "*Rosicrucians*," "derived from the highest antiquity, that the colour 'white'—which, considered in the mystic and occult sense, is feminine in its origin—is fateful in its effects sometimes; and that as a particular instance of its unfortunate character, it is an unlucky colour for the royal throne of England—at all events, for the king or queen of England personally—singular as the notion would appear to be. We are not aware whether this unfortunate effect of the ominous colour *white* is supposed to extend to the nation generally. It is limited, we believe, to the prince or sovereign of England, and to his immediate belongings.

"The origin of the dangerous colour of *white* to England is unknown, but it is imagined to be at least as old as the time of Merlin. Thomas de Quincey, who takes notice of the prophecy of the '*White King*,' says of Charles the First that the foreboding of the misfortunes of this '*white King*' were supposed to have been fulfilled in his instance, because he was by accident clothed in white at his coronation; it being remembered afterwards that white was the ancient colour for a victim. This, in itself, was sufficiently formidable as an omen. De Quincey's particular expressions are, 'That when King Charles the First came to be crowned, it was found, that, by some oversight, all the store in London was insufficient to furnish the purple velvet necessary for the robes of the king, and for the furniture of the throne. It was too late to send to Genoa

people, he said in an audible voice, "My masters and friends, I am here come to present unto you your king, King Charles, to whom the crown of his ancestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineal right; and therefore I desire you, by your general acclamation, to testify your consent and willingness thereunto." Strange and unaccountable as it seems, not a voice nor a cheer answered; there was a death-like silence. At length the earl marshal told the spectators they should cry, "God save King Charles!" and they then did so.

An omen of the Civil Wars was deduced from an accident to the sceptre with the dove: "The left wing of the dove, the mark of the Confessor's halcyon days, was broken on the sceptre staff—by what casualty God Himself knows. The king sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the ring-stone should be set in again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. The king in some passion said, 'If you will not do it another shall.' Thereupon Mr. Acton returned, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set in; whereat his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof."

An unlucky text is numbered among the omens which coincided with the doom of the unhappy monarch. The preacher of the sermon was Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who chose for his subject, "I will give thee a crown of life." "This," says Echard, "was rather thought to put the new king in mind of his death than his duty in government, and

for a supply, and through this accidental deficiency it happened that the King was attired in *white* velvet at the solemnity of his coronation, and not in red or purple robes, as consisted with the proper usage.' . . . The consummation in the fatalities of the colour *white* to English royalty, seemed to be in the execution of King Charles the First, who was brought out to suffer before his own palace of 'Whitehall,' where, again, we find 'white' introduced in connection with royalty and tragical events."

Herbert, in his account of the funeral of Charles I. in Wood's "Athenæ," remarks, "It was observed that at such time as the King's body was brought out from St. George's Hall, the sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and the snow fell so fast, that by the time the corpse came to the west end of the royal chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of innocence), being thick covered over with snow. Thus went the *White King* to his grave."

At the trial of the Earl of Strafford, at which Charles was present, in Westminster Hall, Lilly, the astrologer, who was also there, saw the silver top fall from the king's staff.

to have been his funeral sermon when alive, as if he was to have none when he was buried." During the solemnity an earthquake was felt.

It is also said that the unction, in order that it might not be seen, was performed behind a traverse by Archbishop Abbot; "which I doubted hee should not," remarks Sir Simonds d'Ewes in a letter to Sir Martin Stuteville on the king's coronation, "by reason of suspicion of irregularitie upon the unfortunate killing of a man." The prelate had shot a gamekeeper by accident.

A charge of altering the coronation oath was afterwards one of the articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud, to which I have referred in the chapter on the "Coronation Oath."

The queen's absence at the ceremonial in the abbey, and refusal to be crowned, on account of her religious opinions, was also commented upon. Meade says, "She took a place at the palace-gate, where she might behold the procession going and returning, her ladies frisking and dancing in the room." The queen's absence from the coronation caused, likewise, the absence of the French ambassador, the Count de Blainville.

The king's coronation at Holyrood House, three days after his arrival in Scotland, was marked by evil prognostics. "Dr. Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin," says Row, "taught a sermon wherein he had some good exhortations to his Majesty, for the well of this kirk and kingdom, but uttered in so general and ambiguous a way, that they might have been applied divers ways." It was remarked that there was "ane four-nooked tafle [table], in manner of an altar, standing within the kirk, having standing thereupon two books, at least resembling clasped books, called 'blind books,' with two chandlers [candelabra], and two wax candles, whilk were unlight, and ane bason wherein there was nothing; at the back of this altar, (covered with tapestry,) there was ane rich tapestry, wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought; and as thir bishops who were in service passed by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee and beck, which, with their habit, was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of popery. The Archbishop of Glasgow, and remanent of the bishops there present, who was not in service, changed not their habit, but ware their black gowns, without rochets or white sleeves" (Spalding, tom. i. pp. 17, 18). "It was observed,"



King Charles I. From portrait by Vandyke.

says Mr. Laing (*"History of Scotland,"* tom. iii. p. 110), "at the coronation that Laud (who had accompanied King Charles to Scotland) displaced the Archbishop of Glasgow with the most indecent violence from the king's side, because that moderate prelate scrupled to officiate in the embroidered habits prescribed for his order."

"Could any one have foretold," remarks Robert Chambers (*"Annals of Scotland,"* vol. i. p. 67), "that in the course of a series of circumstances flowing from these matters of dress and ceremonial, the youthful king now present in such grandeur would perish on a scaffold?" *

Even the coronation of CHARLES II., the "merry" monarch, the successor of the "sad" king, was not without its evil prognostics. Pepys, giving an account in his *"Diary"* of what he saw on that occasion, remarks, "Strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair, till now that all is done, and the king gone out of the Hall, and then it fell a-raining, and thundering, and lightening, as I have not seen it to do for some years, which people did take great notice of."

Aubrey observes: "King Charles was crowned at the very conjunction of the sun and Mercury; Mercury being then in *corde solis*. As the king was at dinner at Westminster Hall, it thundered and lightened exceedingly. The cannons and the thunder played together." Baxter in his *"Life,"* makes mention of the storm on Charles II.'s coronation day, with reference to a potent of earlier date: "There was very terrible thunders when none expected it, which made me remember his father's coronation, on which, being a boy at school, and having leave to play for the solemnity; an earthquake about two o'clock in the afternoon, did affright the boys and all the neighbourhood. I intend no commentary on them, but only to relate the matter of fact."

The coronation of Charles II. was marked also by an

* On the king's return to Edinburgh from Perth, he crossed the Frith of Forth in fair weather; nevertheless a boat perished in his sight containing thirty-five of his domestics, all of whom, excepting two, were drowned. "His Majesty's silver plate and household stuff," says Spalding, "perished with the rest; a pitiful sight, no doubt, to the king and the hail beholders . . . betokening great troubles to fall betwixt the king and his subjects, as after does appear."

"I was told at Dunfermline," says Dr. Whittaker, "that when Charles 1st was in his cradle there, an Image (by which was meant an Angel) descended from Heaven, and covered him with a bloody mantle."

unseemly quarrel between the royal footmen and the barons of the Cinque Ports for the possession of the canopy which was borne by the latter over the king's head. The altercation attracted his Majesty's notice, and one of the equerries was despatched, by his command, for the footmen to be imprisoned and dismissed from his service.

There were also quarrels as to precedence; the Earls of Northumberland and Ossory had words as to the right of carrying the insignia, as they sat at table in the hall.

Dr. Hickes, in a letter to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, dated January 23, 17¹⁰/₁₁, and preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, mentions the omens that happened at the coronation of James II., "which I saw, viz. the tottering of the crown upon his head; the broken canopy over it; and the rent flag hanging upon the white Tower when I came home from the coronation. It was torn by the wind at the same time the signal was given to the Tower that he was crowned. I put no great stress upon these omens, but I cannot despise them; most of them, I believe, come by chance, *but some from superior intellectual agents, especially those which regard the fate of kings and nations.*"

Aubrey, also, in his "Remaines of Gentilisme," notices the tearing of the canopy at King James's coronation* in returning from the abbey; adding, "'Twas of cloth of gold (and my strength could not, I am confident, have rent it), and it was not a windy day."

It was, curiously enough, Henry Sidney, brother of the great patriot Algernon Sidney, who prevented the tottering crown of King James from falling, saying as he did so, "This is not the first time, your Majesty, that my family have supported the crown!"—an irony the more trenchant, inasmuch as he was at that very time engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Orange for the purpose of undermining the throne of his unsuspecting sovereign. "It is well known," observes Miss Strickland, "that this trifling incident, which a little foresight on the part of King James might have prevented, was regarded by the super-

* Of this unfortunate monarch, his brother, Charles, is said to have spoken prophetically to Sir Richard Balstrode: "I am weary of travelling, I am resolved to go abroad no more; but when I am dead and gone, I know not what my brother will do: I am much afraid when he comes to the throne he will be *obliged* to travel again" ("Supplement to Seward's Anecdotes").

stition of many present, as an evil omen. Few are aware that the circumstance was noted with dismay by the anxious queen of James, who was, of course, the most deeply interested person there. She mentioned it herself, many years after the Revolution, in these words:—"There was a presage that struck us, and every one who observed it: they could not make the crown keep firm on the king's head; it appeared always on the point of falling, and it required some care to hold it steady."*

Echard, in his "History of England," notices that on the day of the coronation the royal arms, beautifully stained in glass, fell, without any ascertainable cause, from the windows of one of the principal London churches.

Other circumstances in connection with the coronation of James II. were considered ominous. "James," observes Macaulay, "had ordered Sancroft to abridge the ritual. The reason publicly assigned was that the day was too short for all that was to be done. But whoever examines the changes that were made will see that the real object was to remove some things highly offensive to the religious feelings of a zealous Roman Catholic. The Communion Service was not read. The ceremony of presenting the sovereign with a richly bound copy of the English Bible, and exhorting him to prize, above all earthly treasures, a volume which he had been taught to regard as adulterated with false doctrine, was omitted. What remained, however, after all this curtailment, might well have raised scruples in the mind of a man who sincerely believed the Church of England to be a heretical society, within the pale of which salvation was not to be found. The king made no oblation on the altar. He appeared to join in the petitions of the Litany which was chaunted by the bishops. He received from those false prophets the unction typical of a divine influence, and knelt with the semblance of devotion while they called down upon him that Holy Spirit of which they were, in his estimation, the malignant and obdurate foes. Such are the inconsistencies of human nature that this man, who, from a fanatical zeal for his religion, threw away three kingdoms, yet chose to commit what was little short of an act of apostacy, rather than forego the childish pleasure of being invested with the gew-gaws symbolical of kingly power."*

* Pryme, in his "Ephemeris Vitæ," mentions the following anecdote:—"When Champion Dimock let of his horse to kiss K[ing]

The procession at the coronation of WILLIAM AND MARY from Whitehall (1689) was delayed more than two hours, in consequence of the intelligence received that very morning of the landing of James II. in Ireland.* There were many peculiarities, remarks Dean Stanley, in the spectacle. The short king and tall queen walked side by side, not as king and consort, but as joint sovereigns, with the sword between them. For the first time a second chair of state was provided, which has since been habitually used by the queens-consort. Into this chair Mary was lifted, and, like her husband, girt with the sword and invested with the symbols of authority. The Princess Anne, who stood near, said, "Madam, I pity your fatigue." The queen turned sharply with the words, "A crown, sister, is not so heavy as it seems."

James II.'s hand, after that he had challenged any one that durst question the King's rights to the crown, as the custome is, the Champion in moving towards the King, fell down all his length in the hall, when as there was nothing in his way that could visibly cause the same; whereupon the Queen sayde, 'See you, love, what a weak champion you have.' To which the K[ing] sayd nothing, but laught, and the Champion excused himself, pretending his armour was heavy, and that he himself was weak with sickness, which was false, for he was very well, and had had none."

In Menin's brief notice of the anointing and coronation of the kings of England (inserted in his "Description of the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of France," he remarks that "if (at the coronation ceremonial) the king's champion, after making several rounds and flourishes with his horse, does so without falling, the English take it for a very good omen, for if the champion be dismounted, or the horse makes a trip, they reckon it an ill presage to that reign."

* At the same moment Lord Nottingham delivered to Queen Mary the first letter her father had written to her since her accession. It was an awful one, and the time of its reception was awful. King James wrote to his daughter, "that hitherto, he had made all fatherly excuses for what had been done, and had wholly attributed her part in the revolution to obedience to her husband; but the act of being crowned was in her own power, and if she were crowned while he and the Prince of Wales were living, the curse of an outraged father would light upon her, as well as of that God who has commanded duty to parents." Lord Nottingham declares that King William forthwith thought fit to enter into a vindication of himself from having, by harsh authority, enforced the course of conduct, which had brought on his wife her father's malediction, and he took the opportunity of declaring "that he had done nothing but by her advice and with her approbation." It was on this memorable occasion that the queen exclaimed, "that if her father regained his authority, her husband might thank himself for letting him go as he did."

Bad omens were remarked by the Jacobites. The day was neither a Sunday nor a holiday. The king had no money for the offertory (his purse having been stolen from his side), and Lord Danby had to produce twenty guineas for the purpose. The champion's glove was reported to have been carried off by an old woman on crutches. Among other incidents,* the Commons were excluded at the banquet from any specific seats, which gave great offence.

Amongst the gifts was the presentation of the Bible, revived from the coronation of Edward VI. and the installation of Cromwell, and continued from that time.

At the coronation of QUEEN ANNE, she required the actual aid of sustaining hands to support her person in a standing position. Singularly, she was the only infirm person ever crowned monarch of England, either before or since, and yet she had only completed her thirty-seventh year. She had again lost the use of her feet from gout and corpulency.

The queen fixed the day for the ceremonial on St. George's Day, the anniversary of that of her unfortunate father, declaring, at the same time, that the very deep mourning was to cease after the coronation. Contrary to every precedent in British history, Prince George of Denmark, the consort of the queen, was excluded from all participation in her dignities. It is said that the "kiss of peace" was only given to the archbishops and the other prelates.

The whole of the plate used at the coronation banquet in Westminster Hall, together with a vast quantity of pewter and valuable table linen, were carried off by thieves, a "licence" unsanctioned by royalty.

In the final prayers at the coronation a blessing was invoked for the queen, Catharine the queen dowager, and the whole royal family. Catharine of Braganza was then reigning as queen-regent in her native country. It seems singular that she should be remembered in the prayers at the coronation, and that Queen Anne's Protestant consort should

* "The most dismal weather in winter and summer," says Miss Strickland, "had plagued the British empire, since the accession of William the Third, and greatly added to his unpopularity with 'the honest, peaceable and obedient commonalty,' who laid the whole blame upon his Majesty; insomuch, it is traditionary in the Highlands, 'that on the 8th of March, a cottager going out to trench his kail-yard, and seeing the first fine day he had beheld for twelve or fourteen years, threw down his spade, gave a Highland fling in the air, and an exclamation in Gaelic, 'The wicked king is dead to a certainty.'""

not be named in the first Protestant coronation that had occurred in this country of a queen acknowledged as entirely sovereign-regnant, which her sister and predecessor could scarcely be considered, unless at times when she was formally invested with the regency.

Lady Cowper, in her "Diary," gives an amusing account of the feelings and deportment of the different parties at the coronation of GEORGE I.: "One may easily conclude that this was not a day of realizing to the Jacobites; however, they were all looking as well as they could, but very peevish with everybody that spoke to them. My Lady Dorchester stood underneath me, and when the Archbishop went round the throne demanding the consent of the people, she turned about to me and said: 'Does the old fool think that anybody here will say *No* to his question, when there are so many drawn swords?' There was no remedy but patience, so everybody was pleased, or pretended to be so."

The coronation day was celebrated at Oxford by Jacobite degrees, and at Bristol by Jacobite riots.

George I. was not acquainted with the English language, and very few of those near him knew anything of German; the ceremonies attending his coronation had, therefore, to be explained to him through the medium of such Latin as those around him could muster. This circumstance gave rise to a jest, which was very popular for some time afterwards, to the effect that much *bad language* had passed between the king and his ministers on the day of the coronation. It is said that the king at his coronation rudely repulsed Dean Atterbury's ceremonious offer of the canopy.

At the coronation of GEORGE II. and Queen Caroline, the dean and prebendaries of Westminster brought the Bible and the regalia, but forgot the chalice and paten.

Ominous signs, not unmingled, however, with favourable prescients, were not wanting at the coronation of even the "good" King GEORGE III. The ceremonial had wellnigh been delayed by the sudden and unexpected strike of the workmen at Westminster Hall. It seems that these worthies had been accustomed to receive gratuities from visitors, and, no doubt, made a good harvest of their predatory custom. A compromise was effected in the shape of an increase of wages, so this difficulty was overcome. Other matters impeded the procession. The earl-marshal forgot some very indispensable items; among others, the sword of state, the state

banquet chairs for the king and queen, and the canopy. They were obliged to borrow the ceremonial sword of the Lord Mayor, and a hasty canopy was raised; thus the procession was delayed until noon. When the king complained of these omissions to the deputy earl-marshal, the Earl of Effingham, "It is true, sir," was his lordship's blundering reply, "that there has been some neglect, but I have taken care that the *next coronation* shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible." Instead of being offended at this remark, the king insisted upon his repeating it several times for his amusement.*

As the king was moving with the crown on his head, the great diamond in the upper portion of it fell to the ground, and was not found again without some trouble. This awakened some alarm in the superstitious:

"When first, portentous, it was known
Great George had jostled from his crown
The brightest diamond there,
The omen-mongers, one and all,
Foretold some mischief must befall,
Some loss beyond compare."

And—

"When Pitt reign'd, a nation's tears will own,
Then fell the brightest jewel of the crown."

This incident was, observes Banks, as if it were a presage, or figurative foreboding, of that loss which subsequently took place in the separation of the American colonies from the mother country.

Gray, in his letter to Mason, writes: "I must tell you that the Barons of the Cinque Ports, who, by ancient right, should dine at a table on the *haut-pas* at the right hand of the sovereign, found that no provision at all had been made for them, and representing their case to Lord Talbot (Lord Steward of the Household), he said to them, 'Gentlemen, if you speak to me as High Steward, I must tell you that there was no room for you, but if as Lord Talbot, I am ready to give you satisfaction in any way you think fit.' They are,

* "A similar awkward observation had," says Mr. Jesse in his "Memoirs of George the Third," "been formerly made by the beautiful Lady Coventry to George the Second: 'The only sight,' she said, 'which she was eager to see was a coronation.' The king laughed heartily, and at supper, repeated the story in good humour to the royal family."

several of them, gentlemen of the best families, so this has bred ill-blood. In the next place, the city of London found they had no table neither, but Beckford bullied my Lord High Steward till he was forced to give them that intended for the knights of the Bath, and instead of it, they dined at the entertainment prepared for the great officers."

Lord Talbot, so conspicuous on this august occasion, was the hero of a scene which excited the amusement of the bystanders, at the coronation banquet. It was part of his office to ride on horseback up to the daïs, and having made his obeisance to the sovereign, to back his horse, in the manner of the champion, out of the hall. The animal persisted in entering backwards, nor was it without much difficulty it was prevented advancing with its hind quarters turned towards their Majesties. This incident afterwards led to a duel with the famous John Wilkes, who had made some unpalatable jokes on the subject; but, fortunately, the event did not turn out serious to either party.

The most pleasing incident of the coronation, and which shows George III. to have been actuated by sincere religious feelings, was the fact of the king taking off his crown previous to the celebration of the Holy Sacrament. The king inquired of the Archbishop of Canterbury whether he should not lay aside his crown, before receiving the Communion. The archbishop asked the Dean of Westminster, but neither knew nor could say what was the usual form. The king took off the crown, saying, "There ought to be one." A similar wish was expressed by Queen Charlotte, but it was found that the little crown fastened on her head was so secured, to keep it from falling off, that this very appropriate wish could not be accomplished, and it was dispensed with. The king quieted his scruples by observing that it might be considered simply as a part of her dress, not as indicating any power or greatness residing in a person humbly kneeling in the presence of God.

Among other "good" omens that attended this coronation was the remembrance of the circumstance that the king's accession to the throne had taken place on the anniversary of the glorious battle of Agincourt.

The concluding part of the coronation sermon (by the Bishop of Salisbury) time has since shown to have been almost a prophecy, alluding, as it did, to the length of years that the king wore the crown.

The coronation of GEORGE IV., sumptuous as it was, as far as externals were concerned,* was marked by a singularly inauspicious event—the unsuccessful attempts of his repudiated consort to joint coronation with her royal husband. In the *Courier* newspaper of the day, there is an account of her Majesty's reception on the day of the coronation at the door of Westminster Abbey:—

"Lord Hood (by whom the Queen was attended) having desired admission for her Majesty, the door-keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets.

"*Lord Hood*. I present you your Queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket.

"*Door-keeper*. Our orders are to admit no person without a peer's ticket.

"*Lord Hood*. This is your Queen; she is entitled to admission without such a form.

"*The Queen*, smiling, but still in some agitation. Yes, I am your Queen, will you admit me?

"*Door-keeper*. My orders are specific, and I feel myself bound to obey them.

"The Queen laughed.

"*Lord Hood*. I have a ticket.

"*Door-keeper*. Then, my Lord, we will let you pass upon producing it.

"Lord Hood now drew from his pocket a peer's ticket for one person; the name in whose favour it was drawn, was erased, and the name of 'Wellington' substituted.

"*Door-keeper*. This will let one person pass, but no more.

"*Lord Hood* (addressing the Queen). Will your Majesty go in alone?

"Her Majesty at first assented, but did not persevere.

"*Lord Hood*. Am I to understand that you refuse her Majesty's admission?

"*Door-keeper*. We only act in conformity with our orders.

"Her Majesty again laughed.

"*Lord Hood*. Then you refuse the Queen admission?

"A door-keeper of the superior order then came forward, and was asked by Lord Hood whether any preparations had been made for her Majesty. He was answered respectfully in the negative.

"*Lord Hood*, to the Queen. Will your Majesty enter the Abbey with-

* "Never," says Dr. Doran, "did sovereign labour as George the Fourth to give *éclat* to the whole ceremony. He passed days and nights with his familiar friends, discussing questions of dress, colours, fashions, and effects. His own costume was to him a subject of intense anxiety, and when his costly habits were completed, so desirous was he to witness their effects, that according to the gossip of the day, his Majesty had one of his own servants attired in the royal garments, and the king contemplated with considerable satisfaction the sight of a menial pacing up and down the room in the monarch's garb."

out your ladies? this the Queen declined. Lord Hood then said that it was clear no provision had been made for the accommodation of her Majesty, and she had better retire to her carriage.

"Some persons within the porch of the Abbey laughed, and uttered some exclamations of disrespect.

"*Lord Hood.* We expected, at least, to have met with the conduct of gentlemen. Such conduct is neither manly or mannerly.

"Her Majesty then retired, leaning on Lord Hood's arm, and followed by Lady Hood and Lady Hamilton. She was preceded by constables back to the platform, over which she returned, entered her carriage, and was driven off amidst reiterated shouts of mingled applause and disapprobation."

Among other incidents at the coronation, which would have been considered ominous in former times, was one relating to the crown itself. The late Marquis of Anglesea was lord high steward on this occasion, and it was part of his office to carry the crown to the altar, before the Archbishop of Canterbury placed it on the king's head. It was heavier than he reckoned upon, and the glittering "bauble," ponderous with gold and precious stones, slipped from his hands. He dexterously recovered it, however, before it reached the ground.

Some immaterial incidents are mentioned in connection with the coronation of QUEEN VICTORIA, but none that might be considered of ill portent. The coronation service was abridged; the day was changed from June 26 to June 28, to avoid the anniversary of George IV.'s death. A story, scarcely worth notice, is told that a large bird had been seen for some time flying backwards and forwards in St. James's Park, and then hovered over the palace so frequently as to excite the attention of some credulous spectators, among whom was an old lady who declared it to be a *goose*. To describe the instant expression of horror that possessed her hearers is impossible; sighs of commiseration for the young queen at this portentous omen escaped from many: "Poor, dear soul! Well, there's no saying anything for a certainty beforehand. Who would have thought it, that a nasty, ugly, long-necked goose should have been fated to mar the happy events of this day? There will surely be some accident, or the poor dear soul—God bless her!—will not long survive the ceremony." To this prediction many assented, one of the spectators adding, however, that probably so lamentable a result might be averted if any one would only *shoot the wretch*.

On the coronation day the weather became the subject of many portents, both for evil and good :—

“The dawn was overcast, the morning lour’d,
And heavily in clouds brought on the day.”

Fortunately all forebodings vanished, when, just as the royal procession was passing through St. James’s Street, the sun shed its genial ray, and lent additional splendour to the gorgeous spectacle. *Queen’s weather* has become a popular saying, and if not always to be depended upon, yet, as Shakspeare has it—

“It never yet did hurt, to lay down likelihoods, and forms of hope.”

The newspapers of the day, in alluding to this circumstance, did not follow the profane hyperbole of the French press at a similar occurrence, when Napoleon was married to Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, in 1810. “The star of the Emperor,” says one paper, “once more prevailed over the equinoctial gales, and at the moment that the cannon announced the departure of his Majesty for Paris, the sun dispersed the clouds !”

CHAPTER XI.

CROWNS AND CORONATIONS IN VARIOUS AGES AND COUNTRIES.

“Who, among millions, would not be the mightiest
 To sit in god-like state ; to have all eyes
 Dazzled with admiration, and all tongues
 Shouting loud prayers ; to rob every heart
 Of love ; to have the strength of every arm.
 A sovereign’s name ! Why, ’tis a sovereign’s charm !”
 MARLOWE’S *Lust’s Dominion*.



SCRIPTURE history affords the earliest information on the CORONATION OF SOVEREIGNS. In the chapter on “Anointing” I have briefly alluded to that special rite of the ancient consecration service. I may mention, however, that we do not find in the Bible any statement of anointing the kings of Israel, when that kingdom was separated from the kingdom of Judah, which arose from the rulers

of the former not having any of the sacred oil in their possession.

Whether the king was girded with a *sword* at the time of his accession to the throne, is not certain ; although by some it is supposed that such a custom is alluded to in the forty-fifth Psalm.

It appears that a *sceptre* was presented to the monarch on his inauguration, and that a *diadem* was placed on his head.

The *covenant* which defined and fixed the principles on which the government was to be conducted, and likewise the

laws of Moses, were presented to him; and he took an *oath* that he would rule in accordance with the covenant and the Mosaic law. The principal men of the kingdom, the princes, elders, etc., promised obedience on their part; and as a pledge of their determination to perform what they had promised, they *kissed*, it appears, either the feet or the knees of the person inaugurated.

After the ceremonies were completed, the new monarch was conducted into the city with great pomp, amidst the acclamations and the applause of the people, and the cries of "Long live the king!" accompanied with music and songs of joy. Sacrifices were offered up, and were intended probably as a confirmation of the oath which had been taken. In the later ages these sacrifices were converted into feasts.

There are allusions in many passages of Scripture to the public entrance into cities, which took place at the time of the coronation, and to the rejoicings and acclamations on that occasion.

Finally, the king took his seat on the *throne*, and received the congratulations of the assembled people. At the accession of Saul to the monarchy, when there was neither diadem, throne, nor sceptre, many of these ceremonies were necessarily omitted. Most of them were also omitted in the case of conquests, when the conqueror himself, without consulting the people or the principal men, designated the king for the nation which he had subdued; merely gave him another name, in token of his new dignity, exacted the oath of fidelity, and signalized the event by a *feast*.

It was a perpetual custom of the ancient Egyptians that, after the old traditional manner, every king on the day of his solemn coronation—which was distinct from the day of his receiving the kingdom in his father's lifetime, or on the death of his predecessor—received as his insignia two crowns, of which the upper one symbolized his sovereignty over the south (specially committed to the god Set), the red lower one, on the contrary, his dominion over the north (committed to the god Hor, the son of Osiris), of the Egyptian kingdom.

In the "Great Harris Papyrus," a translation of which is given in the "Records of the Past" (vols. vi. and viii.), King Rameses III. (twentieth dynasty of Thebes, B.C. 1200), in a summary of events immediately before his accession to the throne, relates: "My father Amon, the lord of the gods, and

Ra, and Ptah with the beautiful face, caused me to be crowned as lord of the land on the throne of my parent. I received the dignities of my father amidst shouts of joy. The people were content and delighted because of the peace. They rejoiced in my countenance as king of the land, for I was like Horus, who was king over the land on the throne of Osiris. Thus was I crowned with the Atef-crown, together with the Uræus-serpents; I put on the ornament of the double plumes, like the god Tatanen; thus I reposed myself on the throne-seat of Hormakhu; thus was I clothed with the robes of state, like Tum."*

* By the kindness of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, the eminent Egyptologist, I am able to give the translations of four Assyrian inscriptions relating to the kings of Assyria and their coronations. That marked A contains several beautiful similes, such as in line 5, "Honey and milk may they flow," and in line 9. The text also points to patriarchal times, when the king (as in the case of Saul) had absolute control over the revenues of the people. In the second hymn, B, reference is made to the warrior king and his protection. Hymn C is in honour of Esarhaddon, on his accession, which was chanted by one of the priestesses of Istar Astarte of Arbela, and contains many fine expressions (lines 4, 5, 11, 17). Hymn D is a list of royal titles of very ancient date. Hymn E contains an account of the coronation ceremony of Assarbanipal or Sardanapalus.

A. 1. "The crown." 2. "Of the principedom of mankind." 3. "On the holy throne." 4. "Of the principedom of mankind." 5. "Honey and milk may they flow." 6. "The mountains bring tribute (to thee)." 7. "The desert the field bear tribute (to thee)." 8. "The plantations of grapes (vineyards) bear tribute (to thee)." 9. "The noble overshadowing power of the Moon God (protect thee)." 10. "Of the King the extent of his land on his right hand." 11. "The Sun God." 12. "On his left hand the Moon God. The Holy Spirit. The Holy Giant, for lordship and sovereignty." 13. "In the land. In his body may be established." 14. "So be it of the crown."

B. (A second hymn on the same tablet.) 1. "The weapon which is the brightness of the firmament The restorer of his royalty he points." 2. "A weapon of defence he raises which the defence of his royalty he takes." 3. "His powerful protection he establishes to his power None dare face." 4. "To hostile land sweeping the foes Those are drawn away."

C. (Extracts from a coronation hymn of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria.) 1. "Do not thou fear oh Esarhaddon." 2. "I Am Bed thy support." 3. "The strength of thy heart." 4. "I was zealous for thee as thy mother." 5. "Thou wast brought forth by me." 6. "Sixty great Gods were my keepers." 7. "With ——— they protect thee." 8. "The Moon on thy right hand the Sun on thy left." 9. "Sixty great gods the organs of thy body." 10. "Placed in the interior they fixed." 11. "Upon mankind do not thou trust." 12. "Rest thy eyes." 13. "On me trust thou me." 14. "I am Istar of Arbela." 15. "Thy strength

Very scanty are the materials afforded us of the rites and ceremonies attending the coronation of the ancient monarchs ; that they were minute and characteristic, we cannot doubt. The paintings of the Thebaid prove that wheat and barley were grown extensively in Lower Egypt long before the time of Herodotus. The king at his coronation, cutting some ears of wheat, afterwards offered them to the gods, which shews the value set on them. The custom of a king, at his coronation, partaking of a cake of figs, some of the fruit of the terebinth tree, and a cup of acidulated milk, was probably a memorial of the time when these things formed the food of the nation."

The kings of ancient Egypt had a troublous life. Strabo tells us that the influence of the priests at Merœ, through the belief that they spoke the commands of the deity, was such, that it was their custom to send to the king, when it pleased them, an order that he should put an end to himself, in obedience to the will of the oracle imparted to them ; and to such a degree had they contrived to enslave the understanding of those princes by superstitious fears, that they were obeyed without opposition. At length a king called Ergamenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, dared to disobey their orders, and having entered the "golden chapel" with his soldiers, caused the priest to be put to death in his stead, and abolished the custom. Ergamenes had studied the philosophy of Greece, and had the sense to distinguish between priestly rule and religion, knowing that blind obedience to the priests did not signify obedience to the Divine Will. But these vested rights on man's credulity

I make perfect." 16. "Thy beauty Thou art purified." 17. "Do not thou fear Glorify thou me."

D. As in Chinese, the king had numerous official epithets : "The man on thy right hand," *i.e.* the fortunate one ; "Great Man," "Lord of Destiny," "Heart ruler," "Law maker," "Wise one," "the Renowned" or hero.

E. (Coronation of Sardanapalus.) "In the month Iyar, the month of Hea, the Lord of Mankind, the twelfth day, the holy feast day of Gula. In performance of the expressed commands Istar Bel Nebo and Istar of Nineveh, the Queen of Love, Istar of Arbela. He gathered the men of Assyria, small and great, from the Upper sea to the Lower. For the substantiation of my royalty the sovereignty of Assyria made. The gods I offered them. I confirmed the decrees. With joy in the commencement, I entered on to Bit Reduti. Of Nadurab the father of my father, my begotten of the royal race, and sovereignty he had made within it."

seem, afterwards, to have been revived among the Ethiopians, and the expedition sent by Mohammed Ali up the White Nile learnt that the same custom of ordering the king to die still existed among some of their barbarous descendants.

In ancient Egypt no woman, except the queen, attended in the grand procession of a king's coronation.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, after his father Ptolemy Soter, King of Egypt (283 B.C.), had abdicated the crown in his favour, ascended the throne, and celebrated his accession by a magnificent coronation procession. Athenæus has left a long description of this pageant, transcribed from Callixenes, the Rhodian.

This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the extent of the city of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Besides those of the king's father and mother, the gods had each of them a distinct cavalcade, the decorations of which were descriptive of their history. Athenæus has related only the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which an idea may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

Three thousand two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession, together with a consecrated crown of a hundred and twenty feet, most probably, in circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. There was another golden ægis. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, and twenty-four in circumference. In this procession were also carried a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height, and another, of silver, twenty-seven feet high, on which latter was the representation of two thunderbolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; sixty-four complete suits of golden armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve golden basins; a great number of flagons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve ewers, fifty dishes, and a large number of tables. All these were of gold. There were likewise five tables, covered with golden goblets, and a horn of solid gold, forty-five feet in length. All these gold vessels and other ornaments were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus. There were likewise four hundred

chariots laden with vessels and other works of silver, twenty others filled with gold vessels, and eight hundred appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of 67,500 foot and 23,200 horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner. During the games and public combats, which continued for some days after this pompous ceremony, the victors were presented with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from Queen Berenice. It appeared by the registers of the palace that these last crowns were valued at 2230 talents and 50 minæ—about £334,400. From this some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

The inauguration of a monarch by the ancient PERSIANS took place at Persepolis, in the temple of Pallas, erected by Cyrus (died 529 B.C.), and called Pasigardis. The splendour of the ceremony was great. The high priest, or pontiff, clothed in magnificent vestments, received the newly elected monarch at the door of the temple. He presented to him cakes and a mixture of milk and vinegar, signifying that the kingly office was sweet, but sorrow and bitterness would mingle with its pleasures. The priest placed his hand on the head of the king, invoking the protection of Mithra. He was then crowned with the diadem, and amidst the most sumptuous state was conducted to the throne of Cyrus,* which was surmounted by a canopy of azure, on which were represented the starry host, supported by golden columns garnished with precious gems. The high priest and the princes prostrated themselves, and paid the monarch divine honours, while he

* "From Galicia it is reported" (*Times*, September 13, 1879) "that, about three weeks ago, a peasant woman, while working in the fields in the neighbourhood of Michalkov, on the Dneister, dug up several golden objects, including goblets, a staff, brooches with dragons' heads, and a crown. The well-known historical investigator, Dr. Praglovski, and other archaeologists of Lemberg have come to the conclusion that these ornaments belong to the regalia of the elder Cyrus, who fell in a campaign against the Massagetæ, about 529 years B.C. In his report on these objects Dr. Praglovski declares that any one who examines the details and style of the ornaments, and then compares the place where they were found with the reports in Greek historians concerning Cyrus's expeditions against the Scythians, will at once agree with his conclusion. The intrinsic value of the objects is set down at 100,000 florins at least, or about £10,000."

was proclaimed "king of kings and brother of the sun and moon."

It was in the year 33 B.C. that MARK ANTONY, after the conquest of Armenia, returned to Alexandria, and, to give a new proof of his devotion to Cleopatra, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and with diamond buttons. At his side he wore a scymetar after the Persian fashion, the hilt and scabbard of which were loaded with precious stones. He had a diadem on his brow and a sceptre of gold in his hand, in order, as he said, that, thus equipped, he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a brilliant robe made of the precious linen which was appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned him, the heralds, by the command of Antony and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele-Syria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared that, until they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it, and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. These two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne and, putting one knee to the ground kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra.

Antony led forth Alexander dressed in a Median vest, with a tiara and citharis upright, and Ptolemy in boots and a chlamys and a causia with a diadem attached to it. The citharis seems to be the higher part of the tiara. The causia was a Macedonian hat with a broad brim.

Titus Livius informs us how Numa Pompilius was created King of Rome (B.C. 714). After some brief particulars of the ceremony he adds, "The augur predicted the future greatness of the Romans; * then, taking his wand in the left hand, he placed his right on the head of Numa, invoking the protection of Jupiter on Rome and the king."

Under the imperial domination the inauguration of a new sovereign varied according to circumstances. If he was elected by the senate, he received investiture at their hands. When the emperor designated his successor, the act was sufficient to confer the dignity. Thus Tiberius chose Caligula, to whom he sent his ring, after having left him the empire by will.

Taking the purple was the mark of empire until Aurelian, and when, afterwards, the diadem or fillet came to be so, both were assumed at the commencement of a reign, and consequently did not admit of that ceremony which after times introduced, where a distinction was made between being possessed of a throne and inaugurated into it.

Among the Romans the wife of the emperor had the title of *Augusta*, which was always conferred with some ceremonies, and latterly by that of coronation.

The title of emperor, however, originally designated the commander of an army, and was regarded as inferior to that of king. Thus Mark Antony, in his oration over Cæsar's body, says—

"You all did see that on the Luperal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse."

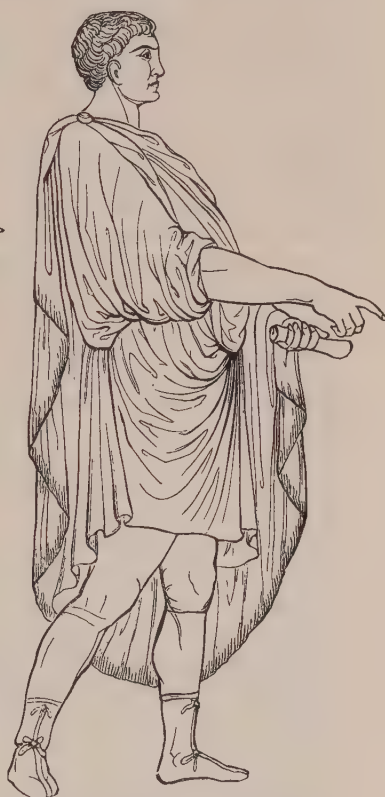
The Emperor Julian, the Apostate, elected to that dignity

* In the chapter on "Omens and Incidents in connection with Crowns and Coronations" I have alluded to the superstitious fancies engendered by peculiar circumstances that occurred in our own country. Diodorus relates the effect produced upon Alexander the Great by various events that happened before his death, and which probably may have hastened it. During his visit to the great lake of Babylon, the boats that carried his friends having separated, his own was left unaided for three days, and in some peril. Arriving in a narrow passage, his diadem was caught by the branch of a tree, and fell into the water. One of the rowers dived immediately after it, and getting the crown, placed it on his own head, so as to have more freedom in swimming. At this act Alexander was troubled, and consulted the augurs, who advised him to propitiate the gods by pompous sacrifices, and to put to death the finder of the diadem for his involuntary impiety!

in Paris by a tumultuous assemblage of his troops (A.D. 361), was raised on a buckler, and crowned with the military collar of a pikeman; for he refused to make use for this purpose of a woman's collar or a portion of horse-trappings which were brought to him by some soldiers, considering them unlucky.



Roman emperor, armed.



Roman emperor, in a military tunic, unarmed.

On a coin of the Emperor Maxentius he is represented in a triumphant chariot, drawn by four elephants, with the legend, "Felix processus consularis Augusti nostri."

When the immense extent of the Roman dominions became divided into east and west, the inauguration of the respective

emperors took place in the capitals of each empire. The SOVEREIGNS OF THE EAST received investiture at Constantinople, on their accession to the throne, with more formalities than had been hitherto observed. It has been erroneously asserted that Theodosius II. (A.D. 439) is the first whom we know to have been crowned by a bishop. Leo I. (A.D. 457) received the patriarchal benediction of Anatolius, who was permitted to express by this ceremony the suffrage of the Deity. "This," observes Gibbon, "appears to be the first origin of a ceremony, which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted, and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences." The assertion, however, is by no means proved, as there are allusions to previous sacerdotal services at coronations, although it is uncertain when the custom of episcopal consecration originated. The first hint of such a practice that we meet with is in the dream of Theodosius I., before his admission to a share of the imperial dignity (about 379), in which he saw Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, putting on him a crown and royal robe. The next recorded instance of episcopal coronation is that of Justin I. This emperor was crowned twice—first by John II., Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 518), and secondly by Pope John II., on his visit to Constantinople (A.D. 525).

Episcopal consecration became the custom at the coronation of the successors to the throne until the epoch when the Ottoman princes assumed the sovereign power.* In the time

* About two centuries ago lived and died in an obscure part of the kingdom Theodore Paleologus, the immediate descendant of the Constantine family, and in all probability the lineal heir to the empire of Greece. In the parish church of Landulph, in the eastern extremity of Cornwall, is a small brass tablet fixed against the wall, with the following inscription:—"Here lyeth the body of Theodore Paleologus, of Pesaro, in Italye, descended from the Imperial lyne of the last Christian Emperors of Greece, being the sonne of Camilio, the sonne of Prosper, the sonne of Theodoro, the sonne of John, the sonne of Thomas, second brother of Constantine Paleologus, the 8th of the name, and last of that lyne that rayned in Constantinople until subdued by the Turks; who married with Mary, the daughter of William Balls, of Hadlye, in Souf-folke, gent. and had issue 5 children, Theodoro, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy; and departed this life at Clyfton, the 21st of Jan^y. 1636."

Above the inscription are the imperial arms proper of the empire of Greece—an eagle displayed with two heads, the two legs resting upon two gates; the imperial crown over the whole, and between the gates a crescent for difference as second son.

Clyfton was an ancient mansion of the Arundel family, in the parish of Landulph.

of the Emperor Justin II. (A.D. 565) the ceremonial of consecration seems to have received the form and religious sanction it maintained to the end. The ritual is elaborately described by Corippus. The ceremony took place at break of day. After the emperor's elevation on a shield he was carried into St. Sophia's, where he received the patriarch's benediction, and the imperial diadem was imposed by his hands. He was then recognized as emperor by acclamation, first of the "patres," and then of the "clientes." Wearing his diadem, he took his seat on the throne, and, after making the sign of the cross, he made an harangue to his assembled subjects.

With the addition of the important ceremony of *unction*, and a considerable elaboration of ritual, the coronation office, as given by Joannes Cantacuzenus, afterwards emperor (*circa* 1330), and a century later by Georgius Codinus (died 1453), corresponds with that described by Corippus in all essential particulars.

Leontius ("Vita Sancti Joan. Alex. Episc.," c. 17) mentions a remarkable custom prevailing in the coronations of the Eastern empire in the sixth century, as an admonition of the transitoriness of all earthly greatness. After his coronation the architects of the imperial monuments approached the emperor, and presented specimens of four or five marbles of different colours, with the inquiry which he would choose for the construction of his own monument. The analogous ceremony described by Peter Damianus, though belonging to a later period, was this: The emperor, having taken his seat on the throne with his diadem on his head and the sceptre in his hand, and his nobles standing around, was approached by a man carrying a box full of dead men's bones and dust in one hand, and in the other a wisp of flax, which, as in the papal enthronization, was lighted and burnt before his eyes.

Among the VISIGOTHS, when the election of a chief was to be made, the whole ceremony consisted in making the successful candidate promise that he would behave valiantly in war and rule with justice during peace, and in raising him on a buckler above the heads of the surrounding multitudes, who hailed him as their leader. But from the time of Leovigild (A.D. 570-587), and especially when the elective power rested as much in the hands of the clergy as in the warlike chiefs, there was more "pompe and circumstance" attending the

inauguration.* According to Isidore this monarch was the first of the sovereigns to assume the crown, sceptre, and royal robe: "Nam ante eum et habitus et consessus communis ut genti ita et regibus erat." Both the secular and spiritual chiefs being assembled for the purpose, the candidate was nominated. He swore to observe the laws, to administer justice without partiality, and to permit the exercise of no other religion than the Catholic. He then received the oaths of fidelity and obedience from all assembled, and was probably raised on the buckler, as in former ages, and as we know was afterwards practised in regard to the Austrian kings. Before the same assembly, in the metropolitan church of Toledo, he was solemnly consecrated by the prelate of that see, and his head anointed with oil. His titles were high-sounding. "*Your glory*" was the most usual, though the epithets of *Pious*, *Conquering*, etc., were often added. Recared was the first of the Visigothic kings distinguished by the name of *Flavius*. Whether he assumed it after the imperial family of that name or from its reputed Gothic signification is unknown, but it continued to adorn the titles of his successors. His father was the first who surrounded the throne with regal state, and whose effigy bore the impress of a crowned head. The successors of that monarch improved on his magnificence; robes of purple, thrones of silver, sceptres and crowns of gold distinguished them still more from the time of Chindaswind (A.D. 642).

CHARLEMAGNE, King of the Franks, who obtained the EMPIRE OF THE WEST, was crowned at Rome under peculiar circumstances. Pope Leo III. sought protection from the revolted Romans at the hands of that great monarch, who received him in solemn state at Paderborn in 799. Charlemagne promised to march against the disaffected subjects of the pontiff, and effectually quelled the insurrection. Charles was present in the church of St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day, 800. On this grand occasion individuals had come from almost every nation of the West. After high Mass, when the monarch was kneeling before the altar, the

* "Where was the rubied crown, the sceptre where,
And where the golden pome, the proud array
Of ermines, aureate vests, and jewelry,
With all which Leovigild for after kings
Left, ostentatious of his power?"

Southey's "Roderic."

pope brought an imperial crown and placed it on his head, while the people shouted, "Charles Augustus, crowned by the Almighty, the great and peace-bringing Emperor of the Romans! Hail! all hail! and victory!" At the same time the pope knelt down before him, and rendered him homage. Beyond a few brief notices of this remarkable event there are no details of the ceremony. Constantine Manasses mentions the anointment from head to feet, "according to the custom prescribed by Jewish law," and there is a notice of the oath taken on that occasion.*

M. Planché, in the "*Cyclopædia of Costume*," remarks that on state occasions Charlemagne is said to have worn a jewelled diadem, a tunic interwoven with gold, a mantle fastened with a brooch of gold; his shoes were adorned with gems; his belt was of gold or silver, and the hilt of his sword of gold, ornamented with jewels. M. Quicherat observes that one is so accustomed to see Charlemagne arrayed in imperial vestments that he would not be recognized if a painter or sculptor were to represent him in any other costume, and yet it is historically true that he never wore them in his life. Once, on the occasion of his inauguration in St. Peter's at Rome, he appeared in the dress of a Roman patrician, at the urgent solicitation of the pope, who only succeeded in persuading him to do so by recalling to him that, sixteen years previously, at the request of Adrian, he had presented himself one day to the people in the long tunic, or *chlamys*, and the *calcei* of a Roman senator.

* In the treasury of St. Peter's, at Rome, is the famous sacerdotal robe called the "*Dalmatica di Papa San Leone*," said to have been embroidered at Constantinople for the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, but fixed by German criticism as a production of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century. The emperors, at least, have worn it ever since while serving as deacons at the pope's altar during their coronation mass.

It is a large robe of stiff brocade, falling in broad and unbroken folds in front and behind, broad and deep enough for the Goliath-like stature and the Herculean chest of Charlemagne himself. On the breast the Saviour is represented in glory; on the back, the Transfiguration; and on the two shoulders, Christ administering the Eucharist to the apostles. In each of these last compositions our Saviour, a stiff but majestic figure, stands behind the altar, on which are deposited a chalice and a paten, or basket, containing crossed wafers. He gives, in the one case, the cup to St. Paul; in the other, the bread to St. Peter. They do not kneel, but bend reverently to receive it. Five other disciples await their turn in each instance; all are standing.

The figure of Charlemagne in the mosaic in the church of St. John de Lateran, at Rome, is probably the most reliable



Charlemagne. From a mosaic in the church of St. John de Lateran.

one as far as his costume is concerned. He is represented in a short tunic, terminating above the knees, with a mantle apparently fastened on the right shoulder (though by what means is not visible), and which, if not borne up, as it is, by his arm on the left side, would hang down to his feet. It has an ornamental border, the studs in which may be meant either for gold or jewels. Over his shoulders is a collar of flat plates studded, it may be, with jewels, and of the same pattern as the bands or borders of the leggings. On his head is a cap rising to a low peak atop, with a border of indented pattern, and having a circular ornament in front.

M. Planché has minutely described this dress, because it has been the custom of painters and sculptors for so many years past to portray Charlemagne in the gorgeous robes of an emperor of the fifteenth century, and crowned with the remarkable diadem which is erroneously appropriated to him, and which is still reverently preserved in the imperial treasury at Vienna.

When Charlemagne felt his end approaching, he sent for his son Louis to come to him, in the year 813, to Aix-la-

Chapelle, and there, on a Sunday, when in the cathedral together, he reminded him of all the duties of a good monarch, and he then caused Louis to place the golden crown (which lay upon the altar) upon his head, and, thus crowned, his venerable father presented him to the assembly as the future king of all the Franks. By this act Charles wished to show that his crown was independent of the papal chair.

When the tomb of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle was opened by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa in 1165,* he found, it is said, the body not reclining in the coffin, as is the usual fashion of the dead, but seated on a throne, as one alive, clothed in the imperial robes, bearing the sceptre in its hand, and on its knees a copy of the Gospels. The throne in which the body was seated, the sarcophagus (of Parian marble, the work of Roman or Greek artists, ornamented with a fine bas-relief of the "Rape of Proserpine") in which the feet of the dead emperor were placed, are still preserved in the cathedral. The throne is placed in the gallery (Hoch Münster), running round the octagon, facing the choir. It is an armchair, in shape somewhat like that of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, but made of slabs of white marble, which during the coronation were covered with plates of gold. It is protected by wooden boards, which the sacristan will remove to gratify a stranger's curiosity.

* Under the dome of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, suspended over the tomb of Charlemagne, is a gigantic crown of enamelled copper, an offering of the Emperor Barbarossa, inscribed with the Greek characters "I am." In the centre of the crown the archangel Michael is seen, enclosed in an aureole of quatrefoils. He is descending from heaven to combat the enemies of peace, for in singular contrast to the warlike spirit of Charlemagne and Barbarossa, the legend on the crown proclaims the blessedness of the peaceful: "Beati Pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur," taken from the sermon on the mount. The "Catholic Cæsar of the Romans," as Barbarossa styles himself, caused the eight beatitudes to be engraven below eight great lamps, by which the crown is supported.

The "Talisman" of Charlemagne was, according to tradition, a fragment of the true cross, in an emerald case on a gold chain, given to him by the Empress Irene. It was taken from his neck when his tomb was opened. The town of Aix-la-Chapelle gave it to the Emperor Napoleon, who presented it to Queen Hortense, who much prized it in the later years of her life. It afterwards came into the possession of the late Emperor Napoleon III.

The formalities and the solemn pomp attending the INAUGURATIONS OF THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY in various ages were characteristic of the period.

In Heiss's "History of the Empire" we have a few particulars of the "election" and coronation of Otho the Great (of the house of Saxony), in 936, as Emperor of Germany. The election took place at Aix-la-Chapelle.* Hildebert, Archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops and clergy, clothed in sumptuous habits, met the monarch at the church door, where, having proclaimed him with the usual ceremonies, the archbishop conducted him to a place where he could be seen by all the people, and then said, "I here present you Otho, chosen by God, appointed emperor by Henry, his father, and justly elected to that dignity by all the princes. If you approve this election, give a sign of it by lifting up your hands." This being done by the people, with loud acclamations, the clergy conducted the emperor to the high altar, whereon the sword, the belt, the mantle, the hand of justice, the sceptre, the crown, and all the imperial ornaments were placed. The sword was girded to his side, the archbishop saying, "Receive this sword, and use it to drive away the enemies of Jesus Christ, and employ the power and authority of the empire, conferred on you by God, to secure the peace of the Church." The prelate then put on the mantle, the sleeves whereof hung to the ground, saying, "Remember with what resolution and fidelity you are obliged to maintain peace to the end of your life." The sceptre and the hand of justice were then given, with these words: "These marks of power are yours, and engage you to keep your subjects in their duty to repress and punish vice and disorders severely, but yet with humanity; to become the protector of the Church, its ministers, widows, and orphans; and to use all with the tenderness and goodness of a father, that you may (in eternity) receive the reward you will deserve by so prudent and Christian a conduct."

The Archbishop of Mentz having finished these words, the bishops anointed the emperor's head with holy oil, which done, the former crowned him. These ceremonies being over, the emperor ascended a throne, where he remained while

* A very ancient manuscript of the ceremonial of crowning the German emperors at Aix-la-Chapelle, was purchased at the last of the sales of Prince Talleyrand's libraries, by the late Mr. Banks, and is now among the additional manuscripts in the British Museum.

psalms were sung and prayers were offered. He then returned to the palace and dined in public, the bishops sitting at his table; the dukes and other great lords serving him.

Charles IV. was the first to establish the regulations concerning the coronation ceremonials, and these were announced to the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in 1356. This deed, to which was attached a gold seal, was then called the *Bulle d'or*. According to this, when the emperor died, the Archbishop of Mayence was to summon the princes to the election at Frankfort; the coronation was to take place at Aix-la-Chapelle. From this circumstance originated the custom of despatching from Frankfort a princely deputation to Aix-la-Chapelle, to bring from that city a chest of earth, on which the emperor stood when he was crowned.*

* Six cities contended for the inauguration of the new kaiserdom. First in antiquity was *Worms*, the residence of the earliest recorded conquerors of Rhineland, the Burgundian dynasty (434), Frankish line of sovereigns, then Charlemagne. Next, *Aachen*, Aix-la-Chapelle.

Thirty-one emperors were crowned here, and until 1793 the regalia and robes belonging to the coronation were preserved in this city.

Charles V. received the imperial crown at the hand of Pope Clement, at Bologna, 1530, and at the same time with the Lombard or Italian crown. There were, besides the imperial crown, three other distinct crowns, some or all of which were assumed by each emperor according to his respective rights.

The German crown, which by the time of Charles V. had become



Elector of Germany in state dress.

The electors were to be present, escorted by their vassals and attendants; they were to be seven in number, "in honour," as recorded in the deed, "of the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse." The prince who was elected bore, at first, the title of King of the Romans.* To attain full possession of imperial dignity, it was necessary that he should be consecrated and crowned. The regalia, consisting of the crown (erroneously called that of Charlemagne), the sceptre, the hand of justice,† the sword, and the orb, are still preserved at Vienna.

the most important of the four, was taken at Aix-la-Chapelle; the Lombard, or Italian crown, generally at Milan; and the Burgundian crown, of less importance than the others, at Arles. Charlemagne took them all four. Charles V. took the first German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was not until 1530 that he took his other two crowns at Bologna.

* The ceremonies observed on the coronation of emperors of Rome were of an august character. On the day preceding the event, the Roman citizens met the emperor-elect at the gates of their city, had their charters confirmed by him, and received the oath that he would preserve the good customs. On the next day the emperor proceeded to St. Peter's, where he was received by the pope and his clergy, and was solemnly blessed and crowned.

The coronation of the German emperors of Rome, more especially in the eleventh century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*"Antiquitat. Italiæ mediæ ævi,"* tom. i. diss. 2, p. 99, etc.) and Cenni (*"Monument. Domin. Pontif,"* tom. ii. diss. 6, p. 261).

The last coronation of a German emperor at Rome was that of Frederic III. of Austria (1452). After drawing his military force to the metropolis and imposing the best security of oaths and treaties, Pope Nicolas received, with a smiling countenance, the faithful advocate and vassal of the Church. So tame, says Gibbon, were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony; but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rest their imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

† The "hand of justice," which formed a part of the regalia alluded to, is a very ancient symbol. Hands were dedicated by the ancient Egyptians to the two or three divinities in whose temples the cure of the sick was practised. In Montfaucon, we find mystic fingers which appear to have had the same signification. The fingers represented are of bronze, and end in a long nail, showing that they were fastened to a wall, or that they were borne on a staff in the festivals of Isis.

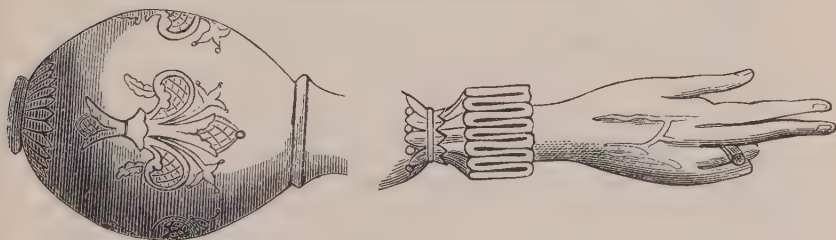
The "hand" reappears in the coronation ceremonies of Europe, and after a time we begin to recognize it as the symbol of the royal gift of healing by touch. This, however, is not understood under its earlier forms described by Montfaucon. A hand, for example, is represented as descending from heaven in a picture of Charlemagne, and in two

The ceremonies of the coronation were grand and imposing. The Archbishop of Cologne officiated at the altar, and placed the crown on the emperor's head, whose titles were then proclaimed as "Cæsar; Very Sacred Majesty; Always August; Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and the German nation." On leaving the church of St. Bartholomew, at Frankfort, the imperial *cortège* proceeded through the town to the Rath-haus, or town-hall, called the Römer (from Rome), and there in the kaiser-saal a banquet was prepared for the principal actors in this ceremony. At the moment when the emperor entered, the Elector of Saxony spurred his horse at full speed toward a heap of oats which had been placed there, holding in one hand a silver measure, and in the other a scraper of the same metal, both of them weighing twelve marks. Filling the measure with oats, he ground them with the scraper, and delivered it to the hereditary marshal; the rest of the oats were then pounced upon by the people who witnessed this spectacle. Then the count palatine performed service by placing before the emperor,

portraits of Charles the Bald, pointing with four fingers to his head, to illuminate him in his duties and justice towards his subjects. From the fingers of these hands proceed rays. On a monument of Dagobert, at



Ivory sceptre of Louis XII. (XIII.?).



Details of the ivory sceptre of Louis XII. (XIII.?).

St. Denis, a similar hand was represented, with three fingers extended, while the king, naked, with a crown on his head, was raised over some drapery by two bishops with two angels near him. According to Montfaucon, similar hands are common to the emperors of Constantinople about the period of Charlemagne. From these and many similar documents of antiquity, a divine origin has been ascribed to this symbol.

The "hand" was a symbol of Providence, as well as of the five fundamental tenets of Islam. A talismanic power was ascribed to it.

seated at the imperial table, four silver dishes, each of three marks, bearing meats. The King of Bohemia, as archbutler, offered wine and water to the emperor in a silver cup. The walls of the banqueting room, or *kaiser-saal*, where the emperors were entertained and waited on at table by kings and princes, are covered with their portraits in the order of succession from Conrad I. to Francis II.

In the market-place, called the *Römerberg*, in front of the building, upon the occasion of an imperial coronation, an ox was roasted whole, from which the arch-steward cut a slice for the emperor. A fountain flowed with wine, from which the arch-cupbearer filled his glass; the arch-marshal distributed corn from a silver measure, and the populace enjoyed the privilege of appropriating the scarlet cloth upon which the emperor walked from the cathedral. So greedily was it cut away behind him as he passed onwards, that he ran the risk of having his heels cut also.

Leopold II., Emperor of Germany, was crowned September 1, 1790, at Frankfort. Everything connected with the election of an emperor—his coronation, the banquet in the *Römer*, and other national festivities by which the great event was celebrated—was fixed by the “*Golden Bulle*” already mentioned. That ancient document is to this day preserved in the *Römer*, as the town-hall of Frankfort is still called, although the remains of the Germanic-Roman empire, from which that public building derives its name, were swept away by Napoleon I.

The three ecclesiastical electors met in the cathedral before eight o'clock, robed and mitred in full state, ready to receive the ensigns of imperial power—the jewels, the sword (said to be) of Charlemagne, and the Gospel, printed in golden characters, on which the coronation oaths were taken. These treasures were sent from the ancient towns of Aix-la-Chapelle and Nürnberg, which claimed the right of holding them in charge. The venerated objects and their noble attendants travelled, exposed to the public view, in state carriages drawn by six horses. They were pompously received by the three ecclesiastical electors, and placed in a small chapel of the cathedral, near the high altar, called the Electoral Chapel, in which the emperor was to put on his robes. When all these preparations were completed, the door of the chapel was closed by the hereditary door-keeper to the Holy Roman Empire.

While the ecclesiastical electors were thus occupied, the secular electors went to the palace, where they were formally received by his Majesty, and where they waited while the long procession was forming.

The "Golden Bulle" decreed that the emperor should ride to the cathedral, habited in the robes and wearing the crown of his own house. The Hapsburgs of Austria, being the strongest and most influential of the empire, had been the chosen family for many generations.

At ten o'clock Leopold mounted his richly caparisoned horse. His dalmatic robe—the ancient Roman purple—glistened with diamonds and pearls, and the crown of Austria, a heavy relic of early feudal times, pressed his brow. Over his head was upheld a splendid crimson canopy, embroidered with the double-headed eagle, which widely spread its wings to cover the royal head. This baldachin, upheld on poles, was supported by twelve senators of Frankfort, who rode on each side of the emperor as he slowly moved in grand procession to the cathedral. Before him were borne by the hereditary officers of the empire the crown on a cushion of cloth of gold, the sceptre, the orb, and the drawn sword of St. Maurice.

Within the sacred edifice, while high mass was being performed, the emperor on the steps of the altar took the oaths on the gilded copy of the New Testament. The Elector of Mainz, the highest of the ecclesiastical electors, as the chief pastor, anointed the sovereign with consecrated oil, and administered to him the Holy Communion. This done, Leopold mounted the throne. The coronation was announced to the nation by the firing of cannons and ringing of bells.

The procession, on leaving the cathedral, turned towards the river, and crossed it by the old red-stone bridge, the only one then in existence, to show itself in Saxonhausen before it proceeded to the Römer, where the banquet was prepared. The bridge was carpeted with red, black, and yellow cloth, which, as soon as the emperor had passed over it, belonged to the people, who lost not a moment in dragging it up and cutting it into fragments.

The arch-treasurer acted an important part in the coronation. He rode into the Römerberg on a noble horse. To its sides, instead of holsters, several bags were suspended, embroidered with the arms of the elector palatine, grand seneschal of the Holy Roman Empire. From these bags the

arch-treasurer took handfuls of coins. A bright shower of silver and gold glittered in the air, innumerable hands were held up, and the next instant the people were all tumbling one over another, scrambling for the money.

At the banquet the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt had the honour of carving for his Majesty in the kaiser-saal, and the Duke of Mecklenburg, who held a superior appointment of a similar character, was posted at the door of the Römer with a white napkin over his breast, and the badge of his office, a huge knife, in his hand. The grand chamberlain kindled the fire at which the ox was roasted whole, under a wooden booth in the market-place. In front of the Römer, but bearing towards St. Nicholas's Church, four rough paving-stones, with the letters "O. K.," for ox-kitchen, rudely cut on them, may be seen to this day.

Ritter Heinrich von Lang has given an amusing account of this part of the proceedings. The truchsess, or trencherman, was in Spanish costume, with loose hair and a cloth-of-gold mantle. Sitting his horse with becoming dignity, and followed by a suite of attendants in grand liveries, he rode in state to the roasting ox, on which his work was to be done. "Four gentilhommes, of whom I was one," says Von Lang, "rode on each side of the Trencherman. I had to wear a Spanish hat, with blue and white feathers, and to carry a silver dish. While the Trencherman remained seated on his horse outside the kitchen, we waited inside close to the infernal fire at which the entire ox was roasting, and emitting a most disgusting stench. It was our duty to cut a slice and to carry it on a plate before the count, who was the honorary bearer of the slice of beef. Just as we turned to go off with it, a fight began among the roughs in the market-place; they fought for the gilded horns of the ox, and in the struggle down came the whole wooden kitchen with a crash, probably as a symbol of what was to befall the Holy Roman empire."

The immutable laws and traditions of the empire decreed that on these grand occasions the dishes should be carried by representatives of four states of the empire, to whom that service was assigned, to be held throughout all generations. The states thus honoured were Swabia, Wetheran (a Hessian province), Franconia, and Westphalia. Each of these states sent a count to be a dish-bearer at the coronation. Nine times they passed from kitchen to kaiser-saal, and thus

thirty-six dishes were placed; but then appeared a thirty-seventh dish, and this odd dish caused a disagreement which seemed likely to end in bloodshed. It had naturally come round to Swabia, but the Swabian count could not degrade himself and the state which he represented by placing the last dish on the emperor's table. He contended that it ought to be carried by a Westphalian, and in the dispute he was supported by a number of his fellow-countrymen, who had come to Frankfort to be the bearers of St. George's shield at the coronation. The grand chamberlain, who referred to records which went back to the days of Charlemagne, produced a list of the dishes which had been set before the Emperor Rodolph. Then it appeared that this particular dish was one of them, and could not be left out.

A pleasant and full account of the coronation of Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, is given in the "Autobiography of Goethe," who was present on that occasion.

THE CORONATION OF KING WILLIAM I. OF PRUSSIA (now GERMAN EMPEROR) took place at Königsberg, October 18, 1861.*

* The name of Prussia was unknown in Europe before the end of the tenth century. The rise to power of the present imperial and royal family of Prussia dates from the comparatively recent period of the fifteenth century; but the crumbling walls of the crag-built castle in Swabia, whence they take their name, "Hohen (lofty) Zollern," seems to imply that they are sprung from a family as ancient as any in the Fatherland.

The true foundation of the greatness and power of the reigning dynasty of Prussia was laid by Frederick, usually called the sixth Count of Hohenzollern and Markgraf of Nuremberg, who purchased of the Emperor Sigismund, for the sum of four hundred thousand florins, the margravate of Brandenburg, with the rank and title of elector, for which he received homage (April 18, 1417).

The title of King of Prussia was first assumed by his son Frederick. The province of Preussen has given its name to the entire kingdom of Prussia, and its capital, Königsberg, was the original seat of government before it was transferred to Berlin.

Frederick, the twelfth Elector of Brandenburg, was crowned first King of Prussia January 18, 1701. The ceremony took place at Königsberg. Great magnificence was displayed on this occasion. The king put the crown on his own head, and a smaller crown on the head of his wife, Sophia Charlotte, in token of his independence, to show that he was no vassal of the emperor and no subject of the pope. The action was symbolical, and the sign was more fully understood by posterity than by those who witnessed it, or even by the king himself, although he perceived the wisdom of "sowing for the future"—one of his favourite expressions.

About half-past ten in the morning, the king in one procession, and the queen in another following, left the royal apartments for the church adjoining the castle, preceded by heralds in blue costumes and numerous state dignitaries, including the grand master of the wardrobe bearing the royal mantle on a velvet cushion, the bearers of the great seal, the globe, the sword of state (naked, and borne upright), the sceptre, on a cushion. Immediately after followed Prince Radziwill carrying the crown, and next came the king in a general's uniform, covered with the mantle of the Order of the Black Eagle, his plumed helm in his hand. He was followed by other dignitaries, and General Wrangel bearing the state banner. The queen, attired in white silk with ermine, came next, accompanied by her *entourage*.

The king and queen took their places at the foot of the two pillars in front of their thrones, facing the altar. After the usual liturgy of the Lutheran Church and sermon, the coronation service commenced. Whilst the *Salvum fac Regem* was sung the bearers of the crown, sceptre, and globe approached the altar, and laid the regalia on it and retired. The high officials also who bore the sword of state and the great seal stood near the altar, which the king ascended, knelt, and prayed. On his rising, the crown prince approached the king and took off the Black Eagle mantle and collar, while the court officials placed on his Majesty the coronation robes.

The king then went forward and, taking the crown from the altar with both hands, placed it on his head. He then took the sceptre and globe, and, turning towards the spectators, waved the latter twice or thrice, and then laid it down on the altar, and passing the sceptre from the left hand to the right, he grasped the sword of justice.

The queen, after being arrayed in her coronation robes, approached the altar, and the king placed the crown on her head. Their Majesties both knelt and prayed, after which the procession left the church, and on entering the palace the queen retired.

The king, in coronation robes, with crown and sceptre, appeared on the platform in the great hall, and received the three addresses from the Upper House, the Chamber of Deputies, and from the witnesses to the coronation. His Majesty replied, and waved his sceptre thrice. The list of decorations to be given away was then read by the Minister of the Interior. The chief herald and four others advanced,

and exclaimed in a loud voice, "Long live King William the First!" and whilst the grand chorale, "Nunc danket alle Gott" was being sung by thousands of voices, the king re-entered the palace, and the ceremony, which lasted about four hours, terminated.

The royal crown of Prussia, which was in use for State ceremonies until 1871, is of comparatively modern workmanship. It is without a cap; the arches and the diadem are set with diamonds and other precious stones.



Royal crown of Prussia.

On the 18th of January, 1871, King William I. of Prussia was proclaimed GERMAN EMPEROR, at the palace of Versailles, the war still raging between the Germans and the French.

About noon the king drove to the palace, and was received by the Crown Prince of Prussia, at the eastern portal, at *l'Escalier des Princes*. Immediately on his arrival the king reviewed the troops drawn up in the courtyard, after which he was conducted by his son to the *Salle des Glaces*. As he entered he bowed towards the altar, which had been erected at the end of the gallery, and on which stood a crucifix and lighted candles, and then took his place in front of the dais, facing the altar. He was dressed in the uniform of a general.

After the military liturgy, sermon, and the *Te Deum* had been given, the king walked to where the colours of all the regiments were displayed, and stood before them, while the document proclaiming the RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE was read by Bismarck. The Grand Duke of Baden then stepped forward, and exclaimed, "Long live his Majesty the emperor!" The bands struck up amidst the cheers of the assembly. The emperor embraced his son and relatives. The officers, of whom there were representatives from nearly every part of the army who could be possibly spared, then filed past and saluted. Later, a magnificent banquet was served.

A writer on this eventful subject says that after the proclamation of the empire, the crown prince, as if seized by an irresistible impulse, rushed forward, and flung himself at the feet of the newly-made emperor. The latter,

deeply moved, raised him from that reverential attitude, and, with tears, father and son kissed each other on both cheeks.

It was just one hundred and seventy years ago that the world first heard of a King of Prussia, in the person of Frederick I., and the anniversary is always kept at Berlin with a certain amount of splendour. But Berlin cannot compete with Versailles in such matters, and what occurred on January 18, 1871, will ever be remembered by the German people as one of their greatest triumphs.

To spare the feelings of minor sovereigns, the new title is not really "Emperor of Germany," but "German Emperor."



Crown of the German Empire.

The former title would imply that the territories of other sovereigns are situate in a land belonging to the owners of the title; the other means simply the head of the German nationality.

The *Crown of the German Empire* takes its principal features from the old crown of the Roman-German Empire. Four of the shields are ornamented with diamond crosses, the other four with the imperial eagle. Four hoops, richly studded with diamonds, support the imperial globe and cross on the top. The inside cap is embroidered with a network of gold.

The *Crown of the German Empress* is similar in character to that of the emperor; interlaced Gothic arches springing from a jewelled circlet, and terminating in rosettes, takes the place of the shields. The inner cap is of gold brocade, and the arrangements of the jewels are executed in a more modern style.

The *Coronet of the Prince Imperial of Germany* is executed in a style similar to that of the crown of the German Emperor, and consists of four crosses from which the arches rise, the intervals between the crosses being filled up by imperial eagles. The rich ornamentation is effected with diamonds, precious stones, and pearls.

The KING OF SAXONY'S palace at Dresden contains the



Crown of the Empress of Germany.



Coronet of the Prince Imperial of Germany.

"Grüne Gewölbe," in which are deposited the regalia of Saxony.

These celebrated "Green Vaults," a range of apartments on the ground floor of the palace, contain, probably, the richest collection of valuables possessed by any sovereign in Europe. Indeed, the treasures remind one rather of the gorgeous, dazzling magnificence of Oriental despots, or the magic production of Aladdin's lamp in the Eastern tale. The value of the whole must amount to several millions.

The Saxon princes, besides being far more powerful and important in former times than at present, were also among the richest sovereigns in Europe. One mode by which they showed their magnificence and expended their money, was in the accumulation of all kinds of rare objects, such as jewels

and exquisite carvings, in the precious metals and in other costly materials, which were deposited in a secret strong room under the palace.

There is in this collection a glass case filled with splendid precious suites of the most costly jewels. The first division contains sapphires; the largest of them, an ancient specimen, was a gift of Peter the Great. The second, emeralds. The third, rubies; the two largest spinels weigh forty-eight and fifty-nine carats. The fourth, pearls. Among sixty-three *rings* there are two which belonged to Martin Luther—one a cornelian bearing a rose, and in its centre a cross; the other, his enamelled seal-ring, bears a death's head and the motto, "*Mori sæpe cogita.*"

The fifth division is devoted to diamonds. The diamond decorations of the gala dress of the elector consist of buttons, collar, sword hilt and scabbard, all of diamonds; the three brilliants in the epaulette weigh nearly fifty carats each. But the most remarkable stone of all, which is considered unique, is a *green brilliant*, weighing one hundred and sixty grains = forty carats.

THE CROWN OF BAVARIA is hereditary in the male line. The constitution dates no further back than 1818, when the country was declared a part of confederated Germany.

King Maximilian II. died March 10, 1864, and on the same day the royal herald, accompanied by a detachment of cuirassiers and trumpeters, proclaimed in all the chief squares and streets of Munich, Ludwig II., King of Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine. The young monarch (then eighteen years of age) took the oath of fidelity to the constitution before the assembled royal princes and state ministers. Afterwards, the soldiers took the oath of allegiance, and the king issued the first state notice convening the ministers to a state council.

In 1870 Bavaria, by treaty, recognized the King of Prussia as the head of a new German empire.

Some scanty particulars are given by old writers of the baptism, anointing, and coronation of Clovis, the FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE. This took place at Rheims, in the church of St. Remi, on the night of Christmas Eve, A.D. 496. The solemnities were conducted with great pomp; the houses were covered with tapestry, the churches with white linen,

and the baptistery, near the gate, was magnificently adorned. The air was filled with rich perfumes, and the light of flambeaux and tapers dispelled the gloom of the night from that august place. St. Remi, who led the king by the hand to the font, gave him a short exhortation, "Humble thyself, O *Sicambrian*! Burn what thou hast worshipped, and worship that which thou hast burnt!" After this the king professed his belief in one God and three Persons; and St. Remi baptised him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, while the bishops who were present, holding him by his arms, immersed him in the holy laver, into which three thousand French descended after him. Afterwards the king entered the church for his confirmation, anointing, and consecration as a Christian king. *Sicambria* was the name of the country from which Clovis came.

A great similarity subsisted between the CORONATION CEREMONIES of our own country and that of FRANCE. Some curious details of the latter are given in a manuscript in the Cotton Library, written in French (Tiberius B viii.), the illuminations in which are exceedingly beautiful. They once represented the different stages of the whole ceremonial of a French coronation. Unfortunately the manuscript has been mutilated, many of the illuminations having been cut out. It is headed, "This is the order of anointing and crowning the King." The following inscription, in the handwriting of Charles V. of France, gives its origin:—"Ce livre du sacre des Rois de France, est à nous Charles, V. de notre nom, roy de France, et le fimes corriger, ordiner, escrire et istorier l'an 1365.* The manuscript acquaints us with the following particulars preparatory to the ceremony, and furnishes us also with a ritual of the consecration:—

"First, a stage somewhat elevated must be prepared, adjoining the choir of the church, on which the King and the peers of the realm shall be placed. On the day that the King comes to be crowned, he should be received in procession by the canons of the mother church, and the members of the other conventual churches."

Some other arrangements are mentioned in the preparation. On the day of coronation—

"between prime and tierce, the monks of St. Remi should come in proces-

* At a sale of the books of M. Ruggieri, the pyrotechnist, at Paris, in 1873, a copy of this work was sold for £1600.

sion with the holy ampulla, which the Abbot should bear with great reverence under a canopy of silk supported by four staves, borne by monks attired in *aubes* [white garments], and when they shall arrive at the church of St. Remi, the Archbishop should proceed to meet them, and with him the other Archbishops and Bishops; . . . the Archbishop must promise the Abbot, in good faith, that he will return it to him, and then the Archbishop must carry the ampulla to the altar with great reverence of



Charles V. of France. 1370.

the people. The Abbot with some of the monks accompanying him, the rest waiting behind until all be completed; and then the holy ampulla shall be carried back either to the church of St. Remi or the chapel of St. Nicholas. These things being performed, the Archbishop shall attire himself for the mass in his most noble vestments, with the pall, after the Deacons and Subdeacons, and attired in this manner must come to the altar in procession, according to custom. The King must

rise with reverence, and repair thither; and when the Archbishop shall have arrived at the altar, he, or any of the Bishops, for their whole body, and for the churches submitted to them, must ask the King if he will swear to maintain the rights of the Bishops and their churches, as it befits the King to do in his kingdom, to preserve the dignity and jurisdiction of the crown, to administer justice in all his judgments; and if he will subscribe, moreover, to the oath of the new constitution of the Council of Lateran, viz. to expel heresies from his kingdom.

"These things being promised by the King, and ratified by his vow on the Holy Evangelists, *Te Deum Laudamus* is sung. In the mean time must be placed on the altar the King's crown, the sword in its scabbard, his golden spurs, his golden sceptre, and his rod of the measure of a cubit or more, which shall have on it a hand of ivory. Also the stockings of silk, of a violet colour, embroidered or tissue with golden fleurs-de-lys, and a coat of that colour, and of the same workmanship, made in manner of the tunic with which the Subdeacons are attired for the mass; and with this the surcoat, which should be entirely of the same colour, made nearly like a cope of silk without the hood; all which things the Abbot of St. Remi should bring from his custody, and should be at the altar and keep them.

"The King shall repair to the altar, and shall undress himself with the exception of his silk coat and his shirt, which are to be open between the breast and shoulders; there are also to be openings in the sides, which shall be joined by silver clasps. Then first, the Great Chamberlain of France shall put on the King the stockings which the Abbot of St. Remi shall give him, after which the Duke of Burgundy shall put on the spurs given him by the same, and immediately afterwards, these shall be removed.

"Afterwards, the Archbishop alone shall gird on his sword with the scabbard, which sword being girt, the Archbishop shall draw it out of the scabbard, and the scabbard shall then be placed on the altar, and the Archbishop shall put the sword in the hand of the King, who is humbly to offer it on the altar; and he shall immediately receive it back by the hand of the Archbishop, and forthwith commit it to the Seneschal of France to support before him in the church to the end of the mass, and afterwards when he shall return to the palace.

"These things accomplished and the chrism placed upon the altar, on a consecrated paten, the Archbishop is to prepare the holy ampulla on the altar, and take from it, on the point of a gold needle, a little of the oil sent from heaven, and mix it very carefully with the chrism which is prepared for anointing the King. This glorious privilege of being anointed with oil from heaven is peculiar to the Kings of France above all others in the world. Then the openings before and behind must be undone, and the King anointed; first, on the top of the head, next on the breast; thirdly, between the shoulders; fourthly, on the shoulders; fifthly and lastly, on the joints of the arms. While the anointing is going on, they shall sing the anthem '*Inunxerunt regem Salomonem*,' etc. The openings in his garments are then to be closed; the coat before mentioned is then to be put on by the Chamberlain of France, the Abbot of St. Remi handing it to him for the purpose; the Chamberlain is also to invest him with the surcoat. The Archbishop is then to put the sceptre in his right hand, the rod in his left, and calling all the

Peers of France who are standing round, the Archbishop takes the royal crown, and he alone puts it on the head of the King.

"The crown being thus placed, all the Peers, both clerical and lay, must put their hands to it and support it on all sides. The Archbishop and Peers who support the crown must conduct the King to the chair prepared for him, ornamented with silken cloths, and place him therein. This must be elevated within full view of all. The Archbishop must then kiss the King, and after him the Bishops and the lay peers.

The CORONATION OF LOUIS XVI. (June 11, 1775) took place in the cathedral church of Notre Dame, at Rheims.* On reaching the principal entrance (June 9), the king descended from his carriage, and knelt down to receive the holy water from the cardinal archbishop. His Majesty then kissed the Evangile, and, having been complimented by the clergy, was conducted to a splendid *prie-Dieu* placed in the chancel, where he remained during the celebration of the *Te Deum*, whose effects were rendered more imposing by the volleys of cannon and musketry fired from the ramparts. The first gentleman of the chamber handed a beautifully chased gold cup (*ciboire*) to the king, who placed it on the altar as an offering, and having received the benediction, retired to the archiepiscopal palace, where the ecclesiastical and civil authorities did homage to him.

In the afternoon of the 10th the king, attended by the princes of his family, proceeded in state to the metropolitan church, to hear vespers. The service was chanted by the archbishop, Duke of Rheims, accompanied by the most exquisite music, and a sermon preached by the Archbishop of Aix, after which his Majesty returned to the palace.

"On the 11th the canons and clergy of Notre Dame took their places in the stalls beneath the galleries. Shortly afterwards the prior, with three ecclesiastics from the Abbey of St. Denis (near Paris), entered and stationed themselves near the altar in order to be ready with the

* "Every King of the French crowned at Rheims has been at once a Frenchman by birth, and the undisputed heir of the founder of the dynasty. Rheims alone preserved her proud prerogative as the crowning place of kings, whose right was never so much as called in question. Paris, the seat of temporal dominion, has never become the ecclesiastical home of the nation, the crowning place of lawful kings. None but strangers and usurpers have ever taken the diadem of France in the capital of France. While Rheims has beheld the coronation of so many generations of native Frenchmen, Paris has beheld only the coronation of a single English king and a single Corsican tyrant" (Freeman's "History of Normandy").

regalia required for the coronation.* These regalia consisted of Charlemagne's crown of solid gold, sparkling with rubies and sapphires, lined with crimson satin, beautifully embroidered, and surmounted by a golden fleur-de-lys, studded with pearls; the sceptre of massive gold, enamelled and crusted with pearls; the sceptre called the 'hand of justice,' consisting of a gold wand, ornamented with rubies and pearls, and terminated by an ivory hand; Charlemagne's sword, the handle and guard of molten gold, and the scabbard of purple velvet, powdered with fleurs-de-lys; the lozenge-shaped aigrette or clasp, intended to fasten the royal mantle, studded with precious stones; the golden spurs, enriched with rubies; and, lastly, the book of prayers used at the coronation, richly bound and clasped with silver.

"The ecclesiastics, secretaries of state, great crown officers, court functionaries, and marshals of France, including those selected to bear the regalia, were introduced and conducted to their places by the master of the ceremonies, whilst the Queen, Princesses, and foreign ambassadors proceeded to their respective galleries. Last of all appeared the lay peers, whose dress consisted of a long mantle of purple lined with ermine, capes of the same fur, encircled with the collars of St. Louis and the St. Esprit; robes of gold cloth; violet-coloured silk sashes, and coronets upon their heads. The whole being seated, the Bishops, Duke of Laon and Count of Beauvais, were deputed, according to custom, by the Archbishop, to proceed to the King's apartments in order to escort his Majesty to the church. Upon the arrival of the two prelates at the door of the King's chamber, the head beadle knocked with his staff, and the following dialogue took place between the Bishop of Laon and the Grand Chamberlain.

"*The Grand Chamberlain (from within)*—'Whom do you demand?'

"*The Bishop*—'The King.'

"*The Grand Chamberlain (without opening the door)*—'The King sleeps.'

"Thereupon the beadle struck the door a second time, and the Bishop again exclaimed—'The King.'

* The regalia and ornaments were preserved at St. Denis, whence they were transported to Rheims by the prior, escorted by a detachment of *Gardes du Corps*.

In former times the monarchs of France were buried with their crowns, sceptres, rings, etc. Thus, at the destruction of the royal tombs at St. Denis, in 1793, in the coffin of Charles V. were a crown and sceptre of gold, and a hand of justice beautifully carved in silver. In the coffin of Jeanne de Bourbon, his wife, were the remains of a crown and a gold ring. Part of a crown and a gilt sceptre were also found in the coffins of Charles VII. and his wife, Marie d'Anjou. In that of Louis X. were part of a sceptre and brass crown, much rusted. Beside the body of Louis VIII. were part of a wooden sceptre and a diadem of gold tissue. In the coffin of Philippe le Bel was a gold ring, a diadem of gold tissue, and a brass gilt sceptre. The skeleton of Philippe le Long was clothed in royal robes; on his head was a gold crown, enriched by precious stones.

"The Grand Chamberlain—'I tell you the King sleeps.'

"Upon this the beadle knocked at the door a third time, and the same questions and answers being repeated, the Bishop added,—'We demand Louis the Sixteenth whom God has given us as our King.'

"The door was now opened, and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, superbly dressed in a blue coat with red facings, richly embroidered, waistcoat, breeches, and stockings of red silk, and a mantle of purple velvet trimmed with lace, conducted the Bishops to the King, whom they found reclining (*pro forma*) upon the splendid couch, which was made by order of Francis I. for the coronation of himself and successors. The dress worn by the King was composed of a long crimson silk camisole, or inner vest laced with gold, open as well as the skirt beneath, at the different parts of the body destined to be anointed. Over the vest was a long robe of silver tissue, and upon his head he wore a black velvet toque, ornamented with a string of diamonds, and shaded with a plume of black and white herons' feathers. As soon as the Bishops had presented the holy water, they raised the monarch from the couch, and a procession was formed to the church, where the King, after kneeling before the altar, took his seat on a chair of state.

"An usher announced the arrival of the Sainte Ampoule from St. Remi. The Archbishop advanced to meet the prior who bore it, and placed it upon the altar. He then respectfully solicited the King to maintain the canonical rights and privileges of the Church of Rheims. His Majesty having promised with 'God's aid' to 'protect and defend the Church,' the Bishops of Laon and Beauvais lifted him from his chair, and then turning to the spectators exclaimed loudly,—'Do you accept Louis the Sixteenth for your liege King and Sovereign?' A silent and respectful assent being returned, the Archbishop requested the King to take the usual oaths of fidelity to certain obligations. Upon this, his Majesty seated himself, and taking the Testament between his hands, replied in Latin, that he promised to 'preserve peace in the Church—to prevent plunder and robbery in his dominions—to enforce and dispense justice—and to endeavour with all his might to extirpate heresy.' Having made this oath, his Majesty took those required of him as Sovereign Grand Master of the Orders of the St. Esprit and St. Louis, and then swore to maintain inviolate the edicts against duelling, first promulgated by Louis the Fourteenth in 1651, and sworn to by that monarch at his coronation.

"Whilst the King was engaged in repeating these oaths, the robes and regalia required for the coronation were placed upon the altar. These, in addition to the ornaments brought from St. Denis, consisted of a crimson satin camisole, a richly embroidered tunic and dalmatic, a pair of velvet sandals sprigged with fleurs-de-lys, and a royal mantle of purple velvet, powdered with fleurs-de-lys and lined with ermine. Besides these, were two crowns, one of which was of marvellous splendour, being composed of a circular gold band or diadem, surmounted with eight diamond fleurs-de-lys separated by an equal number of fleurons, composed of diamonds and precious stones. From the former rose eight gold branches uniting at the top of the crown, which was terminated by a ninth fleur-de-lys, composed of the famous 'Sanci' diamond, and sixteen others of wonderful size and lustre, all mounted with such skill

as to appear like one stone. In front of the fleur-de-lys was the famous 'Pitt' or 'Regent' diamond. The band or diadem was bordered by two rows of pearls interspersed with twenty-four large diamonds and eight coloured stones. Among the first were the celebrated 'Miroir de Portugal,' and another called 'le plus gros de Mazarins.' Amongst the second were a ruby, emerald, sapphire, and Oriental topaz of prodigious size and brilliancy. The total height of the crown from the lower edge of the diadem to the point where the branches united was nine French inches.

"The King, seated in his chair of state, received the investiture of the sandals and the golden spurs. The Archbishop then blessed Charlemagne's sword, and girded it round the King's waist; then drawing forth the blade, he delivered it into the monarch's hands, who kissed it, and offered it to God, by placing it on the altar; upon this the Archbishop returned it to the King, who delivered it to the Constable.

"The prayers required to be recited upon this occasion being ended, the Grand Prior of St. Remi approached the altar, and opening the reliquary containing the *Sainte Ampoule* delivered it to the Archbishop, who extracted a drop of its sacred contents with the point of a golden needle, and then taking a little consecrated chrism (*sainte crême*) he mixed it with the precious oil upon a richly embossed patena. The ointment being ready, the King and Archbishop prostrated themselves at the foot of the altar, whilst four Bishops, kneeling at their sides, sang litanies, which were responded to by the choir and music. These being finished, the Archbishop rose, and placed himself with his back to the altar, the King also rising and placing himself on his knees. The former then dipped the tip of his right thumb in the ointment, and proceeded to anoint the King, first, upon the summit of the head; secondly, on the stomach; third, on the back; fourth, on the right; fifth, on the left shoulder; sixth, on the joints of the right; and, lastly, on those of the left arm. Two officiating Bishops opened the King's camisole at the appointed places, whilst the Archbishop repeatedly crossed himself, and accompanied each unction with the following words,—*'Ungo te in regem de oleo sanctificato, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'*

"After the ceremony of the first seven unctions, the Grand Chamberlain placed the tunic and dalmatic of subdeacon and royal mantle upon the shoulders of the King, who again kneeled down, and was anointed twice more on the palms of his hands. The Archbishop then blessed the gloves and the ring, sprinkled them with holy water, and placed the former on the King's hands, and the latter on the fourth finger. The prelate then delivered the sceptre into his right, and the hand of justice into his left hand, and thus terminated that portion of the ceremony called the consecration.

"After a short pause, during which the King continued kneeling, the Chancellor of France ascended the steps of the altar, and addressing each of the lay and ecclesiastical peers in succession, exclaimed, 'Approach, and be present at this act.' The Archbishop then took Charlemagne's crown from the altar, and held it above the sovereign's head, the assisting peers touching it the while with the forefinger of their right hands; having uttered a short prayer, the Archbishop then placed the crown upon the King's head, and gave him and his

assistants the usual benediction. This part of the ceremony was announced by a flourish of trumpets and a royal salute.

"The Archbishop, substituting the crown of diamonds for that of Charlemagne, raised the King and conducted him towards the throne. The procession was opened by the heralds and peers, followed by the Constable with the sword. Then came the King holding the sceptre and hand of justice, followed by the peers, &c., and took his seat on the throne. The Archbishop recited a prayer, and then taking off his mitre, bowed to the Sovereign, kissed him, and exclaimed three times, 'Vivat rex in eternum!' The peers having performed the same ceremony in rotation resumed their seats, and the heralds mounted the platform and proclaimed the name and titles of the King, the public being admitted to gaze upon the glorious splendour of the monarch, whose miserable destiny was so soon to be written in letters of blood.* A number of birds were let loose in the church, emblematical of the liberal intentions of the young monarch. The heralds descended into the nave, and with shouts of *Largess!* distributed gold and silver medals. After a *Te Deum* Mass was performed, during which the King and the peers were uncovered; the *Evangile* was brought to the monarch, who kissed it. The king-at-arms and the heralds brought the offerings and handed them to the four knights of the St. Esprit, who presented them to the King: these consisted of a silver-gilt vase of beautiful form and execution, fifteen inches high and six wide, with a rich saucer; a loaf of gold; a purse of red velvet embroidered in gold, containing thirteen gold coronation medals; a loaf of silver. The knights then mounted to the throne, where they made their obeisance to the King, who rose and descended into the chancel, followed by the peers and great officers of State. Having arrived opposite the altar, his Majesty knelt down, and taking the offerings presented them to the Archbishop, for the Church. The Benediction followed, after which the Cardinal Grand Almoner mounted the steps of the throne, and offered the kiss of peace to the King. The peers received the same from the monarch. Mass being ended, the royal party again descended to the altar, and the crown being removed from the King's head, he entered a small pavillion, where he confessed. On his return the communion was celebrated, and the procession was again formed for the palace, the crown of Charlemagne being placed on a cushion and borne before the King. Having reached his apartments, his Majesty undressed, and gave his gloves and shirt, which had been touched by the ointment, to the Cardinal Grand Almoner, to be burnt to prevent pollution.

"After a brief repose the King dressed himself in a third costume of great splendour, consisting of the royal mantle lined and caped with ermine. Under this was a tunic and dalmatic of violet satin, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lys, and bordered with a deep gold fringe. The boots or sandals were of purple velvet, sprigged with gold, the cravat and ruffles of the richest lace, and he wore Charlemagne's crown, from

* Louis XVI., at his coronation, touched the crown uneasily as it was placed on his broad sloping brow, and said, "Elle me gêne." It was the opening word of the drama in which he was the unfortunate victim.

beneath which his long hair fell in ringlets over his shoulders. In this attire he proceeded to the banqueting room.

"In the mean time the Lord Steward went to the buttery, and shortly returned with the first course, which was escorted by twenty trumpeters and drummers, six heralds, fourteen *maîtres d'hôtel* holding their wands. The Grand Pannetier carried the first, and twelve gentlemen ushered the other dishes, which the Grand Ecuyer *tranchant* arranged upon the table, and then uncovered and tasted them. The King took off his crown, and laid down his two sceptres, and the Archbishop having uttered the *Benedicite*, his Majesty seated himself. The Master of the Horse with the three Marshals who had carried the regalia, and other functionaries, then ranged themselves near the royal chair, in readiness to perform the requisite services. That of the Grand Master of the Household was to offer the napkins presented to him by one of the King's almoners having charge of the *Nef d'or* [a casket or portable case in the form of a ship, used for the napkins]. That of the Grand Pannetier was to change the plates, knives, and forks. That of the Grand Echanson was to fill the royal cup and to taste its contents. That of the Grand Ecuyer *tranchant* was to present and remove the dishes and services.

"The King having dined, the Archbishop rose and pronounced a final grace, after which the procession returned to the palace.

"On the 13th June, the King was installed as Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Ghost, with splendid ceremonies, and in the morning following proceeded in state to the abbey of St. Remi, to pay his devotions, according to kingly custom, at the shrine of the saint."

The CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON* presented some peculiarities which distinguish it from the kingly inaugurations. This great man did not suffer his elevation to the imperial dignity (by the vote of the Tribunate) to pass as a civil ceremony, but strove to give it all the effect he could from the aid of the religious institutions. His elevation was announced to the French bishops in a letter, which concluded by desiring the "*Veni Creator*" and the "*Te Deum*" to be sung in all their churches; a new form of prayer was also to be used; regulations were laid down for the coronation, and many of the public functionaries and detachments of the different military corps were ordered to attend at Paris on

* A sumptuous work on this ceremonial was published in Paris, "*Sacre de Napoléon dans l'Eglise de Notre Dame, 1804*," atlas folio, containing thirty-two exquisitely beautiful engravings of portraits, costumes, processions and ceremonies, after the designs of Isabey. Few works have ever been published, in any country, upon which so much anxiety and expense have been bestowed. The drawings by the celebrated Isabey were accurate portraits of all the court. It was not completed till the moment of the fall of Napoleon, when the whole impression was carefully destroyed, and only those few escaped which were allowed to some of the members of the imperial cabinet.

that occasion. Pope Pius VII. was also summoned to officiate on the important day ; and on October 25, 1804, he arrived at Fontainebleau, to the great gratification of the Parisian public. He was met by the emperor, who was hunting at the time ; they both alighted, and embraced each other in the French fashion.*

The coronation took place December 2, 1804. The whole of the streets through which the procession had to pass were strewed with sand, and the cathedral of Notre Dame, in which the ceremony was to be performed, was decorated on this occasion with all the sumptuousness and frippery for which the French taste has always been so remarkable. The military escort was numerous, and the procession consisted of an immense train of carriages, of the most brilliant and showy kind, with all the people of consequence belonging to the late consular court, in the midst of which Napoleon and Josephine proceeded, accompanied by the pope, through immense lines of spectators, until they reached the cathedral. The emperor bore a silver sceptre, around which was twisted a golden serpent, and surmounted with a globe, sustaining a figure of Charlemagne.

An English authoress observes that much has been said about Napoleon placing the crown on his head, and not waiting to receive it from the hands of the pope, besides his having been represented to have snatched it impatiently from the pontiff ; but the crowns of Josephine and himself were laid upon the altar, and the pope, having anointed the emperor and empress, proceeded to bless the crowns, and replaced them on the altar, retiring to his seat. Napoleon then advanced, and taking the crown intended for himself, which was a simple wreath of laurel made of gold, he pronounced the oath to the nation which had been decreed by the senate, and then repeated a declaration, importing that he acknowledged to hold the crown by the favour of God and the will of the French people, after which he placed the crown on his own head. He then took that of the empress, and placed it on her head, her Majesty receiving it kneeling. During this cere-

* The following epigram was affixed to the statue of Pasquino at Rome, when the Pope proceeded to France to crown Napoleon :—

“Romani vi diro un bel quadro,
D’ uno santo padre che fu coronar un ’ladro—
Un Pio per conservar la fede lascia la sede—
Un altro per conservar la sede lascia la fede.”

mony the pope recited the coronation prayer, "Coronet vos Deus," etc.

The imperial regalia, which was consecrated by the pope, who repeated a prayer for each, consisted of the emperor's crown, the sword, the hand of justice, the sceptre, the emperor's robe,* the ring, collar, and globe; the crown of the empress, the robe, and the ring. The offerings to the altar consisted of a wax taper decorated with thirty pieces of gold, and another with thirty pieces of silver, the *pain d'argent*, the *pain d'or*, and the cup.

Never before had a pope been obliged to leave his own dominions for the purpose of crowning an emperor or a king. It was reserved for Napoleon to outdo all other crowned heads by this action.

The imperial crown made for Napoleon was an exquisite piece of goldsmith's work. Ornamented feathers rose from a

* The late Sir Salar Jung, on his visit to Paris (August, 1867), went to see, among other wonders of the capital, the cathedral of Notre Dame, where he was much struck by one of the persons charged with exhibiting what is called the "Treasure" showing him the coronation robe of the first emperor, and adding, "This is the robe that Napoleon I. wore at his coronation, and which the Emperor Napoleon IV., at present in England, will wear when he comes over to his coronation." Sir Salar Jung replied, philosophically, "One must never say this or that will occur, nor call any one king, who cannot dwell in his own country"—an almost prophetic saying in connection with the fate of the unfortunate young Prince Imperial.

The models of the bees adopted by Napoleon I. on his coronation robes are stated to have been found in the tomb of Childeric, when opened in 1653, "of the purest gold, their wings being inlaid with a red stone like a cornelian." These ornaments were only what are called in French "*fleurons*" (supposed to have been attached to the harness of Childeric's war-horse). Handfuls of them were found when the tomb was opened at Tournay, and sent to Louis XIV. They were deposited on a green ground at Versailles.

Napoleon, wishing to have some regal emblems more ancient than the fleur-de-lys, adopted the *fleurons* as bees, and the green ground as the original Merovingian colour. This is given on the authority of the late Augustin Thierry.



Gold ornaments supposed to represent bees.

jewelled band as supporters of the globe and cross on the top, with imperial eagles placed in the intervals.

NAPOLEON WAS CROWNED WITH THE ITALIAN DIADEM at Milan, May 26, 1805, with splendid ceremonies. Seated on a



Crown of Napoleon I.

superb throne, he was invested with the usual insignia of royalty by the cardinal archbishop, and ascending the altar, he took the Iron Crown,* and placing it on his head, exclaimed (being part of the ceremony used at the enthronement of the Lombard kings), "Dieu me l'a donnée, gare à qui la touche" (God gave it to me, beware those who touch it), which Sir Walter Scott designates as a "haughty motto."

Napoleon, however, may have been thus inspired by the example of the great object of his hero-worship, Charlemagne, whose custom it was to affix to the treaties he consented to, a waxen seal impressed by the pommel of his sword: "And with the point," added the emperor, "I will support it."

* When Napoleon resolved on crowning himself with the iron diadem, he gave to the ceremony all the splendour of which it was susceptible. His journey to Milan was like the triumph of a Roman emperor, and the forms, processions, etc., arranged for the occasion, fill, in their description, a tolerably thick volume. The decorations, from the royal palace to the cathedral of Milan, occupy many pages. The procession which conveyed the crown from Monza was singular. It was led by a guard of honour on horseback, a corps of the Italian guard; a carriage contained the municipality of Monza; another followed with the assistants employed to remove the crown; the canons, the syndic, and the arciprêtre of the Cathedral of Monza succeeded; and last came a carriage with the master of the ceremonies of the imperial court, bearing the crown on a velvet cushion. Twenty-five of Napoleon's old guard surrounded the honoured vehicle. The crown was received in Milan with a salvo of artillery and the ringing of bells, and at the portal of the cathedral by the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, who bore it through the church, and deposited it on the altar. The guards watched around it during the night.

The LATEST (*as yet*) CORONATION OF FRENCH MONARCHS took place in 1825. Louis XVIII. having died without being crowned, his successor, CHARLES X. (who had figured at the consecration of Louis XVI. as Comte d'Artois, representative of the Duke of Normandy) resolved to revive the ceremonies and re-establish nearly all the obsolete usages that had been adhered to at the coronations of his legitimate predecessors. Rheims was re-endowed with its ancient privileges. Therefore, in the month of May, 1825, that ancient city saw itself once more transported to the most brilliant days of regal splendour and ecclesiastical majesty.

The magnificence displayed at the coronation of CHARLES X. was unrivalled. The inaugural ceremonies were similar in most respects to those performed on the coronation of Louis XVI., but there was little inward veneration for the imposing rites of the Church, and still less respect for those ancient customs that were revived for the occasion. Every part of the ceremony that brought before men's eyes the forgotten privileges of the hereditary nobility, was looked upon with jealousy by that of recent creation, and was considered as an attempt to restore those feudal exactions which had been anathematized by the Republic, and left in abeyance by the emperor. In short, the volcano that was destined to burst forth before the echo of the hosannas of consecration had died away, was smouldering beneath the royal feet; so that the king and his venerable adherents stood there as memorials of what France had struggled to abolish, not as models of what she was desirous to reinstate.

The gorgeous splendour of Charles X.'s coronation, and the apparent unction and sincerity with which the dignitaries of the kingdom pressed around him, serve but to render more striking the contrast between that pageant and the misguided monarch's expulsion in 1830.*

* Strange has been the destiny of the sovereigns who have ruled France during one brief century. With the exception of Louis XVIII., not one of the monarchs has ended his life tranquilly at the Tuileries: Louis XVI. guillotined; Napoleon I. died in exile, also Napoleon II., Charles X., Louis Philippe, Napoleon III.—The Place de la Revolution: St. Helena, Reichstadt, Holyrood, Claremont, Chislehurst. When Louis XV. heard the first murmur of the storm, he said gaily, "Royalty will last my time." He was right; when the day came that he died, royalty really died with him. Afterwards there were kings in France, but little that was royal. Truly did Béranger sing, "*Jamais l'exil n'a corrigé les rois!*"

In Voltaire's "*Candide, or the Optimiste*," there is a satire connected

LOUIS PHILIPPE, elected King of the French after this revolution of 1830, was not crowned. A throne was prepared at the Palais Bourbon, surrounded with tricoloured flags, and the Duke of Orleans seated himself to the sound of the "Marseillaise" and the firing of cannon from the Invalides. M. Casimir Perier read the declaration of the 7th of August, the last article of which called to the throne "S. A. R. Philippe d'Orleans, Duc d'Orléans." Amidst cries of "Vive le Roi," Louis Philippe signed the charter and the declaration of his oath, which were to be placed in the archives of the kingdom. At this moment, four marshals displayed the attributes of royalty, the sceptre, the crown, the sword, and the hand of justice. Instead of the title of "King of France" was substituted that of "King of the French."

In 1791 an inventory of the CROWN JEWELS OF FRANCE was made by M. Delattre, from which it appeared that the quantity of diamonds enumerated in the list of 1774 amounted to 7482. From that period until 1791, some had been sold at different times, to the number of 1471, but the purchase made to complete a diamond set of buttons, and to enrich the sword of Louis XVI., raised the number to 9547.

Four remarkable objects have disappeared from the treasury: the Sanci diamond; the magnificent opal known under the name of the "Burning of Troy," which belonged to the Empress Josephine; a remarkably fine brilliant of thirty-four carats that Napoleon I. wore at his marriage, and which, it is said, he lost at Waterloo; a blue diamond of the rarest perfection, weighing sixty-seven carats. It was stolen in 1792. The French suppose the blue diamond in the Hope collection, weighing $44\frac{1}{8}$ carats, to be this jewel, which was reduced to make it less known as such.

The great treasures which were stolen on the 17th of September, 1792, and not recovered, contained about one thousand carats of brilliants and roses of various sizes and qualities.

Lamartine, in his "History of the Girondins," mentions

with the changeful destinies of sovereigns. Eight travellers meet in an obscure inn, and some of them without sufficient money to pay for a miserable dinner. In the course of conversation they are discovered to be *eight monarchs* in Europe, who had been deprived of their crowns. What added to this satire was the fact that there *were* eight living monarchs at that time wanderers upon the earth.

in several places that Danton and Roland were accused of having made away with the greater portion of the diamonds belonging to the crown of France, and the wardrobe. According to him they have never been traced.

In 1810 Napoleon, after purchasing over the continent all the diamonds and jewels which were detected to have formed a portion of the robbery of the treasury, had an inventory made of them, the number amounting to 37,393.

It has never been shown that Charles X. directed the removal of the crown jewels from St. Cloud, but on his abdication and flight the insufficiency of funds might, very naturally, have suggested to the steward of the royal household the wisdom of packing up these valuables; they would either remain with the abdicated monarch, or be ransomed by the country. As soon, however, as their removal was ascertained, the municipal commission at Paris appointed three deputies to proceed without delay to Rambouillet and demand their restoration. Charles refused to surrender the crown diamonds, but a body of six thousand men being directed towards Rambouillet, the king yielded to necessity, and reluctantly surrendered the diamonds.

In 1848, during the transport of the crown diamonds to the treasury, a case was stolen containing jewels to the value of 300,000 francs. During the Franco-German war the crown jewels were removed for security to a military ocean port.

The crown jewels of France, displayed at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, were divided into eight cases. The first contained the seven Mazarine diamonds, purchased by the celebrated cardinal; the second, a diadem in pearls and brilliants, of which a single pearl alone is valued at 500,000 francs; the third case, regal ornaments in turquoises and brilliants; the fourth, the same in sapphires and brilliants; the fifth, pearl necklace, earrings, etc.; the sixth, ornaments in brilliants and rubies; the seventh, diamond stars, and other insignia, received by Napoleon III. from different sovereigns, conspicuous among them all being the Order of the "Elephant of Siam," a diamond sword-handle executed for Charles X., and a watch, studded with diamonds, originally designed for the Dey of Algiers; the eighth and last case contained several magnificent parures in brilliants, one of which can be transformed into a necklace.

It seems that after much parliamentary discussion the French Government has resolved that the crown jewels

should be sold by public auction in Paris, a deed entirely without parallel in the history of any country. From the general sale the following objects are to be reserved, by reason of their exceptional interest:—1. The “Regent,” or Pitt diamond, bought from Pitt, Governor of Madras, by Philippe d’Orléans in 1717. This is reckoned the second largest diamond in the world, being surpassed only by the Orloff stone in the imperial sceptre of Russia. 2. A sword with a hilt of brilliants and magnificent goldsmith’s work, made in 1824. 3. A reliquary, mounted with brilliants set in a triangle, that dates from 1479. 4. The Mazarine diamonds (before mentioned). 5. The watch (also before mentioned). 6. A ruby engraved with a chimera, which is said to be the largest engraved ruby known. 7. A “Dragon and Elephant of Den-



Crowns of the Bourbons in France.

mark” marvellously wrought in enamel. 8. The celebrated ring known as the “Régale of France,” which was placed by Louis VII. upon the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, and which, after being worn as a thumb-ring by Henry VIII., to whom nothing was sacred, and passing through various vicissitudes, afterwards found its way back to France.

It was usual for the kings of France to give their crowns used at the consecration in keeping to the treasury of St. Denis. Among these, previous to the Revolution of 1792, was the crown of St. Louis, of massive gold, adorned with precious stones, remarkable for their size and beauty. Among the most conspicuous of the jewels was a large ruby which St. Louis had set in such a manner as to show *one of the*

thorns from the crown of our Lord, which was placed within its socket.

With regard to the *crowns of France*, Louis XIV. introduced fleurs-de-lys as the principal ornament of the French crown for the diadem, as well as for the top. A crown made in the eighteenth century contains 273 diamonds, interspersed with 64 coloured precious stones of great beauty and value.

In 1831 King Louis Philippe adopted a new arrangement for the crown of France, modifying the shape of the fleurs-de-lys, and adding a wreath of oak leaves to the diadem; at the same time re-instating the imperial globe with a jewelled zone on the top.



Crowns of France (Orleans branch).

In BELGIUM the king is not crowned, but, stretching forth his right hand at his installation, he says, "I swear to observe the constitution and the laws of the Belgian people; to maintain the national independence and integrity of the territory."

A crown has been lately made for the Queen of the Belgians by the court jeweller. It is an incredibly elaborate work of art, composed of forty pearls, twenty being pear-shaped and of enormous size; forty large brilliants, and nearly five thousand small ones, the whole set in gold and wrought in open work. This crown resembles a coronal of flame, simple in form, but of great elegance. It weighs less than half a pound.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE DUKE OF ANJOU AS DUKE OF BRABANT, in 1582, presents some curious features of interest. The name is familiar to English readers as that of a suitor for the hand of Queen Elizabeth, but whose revolting appearance was the principal reason for the rupture of the marriage. On February 17 the duke set sail for Antwerp, where he was received with distinguished honour. A large platform had been erected for the ceremony of the inauguration, commanding a view of the stately city. A throne covered with velvet and gold was prepared, and here the duke took his

seat, surrounded by a brilliant throng, including many of the most distinguished persons in Europe. Andrew Hessels, *doctor utriusque juris*, delivered a salutatory oration, and then read aloud the articles of the "Joyous Entry" (*blyde inkomst*, or blithe entrance), the ancient constitution of Brabant, a barrier against tyranny, and highly esteemed in the Netherlands. The duke having notified his acquiescence, the oaths, according to ancient custom, were administered. Afterwards the ducal hat and the velvet mantle, lined with ermine, were brought, the Prince of Orange assisting his Highness to assume this historical costume of the Brabant dukes, and saying to him as he fastened the button at the throat, "I must secure this robe so firmly, my lord, that no man can ever tear it from your shoulders." Thus arrayed in his garment of sovereignty, Anjou listened to another oration from the Pensionary of Antwerp, John van der Werken. He then exchanged oaths with the magistrates of the city, and received the keys, which he returned to the burgomaster. Meanwhile the trumpets sounded, largess of gold and silver coins was scattered among the people, and the heralds cried aloud, "Long live the Duke of Brabant!"

In the ANCIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE SCANDINAVIANS the people seem always to have made it a law to choose the nearest relation of the deceased king, or at least some one of the royal family, whom they respected as issued from the gods. The places where these elections were made are still shown; and as Denmark was for a long time divided into three kingdoms, we find, accordingly, three principal monuments of this custom—the one near Lunden, in Scania, the other at Leyra, or Lethra, in Zealand, and the third near Viburg, in Jutland. These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, are only vast unhewn stones, commonly twelve in number, set upright and placed in form of a circle. In the middle is erected a stone much larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for their king. The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace, and marked the place of those whom the people had appointed to make the election. They treated also in the same place on the most important affairs; but if the king chanced to die in war or at a distance from home, they formed upon the spot a place after the same model by bringing together the largest stones they could find. The principal

chiefs got on these stones and with a loud voice delivered their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood in crowds about them, signified their approbation or assent by clashing their swords together in a kind of cadence, or by raising certain shouts.

We know that this custom of electing their kings in the open field prevailed among all the northern nations, and was for a long time necessary, because they had no cities.

In Sweden they joined to the other ceremonies described, an oath, reciprocally taken by the king and his subjects. One of the judges of the provinces convoked an assembly to make a new election immediately after the death of the king, and demanded with a loud voice of the people if they would accept for king the person he named, who was always one of the royal family. When they had all given their consent the new king was lifted up on the shoulders of the chiefs, in order that all the people might see and know him. Then he took Odin to witness that he would observe all the laws, defend his country, extend its boundaries, revenge whatever injuries his predecessors had received from their enemies, and would strike some signal stroke which should render him and his people famous. This oath he renewed at the funeral of his predecessor, which was usually celebrated with great pomp, and also on occasion of the progress which he was obliged to make through the chief provinces of the kingdom, in order to receive the homage of his subjects.

The exact conformity which we find between the manners of the Danes and Swedes, during the ages of paganism, leave no doubt that the kings of Denmark were elected after the same manner. This supposition is confirmed by what we can discover of the ancient constitution of the kingdom of Norway. There was an identity of government in the three principal kingdoms of the North.

With regard to the CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY, though the union between the two countries is, in fact, what international law calls a "real" union, it presents a pre-eminently personal character. It is the sovereign's person that ties most intimately together the two realms. In everything else dualism is strictly enforced. As there are two courts—one Swedish and one Norwegian—so there are also two coronations. So highly do the Norwegians value the performance of this ceremony that it has been formally enacted that "the coronation shall take place in the cathedral

of Drontheim, with the ceremonies it may please his Majesty to ordain."

This is an article of the constitution of 1814. The Bishop of Drontheim performs the consecration rites. In this cathedral Bernadotte was crowned King of Norway, February 5, 1818.

Norway is proud of its independence and jealous of the predilections of its sovereigns; hence the great price attached to their presence in Norway, and, above all, to their being crowned separately with the crown of St. Olaf. One of the kings of this century, however, never went to Drontheim. Oscar I. would not consent to be separated at such a solemn occasion from his spouse, who, being a Roman Catholic, could not take a part in the ceremonies of an ultra-Protestant Church. On the 5th of August, 1860, Charles XV. and Queen Louisa were crowned in the old cathedral, and July 19, 1873, OSCAR II. and QUEEN SOPHIA received, at the same place, the crown of Norway and the oath of the people.

The ceremony of the inauguration began by the singing of a cantata of Jonas Live, after which the Bishop of Bergen ascended the chair to preach the sermon. The king then rose, and, surrounded by his ministers, seated himself on the throne, opposite the grand altar, where the Bishop of Drontheim officiated. The coronet and ermine cloak which his Majesty had worn until then were deposited on the altar, and the Bishop of Drontheim then solemnly put on the royal head the crown of Norway, after which the king received from the ministers the royal insignia—the sceptre, sword, apple, and key. His Majesty then resumed his place in the body of the church, while the queen was crowned in a similar manner, and the royal sceptre and apple presented to her. This concluded the ceremonial in the church.

In the grand church at Stockholm (also called St. Nicholas, from its former patron saint), situated near to the castle, is the silver armchair, surmounted by a royal crown, the gift of the French court to Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, at her coronation. This is still used at these august ceremonies.

In Upsala Cathedral was celebrated the CORONATION OF ALL SWEDISH KINGS. A crown on the roof marks the spot beneath which the circlet was placed upon the monarch's head.

Erik XIV. first bore the *closed* crown, as king by right of

inheritance. He caused to be made a complete regalia by a skilful jeweller of Antwerp. When, in 1542, the grand chancellor was sent on an embassy to Paris, the King of France transmitted a crown, sceptre, and orb as a proof of friendship.

The coronation of Eric XIV. (1560) was splendidly celebrated. At the anointing the king was stripped to the waist and then "smöred" (anointed) by the Archbishop of Upsala, kneeling on one knee beneath the canopy. The prelate first anointed him on the chest, praying "God to grant him a holy heart;" then on each shoulder; next between the blades, "that he might have strength to defend his people." The "smöring" over, they passed on him a white petticoat, the ceremony ending with a sumptuous banquet, which lasted nine hours.

At the coronation the chancellor, Nils Gyllenstjerna, fainted away, letting fall the crown. Erik's life was made up of omens. He was the first sovereign who received the key of the Eskil chamber instead of the ring, by which the Roman Catholic kings of Sweden were invested.

Gustaf Wasa exchanged the ring for a key, which became the fourth emblem of the kings of Sweden.

The King of Sweden is crowned as King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals; hence the assumption of the three crowns, which appear on coins as early as the reign of Magnus Ladulas.

In pagan days the royal succession went by inheritance, until the "Ynglingers" died out. With Christianity came election to the throne for virtue, station, or strength. The old Upland law has it (Birger, 1296): "Now if it be necessary to take a king, the Upland lagman shall first decide who he shall be; and every lagman shall come and invest him with authority to rule the country, maintain the law, and preserve peace; after which he shall ride his eriksgata. They shall follow him and take the oaths of allegiance from his subjects; then he shall be crowned in Upsala church by the archbishop; and if he be a good king, God grant him a long life!" (See chapter iv., "Coronation Chair," etc.)

In the royal vaults of Strengnas Cathedral, Sweden, it was the custom to bury the dead with insignia of regalia. In 1693 this practice was abolished on the death of Ulrika Eleonora, the gentle queen of Charles XI.

Marryat, in "One Year in Sweden," relates an inspection

he had of the royal tombs. In one was the skull of Charles IX., side by side with his regalia—a covered crown of rich workmanship, gold, and enamelled, the points tipped with pearls *fumées*, the jewels chrysolites; orb and sceptre *en suite*, the stones cut in brilliants and table.

Christina of Holstein's regalia is that of a widowed queen, a regalia of "dule" unjewelled; the crown, of pretty design, ornamented with roses, pansies, and a small star-shaped flower—the whole of black enamel and gold; the globe and sceptre of similar workmanship. Queen Christina's head is missing; she requires a crown no longer.

Charles IX.'s coffin was of tin, enclosed within a second of wood, covered with black velvet, and so studded with gold nails that a knife could not be passed between them. Before the closing of the coffin, says the chronicler, the queen "patted his hands."

Gustaf III., King of Sweden, 1771, caused the crown and sceptre to be removed from the tomb of John II. (brother of Erik XIV.), and suspended over the sarcophagus he erected to his ancestor Erik at Westeras, saying, "This crown and sceptre which you wrenched from your brother when alive, I now restore to him."

THE CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF DENMARK is solemnized in the royal chapel of the castle of Fredericksborg.

Owing to the political disturbances of the period, on the accession of the present king there was no ceremonial beyond the proclamation and taking the oath. The President of the Council of Ministers (Hall) proclaimed Prince Christian as King Christian IX., of Denmark, from the palace of Christiansborg (November 16, 1863). On the appearance of the king on the balcony enthusiastic cheers were given for "Denmark and Schleswig."

The castle of Rosenborg contains the regalia of Denmark, among which appear, brilliant and dazzling, the jewels of Queen Madalena. She bequeathed them to the country, with whose money they had been purchased.

The crown of Christian IV., by Thomas Fiuren, of Odense, of gold enamel and jewels, is, perhaps, the finest specimen of the goldsmith's art now extant. It is no longer used, being that of an elected sovereign, open.

The crown of Christian V., first hereditary monarch, very inferior as a work of art, is closed. His queen, not being of the Lutheran persuasion, could not by law be crowned Queen

of Denmark. The queen's crown is of Madalena's time. The sceptre is of exquisite workmanship.

Arranged around stand, or rather crawl, the three colossal silver lions of Denmark. These form a part of all regal ceremonies, joyous or lugubrious. They emigrate to the cathedral church of Roeskilde, and accompany the deceased sovereign to his last resting-place, and again appear at Fredericksborg at the coronation of his successor. In an illuminated manuscript of about the middle of the eleventh century, the Danish queen is represented with a circlet of gold and jewels round her head. The kings are often shown with a regal helmet.

It seems probable that amongst other forms and ceremonies which RUSSIA owed to the marriage and conversion of Vladimir, the idolatrous prince of Kiew, towards the end of the tenth century, was that of CORONATION. It is certain, at least, that among the gifts sent on this occasion by the two emperors of the East, Basil II. and Constantine XI., to their brother-in-law, was a cap or crown of gold, enriched with precious stones. This crown, called the "Cap of Monomakh," or Monomachus (but not to be confounded with that of the same name in the museum of Pesth), is still preserved in the treasury at Moscow, although no longer used for the coronation of Russia's sovereigns. With the death of Vladimir, Russia was divided into a dozen principalities, which wasted their strength in internecine warfare, until, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the princes of Moscow succeeded in uniting the greater part of Russia under their sway. These petty princes, whose descendants form the staple of the high Russian nobility of to-day, had their own *crowns*;* but in those days *coronation* seems to have formed part of the ceremony by which the reigning sovereign before death transferred all authority to his successor. It took the place of the Biblical imposition of hands, and, like

* The magnificence of the early Muscovite czars was of a splendid character. When foreign ambassadors arrived, they were received with great pomp in the imperial palace. The walls of the hall were hung with magnificent tapestries; gold and silver vessels, of Asiatic form, shone on the daïs. The czar received them, crown on head, sceptre in hand, seated on the throne of Solomon, supported by the mechanical lions, which roared loudly, surrounded by his body-guards in long white caftans and armed with the great silver axe, by his sumptuously dressed boyards, and by his clergy.

it, was accompanied by a blessing, but beyond this does not seem to have had any special religious character. Ivan the Great, in 1472, having married Sophia Palæologus, niece of the last emperor of the East, and assumed for the arms of Russia the double-headed eagle, in token of his succession to the empty inheritance of the Roman Cæsars and Byzantine emperors, solemnly crowned his grandson Dmitry, in 1498, with the "Cap of Monomachus," and invested him with the *barma*, a short mantle inherited from his imperial ancestors. But it was Ivan IV. the Terrible, who gave to the ceremony that essentially religious character which it has ever since possessed. He it was who, first of Russia's sovereigns, was anointed at his coronation on forehead, mouth, and chin, with the sacred oil, and partook of the Holy Sacrament. At this period the clergy played a very important part in the ceremony. The metropolitan, or patriarch, sat on a raised seat beside the throne, and it was from him that the czar received the symbols of sovereignty. But with the accession of Peter, the supremacy of the Church in Russia tottered to its fall. The supreme authority over Church and State, hitherto divided between patriarch and czar, was united in the person of the emperor, and thenceforward the part assigned to the clergy in the coronation became purely ministerial.

The first strictly IMPERIAL CORONATION was that of Catherine, wife of Peter the Great, afterwards Catherine I., which took place on May 7, 1724. The *crown*, specially ordered for that occasion, and preserved with the "Cap of Monomachus" and many others in the Kremlin treasury, was of pure gold, and adorned with 2564 precious stones, many of them taken from Peter's *orb*, and surmounted by the great ruby, bought for the Czar Alexis in Pekin. The emperor and empress left St. Petersburg in February, and reached Moscow on the 22nd of March, 1724, but entered the Kremlin only on the eve of the coronation. The ceremonial was that which has ever since, in all but minor details, been observed on like occasions. In the Ouspensky Cathedral, which was sumptuously decorated, two ancient chairs of curious workmanship were placed upon a platform, raised twelve steps above the floor of the church, and enclosed by a richly ornamented railing. On the chairs was a rich baldachin, like the covering of the daïs, of velvet and galoon; in front of them a table, on which lay the glittering regalia. Persian carpets covered the floor from throne to altar, and in front of the choir were

the places to be occupied by the imperial couple during the service immediately following the coronation. Benches, covered with crimson cloth, were arranged on either side for the dignitaries of the Church, and places were likewise assigned for the Duke of Holstein and the ladies of the imperial family. When the procession approached the cathedral the clergy sallied out to meet it, and the Archbishop of Novgorod extended the cross for the emperor and empress to kiss, while the Archbishop of Pskoff sprinkled them with holy water. Then Peter and Catherine entered the sacred building, and took their seats under the baldachin; and when all who were to be present had found their places, the emperor, taking the sceptre in his right hand, rose, and turning to the clergy, said in a loud voice, "You are already aware of our intention of crowning our beloved consort; wherefore be pleased now to execute it, in accordance with the ceremony appointed by the Church." Hereupon the clergy rose and approached the throne; the Archbishop of Novgorod ascended the steps of the dais, and addressing the empress in a short speech, requested her, in accordance with the custom of the ancient Christian sovereigns, to profess the orthodox Catholic faith in the hearing of her faithful subjects. This being duly accomplished, the archbishop handed to the emperor the imperial mantle, with which Peter then invested his wife, and after another prayer the crown was in the same way given to the emperor, and by him placed on the head of his kneeling consort. Finally, Catherine received from her husband the imperial orb. This concluded the actual investiture, and a signal being given, the bells rung out, the cannons thundered, and the troops fired a *feu de joie*. The rest of the ceremony was essentially religious. The emperor and empress having taken their places next the choir, the Liturgy was read and chanted in the ordinary form. When the doors in the monasteries were thrown open, Peter led his consort up to, but not through them (women may not enter the "Holy of Holies"); there kneeling, she took off the crown from her head, and the Archbishop of Novgorod anointed her on forehead, cheeks, and hands with the sacred oil, after which his brother of Pskoff, a noted preacher, delivered a suitable address.

The coronation of Peter's successor, Anne, Duchess of Courland, is remarkable as the last in which the sovereign was crowned by the primate or metropolitan.

The CORONATION OF THE EMPERORS OF RUSSIA takes place in the Kremlin at Moscow, the ancient capital of the huge dominions of the czars. It is one of the grandest solemnities of this character in the world, and conducted with a profusion that no country but that, ruled by an autocrat over eighty millions of subjects, with the vast resources he can command, could possibly effect.

The pomp that heralded the coronation of the late emperor, Alexander II., in September, 1856, could not have been surpassed for its magnificence, and was for its joyous celebration in striking contrast with that of his father, the Emperor Nicholas, in 1826.* In the latter case the czar had been within an ace of being murdered in the insurrection which exploded in St. Petersburg. The mutiny having been quelled, a reign of terror set in, and there were no festivities at court, or in any of the palaces of the nobility. When, at length, Nicholas went to Moscow to be crowned, his progress was not meant to gladden the people, but to make them quake. When the czar left the Cathedral of the Assumption with his crown on his head, "his face," wrote Alexandre Herzen, "looked hard as Siberian ice." The people were too frightened to cheer; they dropped on their knees, with their faces in the dust, "and this," said De Custine, with his light French sneer, a few years later, "has been their customary posture ever since."†

Alexander II. had nothing to fear from his subjects at the time of his accession, and he expressly desired that his coronation might not be graced by military displays only. "It must be a national feast; my loving subjects of all ranks and professions must have their share in the rejoicing," he said to Prince Worenzow, who arranged the programme.

* The ceremonies attending the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas and the Empress Alexandra (of Prussia) are depicted in the account of that event, at Moscow, by M. Graf, and was published in Paris in 1828.

† At the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas there were, however, some striking and affecting incidents. After the czar was crowned, the empress-mother, then at the age of sixty-seven, went to him, and taking him in her arms, she pressed him fondly to her heart. Like this mother and son, once on a time, the first Romanow, with the crown on his head, bowed down before his father the metropolitan, who acknowledged in him his son and czar. On this occasion the elder brother, Constantine, bent low before his younger brother, who embraced him with tears, while their reverend mother rose once more in order to bless the harmony between her sons, and the thousands from the Caspian to the Tajo looked on in emotion and surprise at this unprecedented spectacle.

The Kremlin is to the Russians what the Tower, St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the cathedrals, the universities (all in one), would be to an Englishman. It is the heart and soul of Moscow, and Moscow is the heart and soul of Russia. It is her historical monument and the temple of her faith. Against these walls have been broken the hordes which, for so many centuries, sought to destroy in its cradle the Hercules which was born to crush them, and within them have passed most of the great events which are the landmarks in Russian history. Here is all that is most precious and sacred to the Russian race—the tombs of the kings, dukes, and czars, the palaces, the cathedrals, the treasures, the tribunals, the holy images, the miraculous relics, so dear to this giant of the Slavonic race.

The pilgrimage to the Kremlin relics forms part of the regular ceremonial of every coronation. These images and relics are bewildering in number. At the *Sparkoi Warota*, or Saviour's Gate, may be seen a portrait of our Lord, which is popularly believed to have defied all the efforts of French looters to take possession of it in 1812. Ladders which were propped against the wall, where it is encased, broke; carbines fired at it exploded, killing the marksmen, and so on. Among the other noteworthy relics are the "Portrait of Our Lady" * and "Our Lord's vesture without seam," a duplicate of which, by the way, is preserved at Trèves, and brings

* "Our Lady of Vladimir" is the most sacred image in all Russia, the only one in the czar's dominions which the Church allows to have been painted by St. Luke. It was brought from Kherson by Vladimir some nine centuries ago. It is painted on wax. The face is very dark, nearly black, and of the Byzantine type. The drawing is good, which is rare. Contrary to custom, the infant's face nestles to the cheek of the mother, both being enclosed in the same horseshoe-shaped glory; and part of the body drapery is visible. The highly wrought nimbus is ornamented with four irregularly placed stars, each star having four points tipped with a large pearl. One centre is missing, but the remaining three consist of a ruby, an emerald, and a sapphire. An under glory, forming a kind of cap, is made of a net of pearls, with a single diamond in the centre. Connecting the ends of the outer glory, and passing under the chin, is a broad band of gold, encrusted with pearls, curiously placed in groups. This slants across the breast; and to it is fixed a richly wrought crescent, decorated with alternate gold bosses and large pearls, with a precious stone in the centre. The general outline of the drapery is sketched in pearls, and the whole is set in a richly designed frame, in which the honeysuckle pattern is much employed. Some of these jewels are very fine—one emerald is valued at ten thousand roubles, and the whole at two hundred thousand.

much profit to that city every five and twenty years, when it is publicly exhibited.

Another customary observance is the retirement of the sovereign for fasting and prayer during the five days before the coronation.

I will mention some of the essential details of the coronation of the late Alexander II., which particularly belong to the ceremonial observed at all such solemnities.

The thrones used by the emperor and empress were those of John III. and Michael Feodorowitch, which have served at all coronations since the time of Peter the Great. The officiating prelates were the archbishops of Moscow and Novgorod, who commenced the ceremony by blessing the holy banner of Russia, that of Our Lady of Kiew, the spear-head of which is made out of a piece of the "true cross." The banner having been sprinkled with holy water was presented to the emperor, who waved it thrice before the congregation, and then restored it to the primate. His Majesty then knelt, while the imperial mantle of silver and ermine was adjusted to his shoulders. Next he rose and stood upright, while the sword of John III. was being girt round his waist, and the sceptre with its orb was placed in his right hand. Finally he sat down to have the massive crown set upon his brow. After this, the empress knelt before her husband, who removed the crown from his own head and laid it for an instant on hers.* Another and smaller crown was then put on her Majesty's brow by her ladies, who at the same time covered her with a mantle like the czar's. Throughout these ceremonies prayers were said and canticles sung by the clergy and a choir of three hundred voices; but there were no acclamations from the people, for the czar was not yet anointed. The making of the czar the "Lord's anointed" is the more important part of the service. The Archbishop of Moscow, holding a silver bowl full of holy oil, in which a fragment of the "crown of thorns" has been immersed, took a golden palm branch, and, dipping it into

* In the early history of the world we find that the queen received her crown from the king; thus, in the Book of Esther (ii. 17), "the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti."

The empresses of Constantinople, like the queens of Persia, received the crown matrimonial from the hands of the emperor.

the oil, touched with it the czar's brow, his eyelids, ears, lips, and the palms of his hands, after which attendants opened the monarch's vestments, so as to lay an inch of his breast bare, and the archbishop traced a cross on the skin with the oil, pronouncing the solemn words—"Impressis doni Spiritus Sancti." The act was done, and Russian eyes looked with awe upon the anointed of God, the delegate of His power, the high priest of His Church, at once emperor and patriarch, consecrated and installed in his high temporal and spiritual office.* A salvo of cannon, the bray of trumpets, the roll of drums, announced the completion of the sacred act to those who were without the church and could not witness it. Meanwhile the empress came forward and was anointed by the archbishop on the forehead only.

Then the emperor and empress, the one on the right and

* "The religious or ecclesiastical position of the Emperor of Russia transpires throughout the whole history of his Church. He is the father of the whole patriarchal community, the keeper of the keys, and the body-servant of God. His coronation, even at the present time, is not a mere ceremony, but an historical event and solemn consecration. It is preceded by fasting and seclusion, and takes place in the most sacred church in Russia; the emperor not, as in the corresponding forms of European investiture, a passive recipient, but himself the principal figure in the whole scene; himself reciting aloud the confession of the orthodox faith; himself alone on his knees, amidst the assembled multitude, offering up the prayer of intercession for the empire; himself placing his own crown with his own hands on his own head; himself entering through the sacred doors of the innermost sanctuary, and taking from the altar the elements of bread and wine, of which then and there, in virtue of his consecration, he communicates with bishops, priests, and deacons. In every considerable church is placed a throne in front of the altar, as if in constant expectation of the sudden apparition of the sovereign" (Dean Stanley's "*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*").

Traces of the confusion of political and religious power, so united from the earliest times, remain to this day in our own coronation rites, so the emperors of Germany are vested on their day of coronation in a cassock and white alb.

The kings of France, in the Middle Ages, wore at the coronation nearly all the vestments proper to a priest. The kings of Poland were buried in a sacerdotal garb.

The kings of Assyria seem to have united the priestly with the regal character; and in the religious scenes representing their acts of worship, no priests ever intervene between them and the god, or appear to assume any but a very subordinate position. The king himself stands and worships in close proximity to the holy tree; and with his own hand he pours libations, and it is not unlikely that he was entitled with his own hands to sacrifice victims.

the other on the left of the presiding archbishops, received the Holy Sacrament; to the emperor, as the chosen servant privileged by Heaven, it is ministered in the two kinds, the empress receiving only the sacramental bread. Once more the choir burst out in full jubilant chorus, and their Majesties again mounted the platform of the throne,

"and stood erect, while the mass was intoned by the priests, and the responses were chaunted by the choir.

"The holy service being concluded, the Emperor stepped from the throne, bowed right and left to the great dignitaries of state, to the prelates, to the representatives of the foreign powers, and then left the church, accompanied by his splendid retinue, and followed, at a short distance, by the Empress.

"At the moment when the Emperor took back the sceptre and globe, the priest proclaimed the Imperial title, and then chaunted, 'Domine salvum fac Imperatorem, et Domine, salvam fac Imperatricem,' to which the choristers added, 'Ad multos annos,' and, at the same instant, the bells, which had been silent, burst forth once more with tremendous clamour, and the guns of the batteries fired 101 rounds. It was at half-past ten, that the mouth of the cannon announced the prayers, which His Majesty, kneeling, addressed before all his people to the King of kings, to sanctify his reign. All this tumult suddenly ceased. There was a murmur of voices for a moment in the court, which was hushed at once, as a bell tinkled once or twice from the cathedral, and there was a profound silence while Empress, Metropolitan, and people inside, all knelt down and addressed their prayers to Heaven for the Emperor, who alone stood upright as they prayed. At forty-five minutes after ten, the bells broke out again, and the 'Te Deum,' which heralded the high mass, was chaunted.

"The brilliant procession left the church, and the Czar stood with globe and sceptre in his hands, before his people. In a few minutes the *cortège* entered the Cathedral of St. Michael. The priests in golden stole and surplice were waiting at the gates, and sprinkled the Emperor and Empress with holy water, and gave them the cross to kiss. Their Majesties also kissed the holy relics in the church, and knelt down to pray before the tombs of their ancestors, after which the 'Domine salvum fac' was chaunted, and the Imperial party continued their short march for a few yards to the Church of the Annunciation, where the same ritual was observed."

THE CORONATION OF THE CZAR ALEXANDER III. AND THE CZARINA, at Moscow, on May 27 (May 15, *Russian*), 1883—which had been long delayed in consequence of the assassination of the late emperor, and owing also to intestine troubles in the country—was one of the most magnificent spectacles that have been seen in modern times. The procession to the Cathedral of the Assumption was extremely impressive and brilliant. Immediately preceding the arrival, the almoner of

the empress, assisted by two priests carrying holy water, blessed the path which their Majesties were about to tread. The baldachin, or canopy, under which they walked, was of cloth of gold, surrounded with six eagles in gilt bronze, and as many bouquets of ostrich feathers of the imperial colours, white, blue, and red, and eagles embroidered on the festoons. The arms of the empire appeared in rich embroidery in the inner surface. The sixteen columns supporting the canopy were of silver, and were borne on either side by sixteen generals, an office filled at English coronations by the barons of the Cinque Ports. In the cathedral all was glitter and gold. The imperial thrones, the gold balustrade, the rich carpets, the gold canopy surmounting the thrones and descending from the cupola with its crown of ostrich feathers, were fitting additions to the hosts of saints, moulded in gold and silver, covering the walls.

The formula of the rites attending the coronation of the emperor and empress was similar to that which inaugurated the preceding reign.

One feature of peculiar interest on this august occasion was the illumination of Moscow. In the glowing language of the *Times*' correspondent, "the city was again burning, that is the only expression for it. Every private house, every public building, looks like a frame of rainbow fireworks. Never was anything of the kind so complete, so fairy-like. Viewed from the walls of the Kremlin, the aspect of the city is grand, and viewed from the city the Kremlin itself, illuminated by electricity, looks more than magnificent with its towers, and domes, and steeples standing out, not like structures of stone, but like balls, and pillars, and crowns, and pyramids of variegated fire."

In accordance with the usages of czars of the olden day, the coronation banquet is held in Russia at *Granovitaja Palata*, a building of the fifteenth century, in the purest Byzantine style. The hall is not so spacious as that in the Winter Palace, but the largest in the Kremlin, and remarkable for its singular old-fashioned aspect. It seems as if it belonged to a far-back century. The vaulted roof rests on columns, round which is placed the magnificent silver plate. At the coronation banquet of the Emperor Nicholas some changes of the old usages were made. Beside the emperor's throne were two armchairs, one for the empress, the other

for the empress-mother; whereas in former days, during the czars' banquets, the princesses were only allowed to look on through a secret window. There was an orchestra, unknown in the days of old. Before the banquet the emperor received in the hall the congratulations of the priesthood, the dignitaries, and the *Corps Diplomatique*. Grace was said at the banquet by the metropolitan. The imperial family were waited upon by the highest court officials, and the dishes are offered kneeling.

Alexander II. began his reign as a people's darling. He was so well aware of this that he conceived the grandiose idea of giving a banquet to two hundred thousand of his poorer subjects from Moscow and the adjacent villages in the plains round Petrowski. Preparations were made for this amazing feast by covering a square mile with tables, and the tables with hunks of beef, bread, and casks of *kwass*. Unfortunately, the impatience of the guests did not allow them to wait till the hour of the dinner. A flagstaff had been erected in the middle of the plain, and it had been arranged that the signal to "fall to" should be given by the hoisting of the flag. On the evening before the day of the feast, while some twenty thousand *mujiks* were loitering round the plain sniffing the food, an engineer officer, named Minakoff, wishing to try if the ropes of the flagstaff worked well, gave them a tug and sent the bunting flying aloft. In the twinkling of an eye the *mujiks* swooped upon the tables and made a clearance. No horde of famished wolves could have done the work better. Beef, bread, beer, everything went; and when these were gone, the wooden dishes were carried off also. The czar laughed when he was told of the matter. "Well, well, so long as they enjoyed themselves, that is all that I wanted: but we must give something to poor Minakoff. I am sure he must have feared that they were going to eat him also."

The *people's fête* at the coronation of the Emperor Alexander III., in the park of the Petrowski Palace, was of the most enthusiastic character, the estimate of the numbers present varying from half a million to a million, although it is doubtful whether any one could form an approximate idea of such a mass of people. On entering the ground they passed between little rows of huts, where the food was distributed, each person receiving a little basket with a meat-pie, a cake, and some sweets, together with an earthenware mug,

stamped with the double-headed eagle and the date, as a souvenir of the fête. The mead and beer were distributed from barrels, and a whole train laden with these occupied one side of the park. An idea of the quantity required may be gleaned from the fact that there were about one hundred and fifty waggon loads of barrels of beer which were emptied during the day. The emperor and empress were present for a short time in the imperial pavilion, and witnessed the shows and other amusements prepared for the people.

The REGALIA OF RUSSIA includes a mass of precious gems, which no other country could surpass. The *imperial crown* resembles in outline the dome shape of a patriarchal mitre. On its summit is a cross formed of five magnificent diamonds, supported by a large uncut but polished ruby. Eleven diamonds in the shape of a foliated arch rising from the front and back of the crown support the ruby and the cross, and on either side of the central arch a hoop, consisting of thirty-eight perfect pearls, imparts to the whole structure the appearance of a mitre. The formation is emblematical of the exaltation of the czar into the ancient patriarch, and, moreover, of the fact that he is nominally the father of his people. The spaces on either side of the arches are filled with ornamental silver work, studded with diamonds, and are underlaid with purple velvet. The band on which the arches rest, and which encircles the head of the czar, contains twenty-eight diamonds. The orb is surmounted by an immense sapphire, together with a diamond of the first water, but elongated in form. The



Crown of the Emperor of Russia.



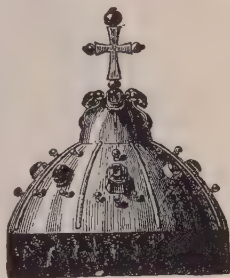
Crown of the Empress of Russia.

coronet of the empress is a mass of diamonds; more than a hundred of exquisite brilliancy are blended with much artistic taste. Both these crowns are similar in arrangement to the crown of Austria. The ornamentation of the emperor's crown shows a somewhat more elaborate design than the crown of the empress, having an ornament of laurel leaves and palm branches in front. This crown was made in the time of Catherine II., and used, for the first time, at the coronation of her son, the Emperor Paul I.

The *imperial sceptre* is surmounted by the great Orloff diamond, which became the property of the Crown in the reign of Catherine II. Several stories, more or less contradictory, are related of this magnificent jewel. It has been asserted that the Koh-i-noor and the Orloff at one time formed part of the same stone, and that a slab now at Kokan is a remnant of the same jewel, which was in the possession of Shah Jehan, and which is said to have weighed no less than seven hundred and ninety-three carats. This supposition is not likely to be true, as to a well-practised eye the Orloff has a tinge of yellow in its substance, whilst the Koh-i-noor is perfectly colourless. Mr. Michell, consul-general at St. Petersburg, says that the great diamond in question once formed the eye of an idol in a temple at Seringham, near Trichinopoly, and that a deserter from the French army, which then occupied the latter fortress, obtained some menial post in attendance on the priests. An opportunity at length arrived, and the Frenchman robbed the god of his valuable eye. The spoiler escaped with his loot to Malabar, and sold it to the captain of a ship for two thousand guineas. The sailor was craftier than the soldier, and resold it to a Jew for twelve thousand. The Jew passed it on to an Armenian merchant named Lazareff, who offered it for sale at the Russian court. The Empress Catherine would not accede to the terms, so he carried it to Amsterdam. In this town Count Orloff purchased it, and presented it as a gift to the czarina. The price paid for it is stated to have been four hundred and fifty thousand silver roubles and a patent of nobility. The stone weighs upwards of one hundred and ninety-three carats. It has, however, a small flaw, a little way from one of its edges, and a slight black stain in another part. In other respects it is a magnificent jewel. The authoress of "Through Russia" expresses her disappointment at the sceptre, "which resembles a gold

poker, and the Mountain of Light which we had pictured to ourselves as big as a walnut, was no larger than a hazel nut."

In the imperial treasury are several crowns and sceptres of remarkable richness and of historical celebrity. The crown styled (erroneously) that of Vladimir Monomachus is, perhaps, the most interesting in the latter sense. It was sent by Alexis Comnenus as a present, and is of Greek workmanship, in gold filagree, surmounted by a cross of the same material ornamented with precious stones. It was used at the coronations of the Russian sovereigns to the reigns of the Czars John and Peter Alexievitch. Another crown is of polished gold, but less enriched than the other.*



Crown of Kiev.

The number of crowns in the Russian regalia show the great development and extension of the empire since the days of Peter the Great. The fortified city of Kasan was captured in 1552 by Ivan the Terrible, and the kingdom of which it was the capital was annexed to the Russian empire. The kingdom of Astrachan shared the fate of Kasan soon after.

It was during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, also, that Western Siberia was conquered for Russia by the Cossack Yermak, an absconded criminal.

Russia subjected the Crimea, 1703, in the reign of Catherine II., who proved herself the greatest sovereign of Russia after Peter I.

The crown of Poland was made for the Empress Anne, and

* Vladimir Monomachus, King of Kiew at the commencement of the twelfth century, according to tradition, made war on the Emperor Alexis Comnenus. A Russian army invaded Thrace, and the Bishop of Ephesus is said to have brought gifts to Kiew; amongst others, a cup of cornelian that had belonged to Augustus, besides the crown and the throne still preserved in the museum at Moscow, under the name of the crown and throne of Monomachus. It is now ascertained that they never belonged to Vladimir; but it was the policy of his descendants, the czars of Moscow, to propagate this legend. It was of consequence to them to prove that these ensigns of their power were traceable to their Kievan ancestor and that the Russian Monomachus, grandson of the Greek Monomachus, had been solemnly crowned by the Bishop of Ephesus as sovereign of Russia.



Crown of Kasan.



Crown of Astrachan.



Crown of Siberia.



Crown of the Crimea.



Crown of Poland.



Crown of Finland.

is a copy of the imperial crown of Russia, with some modification in the gorgeous diamond studding.

The crown of Finland was added to the imperial regalia after the Peace of Frederickshaven, in 1809.

The crown of Catherine I. differs in its form from all those mentioned. It is surmounted by a cross, and open, and enriched with two thousand five hundred and thirty-six diamonds and numerous other precious stones, amongst which are some that adorned the sceptre of Peter the Great. The crown of Georgia is somewhat similar to the last.

The crowns taken from Tartar princes have the form of a dome-shaped cap, with a jewel or a cross at the top, and are lavishly ornamented with gold plates, diamonds, and precious stones in Byzantine style, and bordered with a velvet band, or fur. The crown of Peter the Great is similar in design to that of the Czar John Alexievitch, and has eight hundred and forty-seven diamonds and a great ruby.

The *Imperial Orb of Vladimir Monomachus* is ornamented with figures in gold, enamelled, surmounted with a cross, and garnished with a great number of precious stones. The imperial orb of the Czar John Alexievitch is also richly ornamented. That of Peter the Great is of gold, crowned with a silver cross.

The *Sceptre of Vladimir Monomachus* is of Greek workmanship, dating from the commencement of the twelfth century, and has two hundred and sixty-eight diamonds, three hundred and sixty rubies, and fifteen emeralds. Upon it are enamels representing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Purification, the Transfiguration, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

The *Sceptre of the Czar John Alexievitch* resembles in shape the last; it is surmounted by an eagle with two heads, and with a cross, and is enriched with many precious stones. It was made in 1682, at the same time as the crown of that monarch. The *Sceptre of the last King of Poland* is of ultramarine, mounted in gold, and was deposited in the treasury in 1799, on the death of King Stanislaus. The *Sceptre of Georges, Prince of Georgia*, is of gold, green enamelled, enriched with precious stones, and surmounted by an eagle.

The crosses, which form a remarkable feature in the Russian regalia, are of singular richness and historical interest. One of amber, sculptured, was presented to the Patriarch Philaret, by John, Duke of Courland, in 1621. The cross given to the Czar Michael Romanoff by the city of Kostroma, and another cross given to the same prince, are

enriched with precious stones and enamels. The grand cross called "Greek" is thus mentioned in the registers of the Russian treasury: "In the year 1658, the 11th of June, in the golden hall of the Grand Seignior, Czar, and Grand Prince, Alexis Michaelovitch was introduced to the Greek of Czargrad (Constantinople), Ivan Anastaskov, who offered him a large golden cross enriched with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, valued at nine hundred and forty-nine roubles. The gold cross, said to be Greek, is enriched with enamels and diamonds; also with three pearls of Hoormuz, and three emeralds pierced. Under the cross are two pierced emeralds."

Three crosses of Indian wood are adorned with emeralds and precious stones, dating from the time of the Czar Michael. The cross called the "Living," sent in 988 to St. Vladimir by Basil and Constantine, has remained since the seventeenth century in the Cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow, but the gold chain that was attached to it is in the treasury.

Connected with the regalia, there is a very considerable amount of costly gold chains of great richness and beauty, adorned with precious stones and enamels. One of them that belonged to the Czar Michael Feodorovitch has eighty-eight flat golden rings, on which are engraved the titles of the prince and a prayer to the Holy Trinity. Of two chains of the Czar Feodor Alexievitch, one has twenty-four enamels, bordered with seven hundred fine pearls. The banqueting dishes and plates in the treasury exceed sixteen hundred, in gold, silver, jasper, rock crystal, etc.; many are of exquisite workmanship, adorned with enamels and precious stones. The *bratina*, or "loving cup," makes the round of the table at the imperial banquets. This cup bears the inscription, "Drink to health." The treasury contains upwards of four hundred vases, chiefly of olden date, most of which are mounted in gold and enriched with precious stones. (See description of Russian thrones in chapter on "Fragmenta Regalia.")

Such are some of the riches of the Russian regalia; but to enumerate the whole of the objects, curious and of intrinsic value, which are inclosed in the treasury of the Kremlin, would fill a volume of very ample dimensions.

THERE IS NO IMPERIAL CORONATION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR. His title is rather personal than territorial. The crown of the Western empire (the sacred Roman empire), had, during the latter centuries of its existence, degenerated

into an almost hereditary heirloom of the house of Hapsburg, when it was rudely rent from the brow of Francis by Napoleon.

Although Bonaparte created a new Western empire, the successor of old Rome was extinguished, never to be revived. Yet Francis, who had been the representative of the Cæsars, was not to be cheated of his imperial dignity. He continued to be an emperor, but his empire was Austrian instead of Roman. Austria had never been more than a duchy, to which, by way of eminence, the affix "arch" had been added.

The Archduke of Austria had no coronation, but on his accession was accustomed to receive the homage (*huldigung*) of his states. But as the Austrian emperor was the possessor of many crowns, such as those of Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, it was decided that he should henceforth undergo the ceremony of coronation at Presburg for the kingdom of Hungary, at Milan (until its incorporation with the kingdom of Italy) and at Prague for that of Bohemia.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES FRANCIS JOSEPH I. OF AUSTRIA is King Apostolic of Hungary; * King of Bohemia, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, of Esclavonia, of Galicia, Lodomerie and Illyria; King of Jerusalem, etc. He succeeded his father, the Emperor Ferdinand I., as King of Hungary and Bohemia, on his abdication (December 2, 1848) and the renunciation of his father, the Archduke Francis Charles, of the succession to the throne.

The constitution of the German empire, which attained such vast extension under Charlemagne, underwent a sensible change when Rodolph of Hapsburg inherited the Grand Duchy of Austria, the insignificant state that has given its name to the Empire of Austria. The ancient dukes of Austria, of the house of Bamberg, having become extinct, Ottocar, son of

* The title of Apostolic Majesty was granted to St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary. He was the son of Geisa, Duke of Hungary, and was born 979. He proved such a zealous defender of the Church, that on sending an embassy to Rome, to have his dukedom changed into a kingdom, Pope Sylvester II. observed to the ambassadors, "I am called the Apostolic, but your prince, who, through Christ, has gained a great people, is truly an apostle." The pope not only granted the kingdom to Stephen and his heirs, but gave him permission to have the patriarchal cross borne before him, as a sign of his apostolic mission. With the cross, Pope Sylvester sent him the crown of gold mentioned in the chapter of this work on "Ancient Crowns." The arches of King Stephen's crown are, however, of a much later period.

Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, seized their possessions; but Count Rodolph of Hapsburg, treating him as a usurper, slew him at the battle of Marchfeld, 1266. This important conquest secured to Rodolph and his successors the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and thus laid the foundation of the greatness of the house of Hapsburg.

The bird of prey from which this family derives its name—*Habicht* (hawk)—seems typical of its destiny, for in tracing its history we find the domains of the house of Austria increasing through each successive reign until that of Charles V., who divided his immense possessions between his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand, the Austrian dominions falling to the share of the latter, who obtained possession of Hungary and Bohemia by marriage.

The male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct with Charles VI., and his daughter, Maria Theresa, found herself involved in the well-known War of Succession.

Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, son of Ernest, Duke of Austria, died 1493, leaving to his son to realize the device A. E. I. O. U., by which he is generally supposed to have meant *Austria est imperare Orbi Univers.*

The CROWN OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG dates from the time of the Emperor Rodolph II. (died 1612), and is made of gold, in two integral parts—the head-band, from which rise at intervals eight lily-shaped ornaments of two sizes, jewelled all over, and topped with large pearls; and the globular cap, divided in two sections. Each section is bordered by an enamelled band and a row of pearls, and its surface again divided in two triangles, which are ornamented with representations of coronation ceremonials in bas-relief. Between the two sections of the cap is placed the jewelled hoop, with a large sapphire on the top. The crown is lined with ruby velvet.



Crown of the Austrian Empire.

The imperial eagle of Austria claims to be the successor of the eagle of the German Emperors, which, in its turn, succeeded to the eagle of ancient Rome, and it still bears the

two heads symbolical of the eastern and western Roman empires, though not particularly happy in their symbolism when associated with the Austrian Kaiser.*

Some singular ceremonies are connected with the CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF HUNGARY. Rodolph II., who disgraced the imperial dignity by his sloth, and the neglect of the public interests, in 1608 signed a treaty giving Hungary and Austria to his brother Matthias (who became emperor in 1612). The regal ornaments were sent to him, consisting of the gold crown of Ladislaus, King of Hungary, St. Stephen's sword, the globe, the sceptre, two pair of antique shoes, an antique habit, and the crown jewels and titles.

The CORONATION OF MATTHIAS, AS KING OF HUNGARY, took place at Presburg (November 19, 1608), and is described by Heiss in his "History of the Empire, 1730." The king, in a rich Hungarian habit, on horseback, was conducted by the whole body of nobility to the portal of the great church, accompanied by the Cardinal Archbishop of Strigonia and the clergy. At his side was the Archduke Maximilian, his brother, and before him went several lords carrying the crown, the sceptre, the sword, the globe, and ten banners with the arms of the ten provinces of the kingdom. On arriving at the church, Matthias dismounted and placed himself in the choir, near the high altar, where the Cardinal Forgatz, who was to perform the ceremony, was seated. The king was presented to him by the principal nobles and officers of the crown, who addressed the cardinal thus: "We have brought here a hero, whom we desire for our king, and to wear the crown of Hungary." The cardinal inquired if he was a person qualified for such a station. They answered, "Yes," and gave a detail of his great qualities and merit. Some prayers were then said and the Mass of the Holy Ghost chanted. The palatine, lifting up the crown, asked thrice of all present, if they chose the Archduke Matthias for their king; to which the assent was unanimous. The crown was then placed on the head of the monarch, and the sword of St.

* The Czar of "All the Russias" considers himself entitled to bear the double-headed eagle, as an imaginary successor to the Roman Cæsars; the two heads of his eagle might, however, denote European and Asiatic Russia—his Western and Eastern empires. The Russian arms differ from the Austrian in the eagle holding only a sceptre in its dexter claw, and being charged with a shield *gu.*, bearing a figure of St. George mounted and piercing the dragon.

Stephen given to him with a benediction. With this sword, the king then created twenty-eight knights, and being seated on his throne, the palatine exclaimed, "Long live Matthias II., our king!" which was followed by the acclamations of the spectators, the ringing of bells, trumpets sounding, organs, and the thanksgiving canticle. This ceremony over, the king left the church, mounted on horseback, and with the crown on his head rode out of the city to a theatre which had been raised, and on which was a magnificent throne, and here he took and received the usual oaths, the hands being held up at the same time, and this ended the coronation.

On the 8th of June, 1867, was definitely sealed at Buda-Pesth, by the CORONATION OF THE KING OF HUNGARY, the reconciliation of the Magyar people with the house of Austria. This ceremony took place in the parish church of Buda with all the forms consecrated by ancient usages. The presentation of the inaugural diploma was first made. This was written on parchment made of dog's skin, as a symbol of the fidelity with which the fundamental compact ought to be observed on both sides. This important document contains an introductory paragraph and five articles. In the introduction his Majesty declares that "he ascended the throne in 1848, after the abdication of Ferdinand and Francis Charles, his uncle and father, but that, his coronation having been delayed by the grave events which have arisen since that time, the ceremony has been rendered possible by the restoration of the constitution." Then follow the articles.

The emperor and empress quitted the castle of Ofen in a State carriage of the time of Maria Theresa. It was built at the time when the house of Austria possessed the Low Countries, and is ornamented with paintings by the first Flemish artists.

The ceremony of the coronation, which did not last less than six hours, comprehended four principal parts. First, the procession went to the sacristy of the church, where the king put on the coronation costume and the traditional mantle, embroidered by the Queen of Hungary in the twelfth century; then it returned to the interior of the church, to the grand altar. The chanting of litanies then commenced, during which the king and queen remained kneeling, and the royal crown was placed on the altar. The emperor, then, assisted by the great dignitaries of the kingdom, rose, and advanced

to the foot of the altar, where he prostrated himself while he was anointed with the holy oil on the forehead and breast. Count Andrassy, acting as palatine, took the crown from the altar, and gave it to the archbishop, and both placed it on the head of his Majesty; they then removed it, and held it upon his right shoulder for a short time, then replaced it. The archbishop placed the royal sceptre in the right hand of the king, and the globe in his left, and when the king, ornamented with these insignia, took his place again on the throne, a "Te Deum" was sung, and a salvo of artillery announced the solemn moment to the people, who shouted, "Eljen Kiraly!"

The crowning of the queen was attended with somewhat similar ceremonies. During the rest of the day, her Majesty wore a silver crown studded with diamonds and pearls. This had been made for Maria Theresa, who never used it, being entitled to wear the ancient one as queen-regnant.

The coronation of the king and queen having been performed, mass commenced, and was concluded by the apostolic benediction. A procession was then formed to the square in front of the church, where, ascending the steps of a platform in the open air, the king pronounced in Hungarian, with a loud voice, his oath to maintain the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. This finished, his Majesty, with the crown on his head, the old mantle on his shoulders, and a huge sword in his hand, mounted a noble cream-coloured charger, and rode alone up the "Krönungshügel"—an artificial mound, composed of soil brought from every province in the kingdom. A stroke with the sword was dealt by the king towards each of the four points of the compass, and managing his steed with a dexterity that elicited bursts of applause from his Hungarian subjects, who are noted for horsemanship, he rode down the hill.

The banquet followed this part of the coronation ceremonies, and the king must have experienced considerable relief when the holy, sacred, apostolic, but *heavy* crown of St. Stephen was, at length, lifted from his head, having worn it the greater part of the day.*

The arms of Hungary symbolize the country: one-half of

* An interesting circumstance is related in connection with the crown of Hungary. At the coronation of the infant son of King Ladislaus, in the cathedral of Prague, in 1509, Anne, then six years old, the sister of the child-monarch, burst into tears because she was not

the shield shows the four principal rivers, the Danube, the Theiss, Drave, and Save; the other half, three mountains, the Tatra, Fatra, and Matra, surmounted by the double cross, the emblem of the Apostolic King of Hungary.

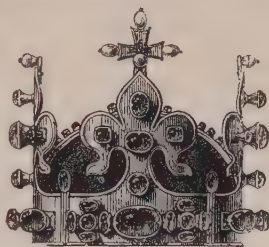
THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA AS KING OF BOHEMIA.—In 1526, Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., was elected king, and with him commenced definitely the rule of the house of Austria over Bohemia, elective until 1627, and hereditary from that period, but subject to changes in 1619 and 1629. In the former year, Frederic V. (one of the electors palatine), surnamed the “Winter King,” was elected sovereign of Bohemia, in the place of Ferdinand II. Some brief notices of his coronation may be given, as illustrative of the royal ceremonies of that period. On the day appointed, the king, accompanied by his consort and escorted by the nobles of the country, went to the church of the castle of Prague, and stopped before the chapel of St. Wenceslaus to be invested with the royal robes, and to receive the homage of the clergy, who accompanied him to the altar. The great officers of the household followed, bearing the regalia. Among these was the grand pannetier, who carried two loaves, one of gold and the other of silver. The king knelt before the altar, and then took the oath administered by the vicar of the archbishop. He was afterwards anointed on the head, the celebrant saying, “Thus, as the kings of the Old Testament were anointed, as a symbol of a just vocation, I anoint you,” etc. The royal insignia were then given to the monarch. With the sword, the prelate said, “May your Majesty, as king-elect of Bohemia, use the sword, bestowed by God, to strike the criminal and protect the innocent.” With the ring, “This ring should be for your Majesty a new sign and a new warrant of the divine vocation, as the seal above promises the inheritance of heaven.” With the sceptre, “This will remind you that it is not only by arms that you reign, but with the sceptre of good laws.” With the golden apple, “This is not

crowned. To appease her, Ladislaus took the diadem and placed it on her head. This circumstance being considered auspicious, a sudden exclamation burst forth from the nobles and deputies; they instantly declared her successor to her brother, should he die without issue, and the king, on his part, promised not to give her in marriage without the approbation of the states. This trivial incident greatly contributed to secure the election of her husband Ferdinand, whom she married in 1521.

only from its roundness the sign of sovereign power upon earth, but it should also remind you that power is as perishable as all that is earthly." With the crown, "This is placed upon your head in the name of the Holy Trinity, and in proof of the free choice of the states, to show that you are the image of God upon the earth. May you, one day, exchange it for an eternal crown!"

The king was then conducted to the throne, and the oath of allegiance was taken by those present; afterwards, amidst the acclamations of the people, he proceeded to the palace, where a magnificent banquet was served.

The ancient crown of Bohemia, also called the "Crown of St. Wenceslaus," consists of four lily-shaped gold plates, joined by hinges, and studded with uncut precious stones. Two arches with a cross form the top, with a cap of crimson velvet. The workmanship is Byzantine; but how far this historical crown of the old Bohemian kings is connected with St. Wenceslaus, the patron saint of Bohemia, who was murdered by his brother in 936, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained.



Crown of Bohemia.

Bertrandon de la Brocquière, in his "Travels" (1433), mentions, when in Austria, that he saw the crown of Bohemia, "which has some very fine diamonds, and the largest ruby I ever saw. It seemed bigger than a full-sized date; but it is not clear, and there are some cavities towards the bottom that show a few black spots."

Æneas Sylvius (Pius II., died 1464) is the first writer who mentions a curious form of ceremonies used at the INAUGURATION OF THE ANCIENT DUKES OF CARINTHIA, a province of the Austrian empire. Near the city of St. Veit is a plain where the vestiges of a former town are still to be seen, and in a meadow just by, is a large stone raised about two cubits from the ground. On this stone was placed a peasant, who enjoyed by descent the right of presiding at the inauguration of the dukes, having near him, on his right hand, a black cow with a calf, and on his left a lean and hungry mare; the people of St. Veit and a crowd of peasants assembled around him. The duke, in a countryman's bonnet and shoes, with a

shepherd's crook in his hand, drew near to the assembly, accompanied by the senators clad in scarlet, and the great officers bearing the insignia. The man upon the stone, seeing the train coming nigh, cried out, "Who is this that comes with so much magnificence?" The people answered, "It is the prince of the country." "Is he a just judge?" asked the peasant. "Does he seek the welfare of the state? Is he of free condition, worthy of honour, obedient to the laws, and a defender of the Christian religion?" They cried, "He is, and will be such."

The peasant then demanded by what right he would remove him from his seat. The master of the duke's court answered, "This place is bought for sixty deniers; these beasts are thine," pointing to the cow and the mare. "Thou shalt be clothed in the garments which the duke will take off, and thy house shall be free and exempt from tribute."

The peasant then came down from the stone, gave the duke a gentle slap on the cheek, and, exhorting him to be a good judge, went away with his cattle. The prince then took his place on the stone, brandished his naked sword, turning to every side, and promised to judge the people with equity. A peasant's cup was then presented, filled with water, from which he was obliged to drink, as a mark of his future sobriety. He was then conducted to the church, where he assisted at divine service, and changed the peasant's dress for the ducal habit. After the feast which followed, he returned to the meadow, in which a throne had been set up, and here he gave judgment and confirmed ties.

Concerning the INAUGURATION OF THE POPES OF ROME, it was only in 1275 that Gregory X., at the second Council of Lyons, obliged the cardinals to sign and seal a statute which was to regulate irrevocably the proceedings of a conclave on the death of a pope. This statute enacts that on the tenth day after the decease, the cardinals are to be shut up, without waiting for absent members of the college, in a single chamber of the pope's palace, where they are to live in common. All access to them is strictly prohibited, as well as any writing or message. Each is only to have one domestic, and their meals are to be received through a window too narrow to admit a man. If they do not agree in three days, their repast is to be limited for five days to a single dish; after that, they are only to have bread and wine. Such

was the arrangement settled by Gregory X. to prevent the scandals which preceded his election.*

An account of this part of the celebration of the pope's election is given in a letter from Francis Parry, of Christ Church College, dated from Rome, June 11, 1667, and preserved in that college. The pope chosen on that occasion was Clement IX. "The 2. of June the cardinalls were shutt into the conclave, where they lye like hospitall men, nay, in this worse, that all the doors are walled up, and the windows almost to the top, there being left noe more than to give light; they have three wheels like nuns to give in their meat, which is diligently searcht lest a letter should be conveyed in it. They have only a chappell and one hall to walke in; every cardinall hath two men with him, and he that is once shut in can't goe out but in case of sicknesse; and he is not to returne noe more unlesse he sweare that he hath had

* All writers on papal conclaves agree in describing the interregnum between the death of the pope and the election of his successor, down even to comparatively recent times, as "a period of riot and brawl which made Rome a perfect bear-garden, in which criminals let out of gaol enjoyed themselves mightily at the expense of peaceful folks." We read that it was an established thing to rifle the pope's palace. There were instances in which "the conclave itself had to be hurriedly protected from invasion and sack by a reinforced guard." We read that the death-beds of many popes "have witnessed shocking cases of destitution and abandonment, coupled with outrageously indecent treatment of the corpse." Aimon, in his "*Tableau de la Cour de Rome*," relates that "when the pope is in his last extremity, his nephews and his servants carry from the palace all they can find. Immediately after his death the officers of the Apostolic Chamber strip the body of everything valuable, but the relations of the pope generally forestall them, and with such promptitude, that nothing remains but bare walls and the body, placed on a wretched mattress, with an old wooden candlestick, and a wax-end in it." In the "*Journal*" of Burcard, master of the ceremonies at the papal court, we are told that when Sixtus IV. lay in state, guards were placed to prevent the pontifical ornaments (including a sapphire ring of great value) from being stolen by those who came to see the body.

Even Gregory XVI., the immediate predecessor of Pius IX., "died in a manner unattended," the cardinal penitentiary, whose duty it was to read over him the appointed prayer for the dying, "not having been summoned in time." Up to recent times, also, "it was an established abuse that the cell of the newly elected pope should be sacked by the conclavists" (secretaries, confessors, and other clerical attendants of the cardinals), "each man carrying off what booty he was lucky enough to secure." The contents of that cell "are now the perquisites of the new pope's cameriere, an individual who stands in the position of familiar

noe conversation with any man concerning anything relating to the conclave. . . . If they stay any time in the conclave, they will make many vacancies for the next Pope to fill up, for the heate must of necessity destroy many of them whose age and weaknesse makes them fitter for their grave than the chair."

There were, at one period, four different methods of electing a pope. That called by *inspiration* was when the cardinals simultaneously cried out the name of their choice. By *compromise*, where, in case of difficulty in coming to a decision, one or more members of a college might be nominated to make the selection. By *scrutiny* was the practice of each cardinal to write his name, with that of the individual for whom he voted, and one of the body was appointed to examine the billets and state the result. *Electing by excess* was a mode by which each cardinal could alter his billet. This continued until the proper majority was reached. When the election was declared, the written papers were burnt, to prevent disputes.

The pontiff,* on election, receives the adoration, or homage, of each member of the conclave; all embrace and kiss him, then inquire the name he would choose to assume. The windows of the apartment are closed up during the election to prevent any communication, but when the pontifical appellation has been fixed, one of the cardinals breaks open a window, and announces the result to the crowd without.

On account of the political differences between the Vatican and the Court of Italy, the CORONATION OF THE PRESENT HEAD OF THE ROMISH CHURCH, HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. (*Pecci*), was performed in the Sistine Chapel (March 3, 1878) with some of the pomp and circumstance formerly

* It seems probable that the word *pontif* is formed from *pons* and *facere* (in the signification of the Greek, to perform a sacrifice), and that, consequently, it signifies the priests who offered sacrifices on the bridge. The college of pontiffs instituted by Numa had the supreme superintendence of all matters of religion, and continued to exist until the overthrow of paganism. Longfellow, in the "Golden Legend," refers to the derivation of the word from *pons* and *facere* :—

"Well has the name of Pontifex been given
Unto the Church's head, as the chief builder
And architect of the invisible bridge
That leads from earth to heaven."

attending the ceremonial in St. Peter's, only it was not public, inasmuch as the limited space did not permit general admission; and for the same reason no tickets were issued. The names of those allowed to enter were inscribed beforehand on a list kept by the master of the ceremonies. All traces of the conclave had disappeared, and the chapel was, in every respect, restored to its ancient splendour. The Sala Ducale was fitted up as a chapel, and the Pauline Chapel arranged for those preliminary portions of the ceremonial formerly performed in the Clementine and other chapels in St. Peter's, before the pope went up to the high altar to be crowned.

At half-past nine his Holiness, attended by the pontifical court, the College of Cardinals, with a large number of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, entered the Sala Ducale, wearing a gold mitre. Having taken his seat on the throne erected there, he received homage from the cardinals, and rising, pronounced the words, "*Sit nomen Domini benedictum*," giving the first benediction. The preliminary ceremonial being completed, the procession formed in the following order, and passed out into the Sala Regia to the Pauline Chapel, and thence again through the Sala Regia into the Sistine:—the Swiss Guards, the Bussolante, the clerks of the chapel carrying the bishop's mitre and tiara, the head auditors of the Rota, and other pontifical officials; the bishops two and two; the cardinals in like manner, attended by their chaplains; and lastly the pope, wearing a gold mitre, carried aloft on the *sedia gestatoria*, borne by *Pallafrenieri* dressed in scarlet, the *flabelli*, the great fans of ostrich and peacocks' feathers, carried on each side, the silver damask baldacchino supported above his head, surrounded by the Noble Guards, with drawn swords. As the pope and his *cortége* came through the great door from the Sala Ducale into the Sala Regia, they formed a group far exceeding in magnificent effect anything of the same kind seen in St. Peter's in past times. As the pope passed on, he was stopped three times by one of the clerks of the chapel, who, kneeling, set fire to some flax carried on the points of a three-pronged stick, and said in a loud and mournful voice, "*Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*." Having descended from the *sedia gestatoria* in the middle Sistine Chapel, the pope, after a brief prayer, commenced the introit of the Mass, which on this occasion is celebrated by him. At the end of the confession, the first

cardinal deacon placed a gold mitre on the pope's head, and he ascended the throne, which stood as of old on a dais on the left side, where so many may have seen Pius IX. sitting. The first cardinal bishop then recited the customary three prayers over him; after which he rose, and going to the foot of the altar, knelt on the step, while the first cardinal deacon removed his tiara, and the second invested him with a pontifical pallium, saying, "*Accipe pallium sanctum, plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et gloriosissimæ Virginis Mariæ, ejus matris, et beatorum Apostolorum, Petri et Pauli, et sanctæ Romane Ecclesiæ.*" This done, the pope reascended the throne, when the Sacred College and all the ecclesiastics present went up to pay him homage, the cardinals kissing his foot and his hand, and receiving from him the double embrace. The bishops kissed his foot and right knee, and others his foot only. The Mass then proceeded with such differences as were required for the coronation, the music being splendidly sung by the old Sistine choir, and particularly the motet, "*In diademate capitis Aaron,*" and Palestrina's "*Corona aurea super caput ejus.*" At the conclusion of the Mass, the pope gave the benediction in front of the altar with great majesty and a most remarkable sweep of the right arm. He then returned to the throne to receive the tiara. The act of crowning him was comparatively simple. Cardinal Borromeo, assisting as deacon at Mass, first pronounced over him the prayer, "*Omnipotens, sempiternus Deus, dignitas sacerdotis et auctor regni, da gratiam famulo tuo, Leoni Pontifici nostro, ecclesiam tuam fructuose regenti, ut qui tuâ clementiâ pater regum et rector omnium fidelium constituitur et coronatur, salubrituâ dispositione cuncta bene gubernentur per Christum,*" etc. The second cardinal deacon then removed the mitre from his head, and the first placed the tiara upon it, saying, "*Accipe tiarum tribus coronis ornatum, et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terrâ vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*" Leo XIII. then rose, and, wearing the tiara on his head, raised his hands aloft, and gave that benediction which was given in former times from the external balcony of St. Peter's. After the benediction he left the throne for the *sedia gestatoria*, and carried aloft upon it, still wearing the tiara, he blessed with his hand, waving it first to the one side and then to the other, those kneeling around as he was borne from the chapel.

The TIARA is traditionally said to owe its origin to Clovis, the first Christian King of France, who is reported to have sent one to Pope Hermisdas, to show him that he did not owe his crown to his sword, but to God. However, both the papal head-dress and the mitre are of Oriental extraction.* It is



Tiara of the popes.

generally admitted that most of the external symbols, whether of dress or of ceremonial, in the Romish Church originated from the pagans, under the plea of being indifferent in themselves, and applicable, as being symbolized in their own

* It was not unusual in ancient times for the crowns of princes to have inscriptions on them, probably derived from that written on the plate, or crown of gold, which the high priest of the Jews wore in front of his mitre. So the word "*Mysterium*" was formerly engraven on the papal crown. But when the Protestants began to mark its congruity to the passage in "*Revelations*" (xvii. 5), Pope Julius III. ordered a new crown to be made, on which, instead of the former motto, was engraved "*Julius, Pontifex Maximus.*"

rights and usages. The tiara and the episcopal mitre are the copies each of a distinct head-dress originally worn by the kings of Persia and the conterminous countries, and by the dress of their priesthood, the Magi.

M. Planché, in the "History of Costume," observes that it is in the ninth century that the figure of a pope first appears with his head covered. In the "Chartularum



Pope Nicholas I. From the "Chartularum Prumiense."



Pope Clement IV.

Prumiense," a manuscript partly of the ninth century, partly of later date, in the Stadtbibliothek, at Trèves, is a drawing of Pope Nicholas I. (A.D. 858-867) and the Emperor Louis II. (A.D. 843-876). The pope is attired in alb, dalmatic, stole,

and chasuble or planeta, and wears the pallium. On his head is a cap called a *camelaucium*, according to Florovantes.

The first change of head-dress on the coins is early in the tenth century, by the same author, who, describing a coin of Sergius III. (905-911), mentions the "*mitra ornatum*."

A statue of Pope Gregory the Great, in the grand portal of the cathedral of Chartres, executed about the middle of the twelfth century, represents that pontiff as wearing a conical bonnet, terminating in a small knob, and surrounded by a fillet with a vandyke pattern, but no crown.

The Rev. E. B. Elliott ("*Horæ Apocalypticæ*," iii. 154) has the following note on the tiara:—

"As to the three crowns of the papal tiara, though said by some, with Sir Isaac Newton, to represent the three States of the Church, yet the circumstance of the first being not assumed on the episcopal mitre till about 1160 by Alexander III., the second by Boniface VIII. as late as the year 1300, and the third soon after by Benedict XII. or Urban V. (see *Ducange* and his *Supplement*, on *Regnum*, also *Ferrario*, ii. 428), it seems to me very questionable whether the third might not have been added, as other writers have said, in token of the papal *prophetic* character, as well as that of priest and king; or else, very possibly, of the papal authority in heaven, earth, and hell, or purgatory. It signified (says the '*Ceremon. Roman*') the '*sacerdotalis et imperialis summa dignitas atque potestas*.'"

Monstrelet, relating the installation of Balthazar, Cardinal of Bologna, as Pope John XXIII. (1410), states that after his election he was conducted to St. Peter's, where the cardinals



Pope Gregory the Great.

placed the crown on his head—a triple one; the first of gold, which encircled the forehead within the mitre, the second of gold and silver, about the middle of the mitre, and the third, of very fine gold, surmounted it.

As soon as the pope is dead, his arms are represented with the tiara alone, without the keys.

In the stained-glass windows of St. Martin *ès Vignes*, at Troyes (dating from the end of the sixteenth century), there is a representation of the Almighty, robed in an alb, a tunic, and scarf, wearing a tiara like the pope, but with five crowns instead of three.

Paul II. was the first to ornament the triple crown with precious stones. He had such a passion for jewels that he purchased the rarest to be found, to decorate the tiara.

Four tiaras of immense price and beautiful workmanship (one was of the golden period of Julius II.) were stripped of their jewels to pay the ruinous contribution of six millions of dollars, imposed by the treaty of Tolentino, in 1796.

In the treasury of the Vatican are preserved the following tiaras, or papal crowns:—One embroidered in gold and silver, adorned with imitations of precious stones, given by the ladies of Lyons to Pius VII., on his return from Fontainebleau. A tiara, made for Gregory XVI., having, besides Oriental pearls, one hundred and forty-six precious stones, also eleven diamonds. A tiara given in 1860 by the palatine guard to Pius IX., and another presented to the same pope by the ex-Queen of Spain. The latter was used for the first time at the proclamation of the



Pope. From Cotton. MSS., British Museum.

dogma of the Immaculate Conception; the tiara weighs three pounds, and is adorned with nineteen thousand precious

stones, of which eighteen thousand are diamonds; the whole valued at £20,000. A tiara given by Napoleon I. in 1805 to Pius VII. It weighs eight pounds, and is too heavy to be worn; it is covered with sapphires, emeralds, rubies, pearls, and diamonds; the emerald on the summit, which bears a cross enriched with diamonds, is the largest known.

At the opening of the Œcumenical Council at Rome (December 8, 1869), a grand and solemn ceremony, the late pope, Pius IX., did not wear the tiara, but a very precious mitre which had been made for the occasion, the use of which, instead of the "triregno," was adopted to signify the equality of all bishops as such.

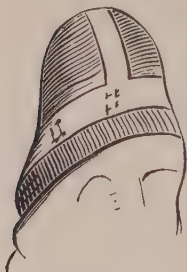
THE PAPAL KEYS.—The keys of St. Peter on the papal arms are, ordinarily, two: one is in gold, representing the power of absolution; the other in silver, denoting the authority of excommunication, the latter being inferior to the other in dignity. Where three keys have been represented, the first is symbolical of science, or the power of teaching; the second, the authority for binding and loosening; the third, the rule over the Church.

The KINGDOM OF ITALY was consolidated under the crown of the late VICTOR EMMANUEL II. Early in 1860 the various states whose sovereigns were in flight from the Lombard campaign, voluntarily declared in favour of annexation to the kingdom of Piedmont. On the 18th of March, Parma, Modena, and the Emilian provinces were incorporated with Sardinia, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany a few days after. On March 17, 1861, the official gazette published at Rome the law by which the sovereign assumed for himself and his successors the title of KING OF ITALY. The Bill empowering this assumption was voted in the House of Deputies by 296 to 2. Of the two negative votes, one was declared positively, and the other was plausibly supposed to have been given by mistake.

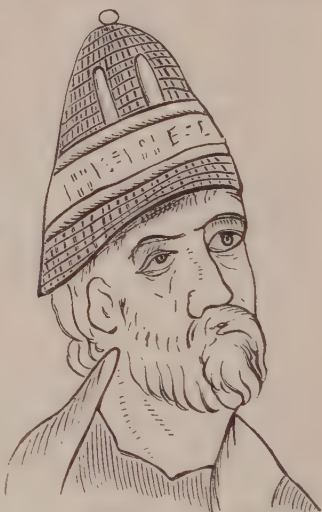
King Victor Emmanuel II., THE FIRST SOVEREIGN OF UNITED ITALY, died at Rome, January 9, 1878. The body, embalmed, was laid in state in the chapel of the royal palace, dressed in purple robes, with the Iron Crown beside. A gold crown of exquisite workmanship, presented by Castelani, the famous jeweller, with a request that it might be buried with his sovereign, lay beside a sceptre at his feet.

The eldest son of the late monarch succeeded to the throne under the title of King Humbert I., and on the 19th of January, 1878, took the oath, with the usual ceremonies in the Parliament House. The keeper of the seals presented the king with three parchments, containing the formula of the oath, for his Majesty's signature, one copy of which to be preserved in the archives of the court, the remaining two destined for the archives of the senate and the Chamber of Deputies respectively.*

In the sacristy of the cathedral of Monza is the *cross or pectoral* employed in the coronation of the kings of Italy, and which it was the custom to hang around the neck of the sovereign. It is massive and richly decorated, not merely with uncut stones, but with ancient gems; amongst others there is appended to it an amethyst exhibiting a "Diana" of excellent Greek workmanship.



Venetian doge. From mosaic in St. Mark's Cathedral.



Venetian doge. From mosaic in St. Mark's Cathedral.

The INAUGURATION OF THE DOGE, OR DUKE, OF VENICE was celebrated with great ceremony in the olden times. To the commencement of

the twelfth century (the first doge was elected in 697) the choice of the ruler had been vested, either ostensibly or

* The German name borne by the present King of Italy is an old one in the family of Savoy, being that of Humbert, surnamed "White Hand," who is held to be the founder of their house. He lived at the Burgundian court in the year 1000, and received from the Emperor Conrad the districts of Savoy and Aosta. Humbert II. had the duchy, which he considerably increased between 1091 and 1103. Humbert III. reigned at the time of Barbarossa's campaign against the Lombard cities, died a monk, and was placed by the predecessor of the late Pius IX. among the saints. After him no scion of the house of Savoy bore the name until the late Victor Emmanuel II. gave it to his son, the present king, thus connecting the lofty position the house now holds with its modest origin.

virtually, in the suffrages of the whole assembled people. In many instances it is plain that the prince was elected by acclamation; and even if superior wealth, or secret influence of any other kind, enabled a candidate to dispense with the strict form of soliciting votes at a general assembly, it was not until he had been presented before the people, had solemnly sworn to govern them discreetly and justly, and had been carried in the seat of honour (*il pozzo*) round the *Piazza di San Marco* to receive their congratulations of assent, that he was conveyed to the palace and circled with the ducal *corno*, or *biretta*,* at the head of the Giant's Stairs.

"Hollow bauble!

Beset with all the thorns that line a crown

Without investing the insulted brow

With the all-swaying majesty of kings."

The investiture of the Doge of Venice, besides the "bonnet" and the robe of crimson and ermine, was with the *ring*, emblematic of that with which the prince was "wedded" to the Adriatic—an imposing spectacle of annual celebration. Byron, in his "Two Foscari," alludes to this. When the Council of Ten demanded of the Doge Foscari—

"The resignation of the ducal ring

Which he had worn so long and venerably,"

he laid aside the ducal bonnet and robes, surrendered his ring of office, and exclaimed—

"There's the ducal ring,

And there's the ducal diadem. And so

The Adriatic's free to wed another."

* The ducal bonnet is probably of Eastern origin. The ball with which it terminated was a diamond of great price; in the centre was an inestimable ruby, and it was bordered with a rich edging of pearls and other jewels. Everything connected with Venetian etiquette was emble-



Biretta, or corno, of the Doge of Venice.

matical of some mystery; thus the *corno* was not placed on the head of the newly elected doge until he had ascended the last step of the Giant's Staircase, in order to show that he could not arrive at the highest dignity without having passed step by step through all the lower charges of the state.

So Rogers:—

“He was deposed,
He who had reigned so long and gloriously.
His ducal bonnet taken from his brow,
His robes stript off, his seal and signet-ring
Broken before him.”

In return for the valuable services rendered by the Doge Ziani to Alexander III., the pontiff accorded to him certain

envied symbols of sovereign power, and henceforward a lighted taper, a sword, a canopy (*umbrella*), a chair of state, a footstool covered with cloth of gold (both of which last he was privileged to use even in the pontifical chapel at Rome), silver trumpets, and embroidered banners, announced the presence of the doge.



Venetian doge. From mosaic in St. Mark's Cathedral.

The admiral of the arsenal bore the red standard before the new doge on his inauguration, for which service his perquisites were the ducal mantle and the two silver basins from which the doge scattered the money thrown to the people.

Howell, in his “Survey of the Signorie of Venice” (London, 1651), after telling us that the doge always goes clad in silk and purple, observes that “sometimes he shewes himself to the public in a robe of cloth of gold and a white mantle: he hath his head covered with a thin coif, and on his forehead he wears a crimson kind of mitre with a gold border, and behind, it turns up in the form of a horn; on his shoulders he carries ermine skins to the middle, which is still a badge of the Consull’s habit; on his feet he wears embroidered sandals, tied with gold buttons, and about his middle a most rich belt embroidered with costly jewells, so much so that the habit of the Duke, when at festiuales he shewes himself in the highest state, is valued at above 100,000 crowns.”

It appears that on the election of Marino (belonging to

the Grimani family) as doge in 1595, his duchess, a lady of the Morosini family, was inaugurated with great splendour, according to the custom of Venice in the case of a married doge. She was conducted from her palace to San Marco, clad in cloth of gold, *wearing a golden crown*, and stepping into the "Bucentoro," she was thus brought to the Piazza,



Doge of Venice in armour, late fourteenth century.

where she landed amidst the strains of martial music and peals of artillery. In the ducal palace she was enthroned amidst her ladies, and the balls and festivals of rejoicing lasted for weeks afterwards. Pope Clement VIII. presented her with the golden rose, blessed by the pontiff every year. According to the etiquette of the court of Rome, this rose is given only to sovereign princes, and the gift awakened, if

not the suspicion, at least the caution, of the senate. It had hitherto escaped notice that, although the doge wore



Dogaressa of Venice in ordinary state dress.

only the biretta, the crown of his consort was closed or arched, which was considered the peculiar privilege of sovereign princes not owning any superior, and hence denied to the dukes of Milan or the electors of the empire. The rose was, by the order of the senate, taken from the dogaressa, and deposited in the treasury of St. Mark; and the coronation of her successors was afterwards disused.

It is remarkable, as far as regards Spain, that among this people, one of the earliest converted to Christianity, no vestiges are found of the

CORONATION OF THEIR

MONARCHS before the seventh century. Of Wamba, King of Toledo, history makes earliest mention. He was consecrated at Toledo, in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, in 673, by Quiriac, who was archbishop at the time. Since Wamba, the kings of Spain have been crowned mostly at Toledo, and sometimes in the church of St. Jerome at Madrid, since the sovereigns resided there; for before Ferdinand II., King of Arragon, Spain was divided into fourteen small kingdoms, which that monarch united in one (1474).

The ceremonies on these august occasions were usually as follows:—On the day fixed for the ceremony, the king, accompanied by a brilliant *cortége*, proceeded to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, where the archbishop and clergy received him and conducted him to the throne, while hymns were played and sung. The oath was administered to observe justice, and maintain the laws of the kingdom, the rights and privileges of the clergy and the nobility. The anointing succeeded, and the regalia presented. These consisted of the crown, the sword, the sceptre, and the orb. The king, taking the crown from the archbishop, placed it on his head, and holding the sceptre in his right hand, and the orb in the other hand, he presented himself to the people, and was afterwards conducted to the throne, where he received the homage of the clergy and nobles.

It was the custom in Navarre that both the king and queen, after being anointed, should set their feet on a shield emblazoned with the arms of the kingdom, and supported on six staves, each end being held by a nobleman. In this manner they were thrice lifted up before the high altar of the cathedral church.

In an ancient law of Don Pelayo, one of the Gothic kings of Spain, are the following directions for the creation of their kings: "Let the king be chosen and admitted in the metropolitan city of this kingdom, or at least in some cathedral church, and the night before he is exalted, let him watch all night in the church, and the next day when they come to lift him up let him step upon a buckler or target, and the chief and principal men there present, hold the target, and so lifting him up, let the people cry with a loud voice, Real! Real! Real!"

A few simple forms attended the CORONATION OF THE MONARCHS OF CASTILE, previously to the sixteenth century. Prescott, in his "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," gives a brief account of the coronation of the latter at Segovia (December 13, 1474). A numerous assembly, consisting of the nobles, clergy, and magistrates in their robes of office, waited on Isabella at the Alcazar, or castle, and receiving her under a canopy of rich brocade, escorted her in solemn procession to the principal square of the city, where a broad platform or scaffold had been erected for the performance of the ceremony. Isabella, royally attired, rode on a Spanish jennet, whose bridle was held by two of the civic

functionaries, while an officer of her court preceded her on horseback, bearing aloft a naked sword, the symbol of sovereignty. On arriving at the square she alighted from her palfrey, and, ascending the platform, seated herself on a throne which had been prepared for her. A herald with a loud voice proclaimed, "Castile, Castile for the King Don Ferdinand and his consort, Doña Isabella, Queen Proprietor" (*reina propietaria*) "of these kingdoms!" The royal standards were then unfurled, while the peal of bells and the discharge of ordnance from the castle publicly announced the accession of the new sovereign. Isabella, after receiving the homage of her subjects, and swearing to maintain inviolate the liberties of the realm, descended from the platform, and, attended by the same *cortége*, moved slowly towards the cathedral church, where, after the *Te Deum* had been chanted, she prostrated herself before the principal altar, and, returning thanks to the Almighty for the protection hitherto vouchsafed her, implored Him to enlighten her future counsels, so that she might discharge the high trust reposed in her with equity and wisdom.

The Spanish crown was a circle of gold, richly decorated with jewels and precious stones, and adorned with eight leaves. It was not closed with arches until the marriage of Philip II. with Queen Mary of England, when four arches were added, being double the number of those in the English crown.

In Spain there is no coronation ceremony. The royal oath and the oath of allegiance are taken on the accession of a sovereign. The present king, Alfonso XII., was married to his cousin, the Princess Mercedes, who died a few months afterwards. A crown had been prepared for her, ornamented with five thousand brilliants, several weighing as much as sixteen carats each, besides other precious stones of great value; but her queenly life was brief, and her death so young was deeply deplored.*

* The jewels of the ex-Queen Isabella of Spain were sold at the Hôtel Druet, at Paris, in July, 1878, realizing more than a million and a half of francs. The objects that reached the highest prices were—a butterfly brooch (£4777), a diamond necklace (nearly £8000), a brooch in the form of a flower (£3260), thirty-one emerald balls, with as many in brilliants (£3061), and the celebrated ear-pendent (£12,000). Considerable discussions had taken place in the Cortes as to the jewels being considered belonging to the Crown, but the ex-queen established her right to them as personal property.

At one period, impossible to define, the one SOVEREIGN OF TENERIFFE, in the Canaries, named Tinerfe, having nine sons, these sons shared the island at his death, yielding by common consent to the chief, or *mencey* of Taoro, supremacy over the rest. Besides the title of *mencey*, he also bore that of *quehebi*, which meant "majesty" or "very great." On the accession of a prince, the place before the royal palace was strewn with flowers and palm-leaves, and all the people crowded to see the ceremonies. The new sovereign was seated on a consecrated stone, which was covered with sheepskins, dyed scarlet. A deputation presented to him in a leather case the sacred bone, the insignia of royalty, the thigh-bone of a ram, *the royal femur*. The prince respectfully kissed this emblem of sovereignty, and said, "I swear to make every one happy, and to follow the example of him who bore before me this sacred bone." Then the chiefs in turn took the royal femur, and said, "I swear from this thy coronation day to defend thee and thy race."

Viana says that the oaths were taken on the skull of an ancient king; but there is nothing to support this assertion, while, on the contrary, all agree in mentioning the oath on the sacred bone.

The oaths terminated, the *mencey* was crowned with flowers, and a great banquet followed.

About 1342, Luis de la Cerda, grandson of Alphonso X., King of Castile, of the blood royal of France, made a voyage to the Fortunate Isles, and on his return went to Pope Clement VI. at Avignon, and received from him the title of king of the islands to be conquered; but war had just been declared by England, and Don Luis was forced to resign his enterprise and follow the King of France, whose vassal he was. Here are one or two details of his investiture: "In order to extend the fame of the Church to the ends of the earth, Clement VI. erected the Fortunate Islands into a monarchy dependent on the Holy See, and the Pope gave to the new king, *princeps fortunæ*, in full court, a sceptre and a crown of gold."

Somewhat similar formalities to those of Spain were observed at the CORONATIONS OF THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL, who received on their accession the orders of Christ, d'Avès, and St. James, of which they were grand-masters by birth.

Portugal, long time in possession of the Moors, was conquered by Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal, and afterwards ruled by Alphonso Henriquez I., in 1112, since which time all the sovereigns have been consecrated.

On December 3, 1861, under the presidency of the supplementary president of the hereditary Chamber, Dom Luis I., bearing in his hand the royal sceptre, took his seat on the throne. His Majesty, placing his right hand on the Holy Gospels with a cross, renewed the oath he had previously taken on his accession, and addressed a few words to the clergy and nobles present. The president replied, and then in a loud voice proclaimed the very high, the very powerful, etc., King of Portugal, Dom Luis I. His Majesty then quitted the Chamber.

The election of a SOVEREIGN OF MEXICO in former times was attended with some curious ceremonies, as we learn from Lopez de Gómara. The king was conducted in great state to the temple, where he prostrated himself before the idol, and afterwards kissed it. The chief priest, and those connected with the temple, clothed in long robes like the priests of ancient Egypt, then came to anoint the monarch with a kind of black juice over the body, and placed on him a mantle on which were representations of skulls and bones; a second mantle of black was afterwards thrown over the other, and a third of a blue colour, all of which had figures of skulls on them. A red collar, to which was appended small symbolic ornaments, was placed round his neck, and on his shoulders was a bag full of a powder, the effect of which was to preserve him from enchantments and ill fortune. Some incense was placed in the hand of the king, with which he worshipped the idol and then sat down. The chief priest, after a long discourse, bade him take the oath to maintain the religion of the country, and to protect the laws and liberties of his subjects. The king was then conducted to an apartment in the temple in which was a bed, and he was left alone. He passed four days in this solitude, occupied in prayers and sacrifices, in the latter of which he mixed some drops of his own blood, drawn from different parts of the body. It was necessary, before being crowned, that he undertook some enterprise against the enemies of the state. On his return, the people welcomed him with loud cries, and a procession was formed of the priests and high dignitaries, who attended him to the

temple, where he received the emblems of sovereignty. He was clothed in sumptuous dresses; jewels were attached to his ears, and a gold rod, having at the end a precious stone, emblematic of justice, was placed in his right hand, and in his left a bow and arrows, to signify that he was the arbiter of peace and war. On his head was placed an ornament which was neither crown nor diadem, but a species of mitre. After this he seated himself on the throne, and received the homage of his subjects.

A tragical history is that of the late EMPEROR OF MEXICO. There were, in 1863, two Governments in Mexico—that of President Juarez, whose seat was at San Luis Potosi, and that of the Provisional Regency of the Mexican empire, whose seat was at Mexico. The latter was appointed by the *Junta Superior del Gobierno*, which was itself constituted (16th of June, 1863) by a decree of Marshal Forey, leader of the French army of invasion. It was composed of thirty-five members. This Junta at the same time established, under French influence, a *Society of Notables*, whom it charged with deciding in the name of the people what form of government Mexico should adopt. On the 10th of July, 1863, this body, by an overwhelming majority, decided in favour of a constitutional hereditary monarchy, and that the new ruler should bear the title of Emperor of Mexico.

The personage selected for this new dignity was the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of the Emperor of Austria, and son-in-law of the late King Leopold I. of Belgium.

On the 9th of April, 1864, the Emperor of Austria and his brothers paid a visit to Miramar to see their brother and finally settle about the *agnatenrecht*—the giving up by Maximilian of his title to the Austrian throne (about which there had been some difficulty).

On the following day the castle of Miramar, near Trieste, in the Adriatic, was the scene of the acceptance of the crown of Mexico by the Archduke Maximilian. At 10 a.m. the deputation from Mexico and the president, Gutierrez de Estrada, accompanied by Count Bombelles, General Woll, etc., proceeded to the castle, and were introduced by the master of the ceremonies to Count Zichy and Admiral Zadeck, who led the way to the grand reception-room. A circle was formed, the president in the centre. The archduke and

archduchess, accompanied by the French delegates and representatives of the Emperor of the French, then entered. The president of the Mexican deputation, as *mandatur des reiches* (proxy of the empire of Mexico), read a speech offering the imperial crown to the archduke, who replied "that he, with the help of God, would take the crown offered by the Mexican nation." At this moment the Austrian banner, which had been floating over the castle, was lowered, and the imperial flag of Mexico (red, green, and white colours) was hoisted. Guns were fired from the ships of war, and a salute of twenty-four guns from the castle of Trieste.

The new Emperor of Mexico then took the oath to uphold the integrity of the empire. The president, in the name of the nation, swore allegiance to the sovereign; after which Maximilian, taking the great cross of the Mexican order from his own breast, fixed it on that of the president with a few kind words, and kissed him twice as representative of the Mexican nation.*

PEDRO I., EMPEROR OF BRAZIL, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, and left the country, after appointing a guardian to his successor, who was under age.

The CORONATION OF PEDRO II. took place July 18, 1841. The particulars of this august ceremony are given in a work entitled "*Synopsis dos factos mais notaveio da Historia do Brazil pelo General José Ignacio de Abreu e Lima*" (Pernambuco, 1845). From this a few extracts are now given. The balcony erected for the coronation extended from the porch of the imperial chapel to the pavement in front, in the centre of which was a temple with a peristyle of six Corinthian columns, having a prominent semi-circular stand for the proclamation of the emperor. From the temple extended two galleries, which terminated in two pavilions, one named after the river Plate (or of silver, literally), the other after the

* The unhappy fate of this unfortunate prince is well known. A victim to insurrectionary violence, he was barbarously murdered. He was born June 6, 1832, and died June 19, 1877, at the early age of forty-five years. His name was Ferdinand Maximilian, but he was always called in his family by the second name, which he also exclusively bore as Emperor of Mexico. We may hope that his spirit at the last trying moment of his life was comforted by a kind of vision, for when his eyes were about to be bound, he exclaimed, "No, no; for then I could not see my mother." With his glance towards heaven he received the fatal shot.

river Amazon. The side galleries were of the Doric order, and the pavilion of the same general appearance. The imperial throne was of great richness and beauty. At eleven o'clock a.m. a procession was formed to the imperial chapel, and a few minutes afterwards the emperor arrived, and was received by the diplomatic corps. The state robes of the founder of the empire and the imperial sword of Ypyranga were placed on the balcony, along which the emperor proceeded to the door of the church, where he was received by the grand chaplain and chapter, clothed in the robes of the order of the Cruzeiro.

After praying in the Chapel of the Sacrament, the emperor was conducted by a deputation of six bishops to the throne, and thence to the chancel, where he was received by the archbishop metropolitan, and was anointed on the right arm and on the shoulders. He was then clothed in the imperial robes, and ascended the throne, where he heard Mass, and afterwards proceeded to the altar, where he received from the hands of the celebrant the imperial insignia. He then returned to the throne, where he remained seated during the *Te Deum*.

After a short sermon, a procession was then formed, and proceeded to the balcony. As soon as the emperor reached the porch he was greeted with loud acclamations from the crowd assembled in the palace square. On arriving at the temple he ascended the throne and received the homage of the ecclesiastics, after which he presented himself to the people in front of the columns of the temple. The king-at-arms (*rei de armas*), elevating his right hand, exclaimed, "Listen! listen! give attention!" and repeated thrice, "Now is consecrated the most high and powerful prince, the Lord Dom Pedro II., by the grace of God and the unanimous desire of the people constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil. Long live the emperor!" waving at the same time the imperial standard from side to side.

After the acclamations which accompanied these words had subsided, and the usual salutes were fired, the emperor received in state all those who were in the galleries and pavilions.

His Imperial Majesty afterwards withdrew to the throne-room in the palace, where he received the congratulations of the ladies of the court, and then retired to his apartments.

The crown of the Emperor of Brazil has a jewelled and

pearl-bordered band, with alternate lily-shaped and pearl-topped points. From the lily-shaped points rise triangular tapering hoops, studded with pearls, and forming a high dome with a globe and a diamond cross on the top.



Crown of the Emperor of Brazil.

A few particulars are recorded of the INAUGURATION OF A TURKISH SOVEREIGN at the commencement of the eleventh century. Togrul Beg, the first Sultan of the Seljukian Turks, reigned from Bokhara to Syria, from the vicinity of the Indus to the Black Sea. The sultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Raca, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace gate he respectfully dismounted,

and walked on foot, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil; the black garment of the Abbassides was thrown over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the Apostle of God. Togrul, the conqueror of the East, kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizier and an interpreter. After he was seated, his commission was publicly read, declaring him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the Prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns were placed on his head, and two scymetars were girded, one on each thigh, as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West.

The last attribute of sovereignty was demonstrated by Moez, of the Fatimite dynasty, who in 972 made himself master of Egypt. Having been addressed on the subject of his lineage, he drew forth his scymetar, and exclaimed, "Behold my genealogy!" So Selim, Sultan of Turkey, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when reviewing his army for the invasion of Persia, addressed a sort of sermon to his soldiers, taking for his text the magnificent orientalism attributed to Mohammed, "In the shade of the sabres Paradise is prefigured."

The INVESTITURE OF THE SABRE corresponds in Turkey to the coronation, or consecration of Western sovereigns, and is intended to confer on the sultan the command of the land and sea forces of the empire.

The mosque of Eyoob, where the ceremony is held, rises in the centre of the village of the same name, which is situated on the left hand, or Stamboul side of the Golden Horn.

Dr. Dethier, a most competent authority on the antiquities and history of Constantinople, says: "It is at Eyoob that the sultans on their accession to the throne gird themselves with the sword of Othman * [born A.D. 1259], and it is from thence they go forth in a long procession, and make their solemn entry into the city. This ceremony is older than the Turkish conquest, but when Mahomet, the conqueror, adopted it, he gave it a Mahometan signification, for on the terrace behind Eyoob was the ancient drill-ground of the Greek soldiers, where they were wont to raise the emperor on their shields. The coronation of the Greek new emperors took place in the hall of the Hebdomon, or palace. There, on a grand balcony looking into the hall, the new emperor was wont to present himself to the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries of the empire, after which, from the tower of the adjacent tribunal, he showed himself to the soldiers, who were drawn up on the drill-ground, and then he descended, and together with the civil, religious, and military authorities, made a solemn procession through the city.

"Some days after the taking of Constantinople, the Sheikh Ak-Chemseddin came to the sultan to tell him that Abu

* Native historians of Turkey relate a dream of Othman, or Osman (from whom the designation of Ottoman Turks is derived), which prefigured the future greatness of his race. He fancied that he saw a tree sprouting from his own person, which rapidly grew in size and foliage till it covered with its branches the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Beneath the tree four enormous mountains raised their snowy summits—Caucasus, Atlas, Taurus, and Hæmus—apparently supporting, like four columns, the vast leafy tent. From the sides of these mountains issued four rivers—the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Nile. Suddenly the branches and leaves of the tree assumed a glittering SABRE-like aspect, and, moved together by the breeze, they turned towards Constantinople. That capital, placed at the junction of two seas and two continents, seemed like a noble diamond set in a ring between two sapphires and emeralds. Othman was about to celebrate his nuptials with the Byzantine city, the capital of the world, by placing the ring on his finger, when he woke. By dint of the Koran and the sword the dream of Othman was realized by his successors.

Eyoob Khalidansari, one of the companions of the Prophet, had predicted that a Turkish sultan should accomplish the conquest of Constantinople; that this holy man, in the caliphate of Mouawiah, had joined the army of the caliph's son, Yazid, and had been killed in the siege of Constantinople, in the year 672, and that his tomb was at the end of the Golden Horn. This tomb, re-discovered by the sheikh, became the link which bound the Ottoman empire of Stamboul to the founder of Islamism, and came to be regarded as the most sacred place in Stamboul—a place where a Christian hardly dares' to place his foot, and where every wealthy Moslem desires to be buried. Mahomet, the conqueror, built on the site of the tomb the elegant white marble mosque of Eyoob. A beautiful and lofty cupola, flanked by demi-cupolas, towers over a number of smaller domes, and from the lovely groves of trees which surround the mosque, there spring two minarets with double galleries, which are richly ornamented. Under a kiosque around the tomb of Eyoob, a large number of lamps continually burn."

The famous ceremony of the SABRE occurred September 7, 1876, on the inauguration of SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II., the thirty-fourth reigning sovereign of the dynasty of Othman or Osman. The sultan arrived at the landing-place of Eyoob about midday, in his caique, attended by five others, rowed by white-clad crews of stalwart Albanians. Two of the caiques were surmounted by a gorgeous golden canopy, from the last of which the sultan alighted, and was soon in the saddle on his way to the mosque. He had on a rich mantle, between the folds of which shone the gold of his uniform, sparkling with diamonds. On his head he wore the plainest fez, without aigrette or any other ornament. He came on, gazing to right and left, lifting his right hand to his beardless chin and stroking it for composure, and avoiding all acknowledgment of the cheers with which the soldiers and the pashas greeted him. He rode on all alone in the multitude, which pressed on his horse's heels and followed him to the mosque.

The inauguration ceremony in the mosque was brief. Mollah Hunkiar, who is the rightful representative of the sultans of Iconium, presented the sabre of Othman to the rightful ruler of the Ottoman empire, and addressed to the recipient the solemn words, "Take it with faith, for it is God who sends it to thee." This and a prayer completed the short ceremony, after which the procession to the city was formed.

The leading ranks of the cavalcade consisted of a squad of mounted zaptiehs, then companies of blue, grey, and green ulemas. Church dignitaries were mixed with these at various intervals. To these succeeded the pashas of all ranks, ministers, marshals, under secretaries, etc., all riding two by two, well mounted, conspicuous for much gold lace on their coats, for the orders on their breasts, and for the gorgeousness and variety of the trappings and caparisons of the steeds.

The man who elicited the greatest outburst of applause, both by his grand costume, all white, and by his skilful horsemanship, was the Sheikh-ul-Islam,* Hassan Kairoullagh Effendi. A squadron of mounted halberdiers, a kind of body-guard, preceded the sultan, who had doffed his cloak and rode alone, his gold and jewellery glittering in the sun. After the sultan came more halberdiers, then other troops of all arms, and Turkish ladies' carriages, pressed all round by the mob, which invaded all space, like an overwhelming tide. All those people were following the padishah to Constantinople, where he had still to visit the mosque of Mahomet II., and the sepulchral monument of Abdul Medjid, his father, before returning to his palace of Dolmabatsché.

The imperial *hatt* proclaiming the accession of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. declares "that his Majesty ascended the throne in conformity with the prescriptions of Ottoman law," etc.

The crown jewels of the late Sultan Abdul-Aziz were of immense richness and value. At the Exhibition at Vienna, many of these were exhibited in a building erected specially for the purposes of display and protection. They were in five compartments, in what may be termed five impregnable fire-proof safes of a peculiar construction; five golden lamps, studded with precious stones, suspended from the cupola, shed their lustre upon the treasures. Among other interesting objects was the armour of Sultan Mourad I., the founder of the Ottoman empire in Europe. This armour is of the most delicate Oriental workmanship. Diamonds, pearls, and rubies are worked broad-cast over it, with exquisite taste.

The sultan possessed the largest emeralds known. The

* The Sheikh-ul-Islam, or grand mufti, combines the supreme power of the law, as well as the highest office of religion. The sultan has the power of life and death over the expounders of the Koran, who, however, can only receive capital punishment by being pounded in a mortar!

pearls in the treasury at Constantinople are, many of them, unique in form; one, in the form of a pear and white as snow, is of immense size.

The sword was announced by Mahomet, in the early part of his career, as the "instrument of faith." It is, he said, "the key of heaven and hell; all who draw it in the cause of the faith will be rewarded with temporal advantages: every drop shed of their blood, every peril and hardship endured by them, will be registered on high as more meritorious than even fasting and praying. If they fall in battle, their sins will at once be blotted out, and they will be transported to paradise, there to revel in eternal pleasures in the arms of black-eyed houris."

With regard to the *crescent* on the Turkish arms, there is a great diversity of opinion as to its origin. It is certain that the Moslems had early appropriated the old Byzantine half-moon, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, on returning from his wars in Palestine, added it as a Saracenic trophy to his royal seal. The moon and stars appear on the Irish coins of John. It had been chosen of old—so the story goes—by Byzantium, because she had been saved from a night attack of Philip, by the moon coming out and revealing the approach of the enemy. The Osmanlis must have borrowed the device from their Saracenic predecessors.

"The crescent," observes Dr. Schliemann, in his "Mycenæ," "which was in all antiquity and throughout the middle ages the symbol of Byzantium, and which is now the symbol of the Turkish empire, is a direct inheritance from Byzantium's mythical foundress, Keroëssa, the daughter of the moon-goddess Iō (Hera); for it is certain that the Turks did not bring it with them from Asia, but found it already an emblem of Byzantium."

The origin of the name *Sublime Porte* is to be referred to the ancient Oriental custom of making the gates of cities, and of king's palaces, places of assembly in connection with the affairs of government, and of the administration of justice. The Sublime Porte ("lofty gate"), or principal outer gate of the seraglio, is the place whence the hattî-scheriffs, or imperial edicts, are usually issued.

The Turkish words *hattî humayoun* (the former an Arabic word meaning "writing" or "edict") have a peculiar history attached to the latter word. There is a bird in

Persia, called the *huma*, which is remarkable for only feeding on bones, and consequently called by the Persians "the bone-eater." On this account, that it does no harm to any other animal, the bird is considered good of augury, and thus the Persian adjective *humayoun* came to be afterwards applied, among other titles, to emperors, and in process of time has become synonymous with "imperial," in which sense it is now used in Turkish. Thus, *hatti humayoun* means simply the imperial writing.

From the time of the annexation of Egypt and Syria by Selim the Inflexible, the title of "caliph," or vicar of God, was assumed by the Turkish sultan; but although this title gives him the power of a complete autocrat, no sultan can be invested with the imperial dignity unless the Mollah of Konia, a descendant of the Osmanjiks, and by right of his descent considered holy, comes to Constantinople and girds the future sovereign with the sword of Othman.

ROUMANIA, which achieved its independence of Ottoman rule during the late war between Russia and Turkey, has entered the list of monarchies—it is to be hoped with a propitious future before it.

THE CORONATION OF PRINCE CHARLES, THE KING OF ROUMANIA, took place at Bucharest (May 23, 1881), and was a striking ceremony. The royal *cortége*, consisting of the sovereign on horseback, Queen Elizabeth, with Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern and his two sons, Princes Ferdinand and Charles, escorted by a numerous and brilliant host of attendants, arrived at 1 p.m. on the metropolitan hills, which overlook the capital, amid salvos of artillery, to which a passing cloud added two loud peals of thunder. The weather was splendid. The king and queen ascended to a richly canopied dais erected in the courtyard, on the summit of the hill, between the Chamber of Deputies and the metropolitan church. The coronation hymn having been sung, prayers were read by the Archbishop Primate of Roumania, and then the crowns were brought out of the church, and were placed before their Majesties. The king's crown is of steel, wrought out of a cannon captured at Plevna; the queen's crown is of gold, and executed with exquisite taste. The ceremony over, their Majesties returned to the town, followed by a long procession. The crowns were taken to the palace, and there presented by the Senate and the Chamber.

SERVIA was advanced to a kingdom in March, 1882. At the unanimous invitation of the Skuptschina, the Grand Council of State, the prince accepted the royal dignity with the style and title of King Milan I. of Servia. The event was celebrated by a solemn *Te Deum* in the cathedral of Belgrade, at which the king, queen, and all the court officials assisted. The Servian military took the oath to the king, and great enthusiasm prevailed.

The ruler of Servia is, no doubt, the only sovereign who has been twice proclaimed king without ever having vacated the throne of his country. In 1876 General Tchernieff proclaimed him king of the Servians, and the action was followed by a general jubilation of the troops then facing the Turks on the Servian frontier. This act was, however, disavowed by M. Ristich's Government.

The CEREMONIES ATTENDING THE CORONATION OF A HINDOO RAJAH appear to have been of a curious and interesting character. The account given is from "Asiatic Researches" (published in Calcutta, 1820). The writer of the notices was present at the coronation of the Rajah of Colastri. The Brahmins had fixed on an auspicious day in December, 1778-79, for the celebration at a place which immemorial custom had prescribed for such events, a fort named Maday, situated between the rivers Balliapatam and Cavay, in a spacious open spot. Here, on an elevation, under a canopy, a kind of throne, but not higher than a common chair, was placed, on which the rajah, attended by many Brahmins, seated himself. He was concealed from the spectators by *perdas* held up before him, while the people, an immense concourse, were made to fall back. The auspicious moment having arrived, the *perdas* were withdrawn, and the rajah exposed to view with the crown on his head. Various rites were then performed by the Brahmins, whilst others recited invocations, and chanted stanzas appropriate to the occasion. This continued for about half an hour, when the chief Brahmin, or priest of the rajah, advanced, having a flat silver dish in his left hand, containing a little fine unboiled rice. He approached so close to the rajah as to be able to reach the crown with his hand, stopped, and recited a prayer or invocation. He then took a little of the rice in his right hand and dropped it on the crown. This he repeated three times, letting the rice fall slowly, whilst he proclaimed in a

very loud voice the new titles of the rajah, with invocations and prayers.

The silence of the multitude during this part of the ceremony was impressive. The awe and reverence with which they beheld the rites and listened to the Brahmins was so great that scarce a breath could be heard; but the moment for *adoration*, which was that when the last rite with the rice was completed, was no sooner come than a simultaneous shout rose in the air. The adoration continued as long as the rajah remained exposed, which was above an hour, during which offerings were presented and received by the attendants; at the same time gifts of clothes and money were distributed among the Brahmins and their women, the number of whom alone was immense. A great feast was also given to these, which continued three days, twice each day. The gestures made use of to express their adoration by the people were remarkable: the person, standing erect, lifted his hands to his face, and joined them open, the fingers stretched and reaching a little above the eyes; the fingers then drawn down to the palm, and the hands drawn back from each other to the distance of eight or ten inches, then replaced as before, and the same motions repeated.

The crown was of gold, and resembled in form that of the Roman tiara before it was formed into a triple crown. When we consider with what minuteness the Hindoos adhere, even in matters of minor importance, to the practices of their ancestors, we may conclude that the form of this crown is very ancient, and is therefore worthy of remark as being different from that of any diadem worn by princes either now or at former periods.

Two subjects in this coronation are worth consideration: first, the rite of sprinkling rice over the crown whilst on the head of the rajah; secondly, the circumstance of its being a ceremony arising out of a feudal system of government, at which all the vassals were obliged to appear, and to contribute to the expense of it, each according to his rank.

The CORONATION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF PERSIA was attended with some peculiar ceremonials. As soon as the death of a monarch was announced, his successor made his entrance into Ispahan through an opening made in the walls of the city, thus proclaiming the rights of the conqueror over the vanquished, and his power over the life and goods of his

subjects. The sovereign then directed his steps to the mosque, where he offered prayers for the soul of his predecessor, and for his own guidance in the affairs of state. In the palace immense preparations were made for his reception. A throne, enriched with gold and precious stones, was placed in the midst of a vast hall, on which the monarch seated himself, previously reciting some prayers. The mufti then placed the diadem on his head, and kissed his feet, in which latter proceeding he was followed by all present.

Sir John Chardin, the traveller in Persia, the East Indies, etc., gives a long and circumstantial account of the coronation of Solyman III., sovereign of Persia, in 1666, and mentions "the four principal pieces which are in a manner consecrated to this ceremony." The first is the seat which served instead of a throne, "being a little square cushion stool, three feet in height, the feet of the pillars that supported the corners being fashioned like so many great apples; . . . it was of massy gold very thick, the four pillars and the feet being plated with gold, and set with little rubies and emeralds. This same stool at other times is kept very carefully in the royal treasury, which is a dungeon in the fortress of Ispahan, and so weighty that two men could hardly carry it."

The Persian crown, or bonnet, is described as flat, somewhat like the mortar-caps of the presidents of the French Parliaments. It carried in the middle a point, rising up about a finger's length, and lessening towards the end, though at the top it seemed to grow bigger again. The materials of the bonnet were of cloth of gold, bound about after the manner of a turban. The outside was covered all over with an embroidery of diamonds, from whence hung down several chains of precious stones that shaded all the rest of the circumference, and dangled down upon the bonnet, which was no less sumptuously embellished with all the richest jewels of the crown; round about stood little tufts resembling herons' feathers, all of jeweller's work. In other parts of the bonnet were erected little plumes of herons' feathers and birds of Paradise. The turban was hung about with strings of precious stones, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and topazes, fastened to the heron plumes. Just over the forehead shone another heron-tuft much more glorious than all the rest, from the top of which rose up three sockets of precious stones.

The third piece (of the regalia) was a sword, of which the hilt and scabbard were all covered over with precious stones.

The fourth piece was a Persian dagger, with an infinite number of precious stones.

About ten o'clock at night the chief of the astrologers and his companion, having been long observing the position of the stars, the conjunctions of the planets, returned at length to give notice that the fortunate hour for the coronation of the king would be within twenty minutes. After the blessing of the regalia by the ancient of the law, he took the sword and girded it on the king's left side, and hung the dagger upon his right. The bonnet was then taken from the king's head, and the diadem placed thereon with a repetition of verses from the Koran. An oration was then delivered. "By an ancient custom, time out of mind, these prayers were always to be divided into four heads, to last half an hour, and to contain always the same form." The first ovation or prayer was called "The Praise of God;" the second, "The Praise, Remembrance, Acknowledgment of the Prophet, and of the Twelve Descendants and Lieutenants;" the third, "Royalty is a Divine Institution;" the fourth, "A Prayer for the King." At the conclusion of these prayers all the grandees of the country paid their obeisance to the monarch, and the ceremony ended.

The great national standard of the ancient Persians was the sacred and famous *durufsh-Kawani*, or leathern apron of the blacksmith Kawah, which was richly adorned with silk and gems, and is said to have measured eighteen feet long by twelve feet broad.

THE SHAH OF PERSIA'S strong box of crown jewels consists of a small room, twenty feet by fourteen, reached by a steep flight of stairs, and entered through a very small door. Here, spread upon carpets, lie jewels valued at seven millions sterling. Chief among the group is the Kaianian crown, shaped like a flower-pot, and surmounted by an uncut ruby as large as a hen's egg, supposed to have come from Siam. Near the crown are two lambskin caps, adorned with splendid aigrettes of diamonds, and before them lie trays of pearl, ruby, and emerald necklaces, and hundreds of rings. The late Mr. Eastwick, who examined the whole, states that, in addition to

these, there are gauntlets and belts covered with pearls and diamonds, and conspicuous among them the Kaianian belt, about a foot deep, weighing perhaps eighteen pounds, and one complete mass of pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. One or two scabbards of swords are said to be worth a quarter of a million each. There is also the finest turquoise in the world, three or four inches long, without a flaw, and "I remarked a smaller one of unique beauty, three-quarters of an inch long, and three-eighths of an inch broad; the colour was lovely, and almost as refreshing to the eyes as Persian poets pretend. There are also many sapphires as big as marbles, and rubies and pearls the size of nuts; and I am certain I counted nearly a hundred emeralds from half an inch square to one and three-quarter inches long, and an inch broad. In the sword scabbard, which is covered with diamonds, there is not, perhaps, a single stone smaller than the nail of a man's little finger. Lastly, there is an emerald as big as a walnut, covered with the names of kings who have possessed it."

"The Persian stone *par excellence*," remarks Mr. Piggott, in his "Persia—Ancient and Modern," "is the turquoise. From the most ancient times the finest examples came from this country. The ancient Greeks admired the gold armour of the Persians, sumptuously decorated with this gem. Persian lapidaries are now very expert in inlaying the stone with designs and inscriptions, with very good effect. They often, however, employ the method to hide the defects of an otherwise fine stone. The best specimens come from Nishapour, in Khorassan, and the mines there have been worked from the remotest antiquity.

"The stones that astonished Chardin in the Treasury at Ispahan came from that place. He saw 'in each chamber the stones in the rough, piled high on the floor like heaps of grain, and the polished, filling innumerable leather bags, weighing forty-five to fifty pounds each.'"

The elevation of a CHINESE MONARCH to the throne was formerly accompanied with more pomp and ceremony than at present. On the death of an emperor the soldiers and people assembled in large numbers before the royal palace, to await the arrival of his successor. According to ancient custom, the new monarch declared himself unworthy to reign, refusing three times the emblems of sovereignty

offered to him by one of the highest functionaries. At length an affected unwilling assent was given, and the astrologers selected a propitious day for the installation. At that time a splendid throne was placed upon nine steps (corresponding to the nine heavens of Chinese belief, and the nine orders of magistrates that governed the nation) in the great hall of the palace, in which all the high officers of the state were assembled on the left of the throne, and the relations of the emperor on the female side on the right. The relations on the male side were interdicted from assisting at the ceremonial, and were not allowed to be in the city on that occasion, from a motive of security from unjust pretensions or ambition that might interfere with the public order. The grand master of the ceremonies, standing in front of the throne, gave various orders, which were speedily executed by the other functionaries. The first was to render funeral honours to the deceased monarch, and the emperor himself, clothed in a white robe, performed this pious duty. Sacrifices were then offered to the manes of the departed. After this the emperor, putting aside the mourning robe, was arrayed in the imperial vestments, and received the attributes of sovereignty on his throne, which was resplendent with gold and precious stones. The book containing the privileges and rights of the head of the empire was brought by the master of the ceremonies and placed upon a table before the throne. The emperor took the book and gave it into the hands of the professors of the royal college, who passed it, in their turn, to the president of the tribunal of rites, who read it with a loud voice. This book contained also a confirmation of the last wishes of the deceased sovereign, with a remission of debts due to the imperial treasury, and a general pardon to all malefactors except those who had been condemned to death.

At the present time no crown is used in the coronation of an emperor; but he mounts the dragon-throne, and sits facing the south. There are the ceremony of the Kow-tow, or nine knockings, the sealing of a proclamation, and apparently certain separate rites to inform severally the imperial ancestors, the heavens above, and the earth beneath.

It was announced, in connection with the installation of the present emperor, that in consequence of the death of his late Majesty the empress-regent ordered the usual ceremonies on New Year's Day to be curtailed of their proportions, so that the enthronement of his juvenile successor and the state

banquet be dispensed with. The musicians were to assemble, but not to perform.

The present KING OF BURMAH succeeded to the throne in 1853, but, in compliance with a prophecy, he was crowned a second time in 1874, at Mandalay.

The actual coronation ceremony is a mere form now, but is intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarchy. It consists principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the *pohnnas*, the Brahmin astrologers, the Burman *yahans* having nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the *pohnnas*, only a few of the chief ministers are present. The really national part of the ceremony is the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the consecration as king. The monarch leaves the city by the eastern gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then enters the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat is then rowed slowly round the moat, with music clashing all around and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then, when the circuit is completed, the newly crowned monarch enters again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace.

The white umbrella* appears to be the distinguishing

* It would astonish most people if they were told what a prominent part the homely word *umbrella* has played in the world. God and His eternal heaven have been called after it, man's temple and his religion, the monarch and his army. To this day the rulers of Russia, Persia, India, and perhaps Germany and Austria, are called by titles that have the root-word "umbrella." The visitor to the Indian Museum laughs at the huge umbrella, with its seven silken sunshades, presented by the King of Burmah to our sovereign, little thinking that the deepest questions of metaphysics and theology are intimately connected with that grotesque parasol. In point of fact, an umbrella better than any other object, represented the hemispherical canopy that was the Indian idea of heaven. Its stick was God, the sustainer of this canopy. And in Vedic days the number of the heavens was seven; hence the seven silken tops of the umbrella of the King of Burmah.

In the Bhagavad Gitâ the great spiritual enlightenment which it is the object of all devout Asiatics to obtain, is called knowledge of the symbol umbrella—knowledge of God and His seven eternal heavens.

In the representations at Koyunjik (city of Nineveh) may be seen the

emblem of regal power in Burmah. The father of King Jaya Sing'ha, in 573, having placed this emblem of sovereignty in the midst of his five sons, prayed that it might fall towards the rightful heir, and, according to his wish, it inclined towards Jaya Sing'ha.

The throne of the King of Burmah is painted over with representations of the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the monarch from the solar and human races, which is also directly laid claim to in the title *nay-twet buyin*, "sovereign of the rising sun."

The ceremonials connected with the CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF SIAM are given by Bishop Pallegoix. On the death

parasol, which exactly resembles that still in use throughout the East, and which was reserved exclusively for the monarch. It had a tall and thick pole, which the bearer grasped with both his hands, and in the early times a somewhat small circular top. Under the later kings the size of the head was considerably enlarged, and at the same time a curtain or flap was attached, which, falling from the edge of the parasol, more effectually protected the monarch from the sun's rays. The head of the royal parasol was fringed with tassels, and the upper extremity of the pole commonly terminated in a flower or other ornament. In the later times both the head and the curtain which depended from it were richly patterned.

The parasol, as a mark of kingly dignity, seems in Persia as in Assyria to have been confined, either by law or usage, to the monarch. The Persian implement resembled the later Assyrian, except that it was not tasselled and had no curtain or flap. It had the same tent-like shape, the same long thick stem, and the same ornament at the top. It only differed in being somewhat shallower and in having the supports which kept it open, curved instead of straight. It was held over the king's head on state occasions by an attendant, who walked immediately behind him.

There were certain regulations respecting the umbrella in Java. The sovereign alone was entitled to the golden one; the queen and members of the royal family to the yellow; the family of the king by his concubines to the white.

State umbrellas are a conspicuous feature of Chinese processions. In other Eastern countries they have their place among the insignia of high rank. They were, and are still, one of the emblems of royalty and power throughout India, Persia, Arabia, and other Asiatic countries, and in that portion of the great continent of Africa which is inhabited by the followers of the false prophet of Mecca. At the time when Rome was giving laws to the world, it was used by the sovereigns of Egypt, since Mark Antony is censured for having united the eagles of Rome with the state umbrellas of the unfortunate Cleopatra:—

"Interque signa (turpe!) militaria
Sol aspicit cornopeum."

of the king the declared successor is escorted, with great pomp, to the palace. He then washes the corpse of the deceased sovereign, and all the princes and nobles take the oath of fidelity. The oath contains most terrible imprecations against traitors, and is read in the name of all by the prime minister, after which all present drink, from a large vessel of gold, water, over which the bonzes have pronounced imprecatory denunciations, and into which the king's scymetar has been dipped.

On the day of the coronation, all the houses of the capital are illuminated by lanterns; and at the door of each an altar is raised, which is adorned with rich silks, flowers, wax-lights, mirrors, and perfume-bearing boxes, while everybody is busy with sports and amusements. The chief of the astrologers writes the name of the new king on a sheet of gold, which is washed with perfumes, rolled up, and placed in a golden tube, which is again enclosed in a gold-enamelled silver box. Nine mandarins, each holding a chandelier with three wax-lights, promenade nine times round the box, keeping their chandeliers in a state of vibration; after which the priests or astrologers sound their conch-shells, and beat their gongs and drums. At this moment the king enters the hall, gives new yellow robes to about a hundred of the bonzes, and places a lighted wax-candle in the hands of the principal priests. An idol, called the Idol of Victory, is brought in, before which the king performs an act of homage. He then guards himself with a *langouti* of white silk, and ascends to a throne, where two princes scatter over him lustral water, and the Brahmins present shells with lustral water, with which he washes himself, and changes his *langouti* for one of yellow silk with gold embroidery. Conches are sounded, with other musical instruments, during the whole of these proceedings; after which the king walks into another hall, where he ascends an octagonal throne, surmounted by a seven-storied pagoda-like umbrella. Eight Brahmins are seated at a distance, around the king, whose face is turned towards the east. The first Brahmin, who is opposite the king, pronounces a benediction in the Pali language, pours into the king's hand some lustral water, of which his Majesty drinks a few drops, and washes his face with what remains. He then turns to the south, performing the same ceremonies, which are repeated at the eight points of the compass. The king then proceeds to a

third (quadrilateral) throne, where he seats himself on a golden lion, turns to the north, while an old Brahmin sings a benedictory hymn, and, prostrating himself, delivers the kingdom to the king's keeping. A page comes forward and presents to the king the seven-storied umbrella,—the *save-traxat*, or primary symbol of royalty; another presents the golden tube which contains the king's name; others bring the crown, the royal collar decorated with diamonds, the royal staff, which the king places on his right side, and the royal scymetar, which he places on the left.

Eight species of warlike weapons are then presented—the javelin, the lance, the bow, the sword, the poniard, the sabre, the sword-stick, and the musket. His Majesty then, in a loud voice, gives permission to his subjects to use the trees, the plants, and waters, and stones in his kingdom. Then one of the great mandarins responds, "Your servants receive the excellent orders of our lord, whose voice is majestic as a lion's roar." The king then scatters flowers of gold and silver among the people, and pours out water on the ground for the benediction of all that the earth produces of animal and vegetable life. During all this, a tremendous noise of gongs, drums, and conch-shells is kept up by the priests, of whom the principal dignitaries are assembled in another hall, to which the king proceeds, and having selected a chief, or bishop, among them, distributes alms and receives their blessings. He then goes to the great hall of audience, where a costly carpet is spread, adorned with diamonds and precious stones. Loud prayers are uttered, the sound of which is sometimes quite lost in the noise of the musical instruments. One of the chief nobles then advances, crawling, and thus addresses the king: "Your Majesty is directed, on behalf of all the dignified nobles here present, to receive our united homage, bending our heads at the sacred feet of your glorious Majesty, our refuge, who is mounted on the diamond-adorned throne, invested with the sovereign power; seated under the seven-storied umbrella; the terror of your enemies, whose august name is written on the plate of gold. We ask leave to deposit at the sacred feet of your Majesty everything we possess, and all the treasures of the kingdom." The king answers, "All the dignified nobles shall have the privilege of appearing in my presence, as they desire, to offer their services, according to their several functions. So let each, without fear, come and present his service." Then

the *Phaja Phra Klang* (the minister for foreign affairs) prostrates himself, and presents to the king the royal barges, ships of war, arsenals, soldiers, and military appurtenances. The *Phaja Suphavadi* offers the elephants, horses, and the capitals of provinces, of the first, second, third, and fourth order, with all their inhabitants. The master of the palace presents the palace and all its contents. The minister of justice presents the city of Bangkok. The minister of agriculture offers the produce of the fields and the gardens. The treasurer gives the twelve departments of the royal exchequer. Being thus richly endowed, the monarch withdraws to the interior of the palace, where two ladies wash his feet. The princesses then present the articles required in the palace, and among the tributes a golden nosegay weighing a pound. They invite him to eat sweetmeats which they have prepared; after which he mounts his palanquin, and, throwing in his way handfuls of money to the right and the left, is conducted to the temple of the Emerald Buddha, where he performs his adorations in the midst of lighted wax tapers and perfumed joss-sticks. The golden urns containing the ashes of his ancestors are then brought; he offers them incense, light, and flowers, and having called upon the priests for an address on death, enters his palace, and the formalities of the coronation are considered to be closed.*

[The institution of a SECOND KING is one of the peculiarities of the Siamese usages. He is not charged, as was the case of Japan, with the religious, as distinguished from the civil functions of government, but exercises a species of secondary, or reflected authority, which is not clearly defined. His title was formerly *Uparat*, but it is now *Wangna*, literally meaning the junior king. He is generally a brother or near-relation of the king.

The name of the supreme king is not to be pronounced, or his person referred to, except under certain designations, among which the most usual are, "Master of the World,"

* On the death of a King of Siam (according to Bishop Pallegoix) a quantity of quicksilver is introduced by the mouth into the body, a golden mask is placed on the face, and he is seated on a pierced throne, beneath which is a large golden vase; the mercury drains the body, and with great ceremonials the depositions from the golden vase are conveyed to the river. When the corpse is sufficiently dried, the hands are joined, and it is placed in a sitting posture within an urn of gold, where it is kept for a year, until all the funeral preparations are made.

"Sovereign of Life," "August Great Emperor," "Excellent divine Feet," "August perfectly sublime," "Descendant of Angels," "The Great Emperor," "Perfect Justice," "August and commanding Summit," etc. The king boasts that, next to the Mongul, he can deduce his descent from more kings than any in the Indies.]

In Sir John Bowring's "People and Kingdom of Siam," he mentions that in an interview he had with the first king, he was shown the royal crown jewels, and his Majesty sent one of his nobles for the crown in which he had been crowned, and which, he said, had been that of his royal grandfather. It is of pyramidal shape, and weighs about four pounds. It is covered with beautiful diamonds, the one at the top being of enormous size and extraordinary splendour; two flaps, or wings, of gold with diamonds descended by the side of the ears, and the crown is tied under the chin. His Majesty put it on, and said the sovereigns of Siam were crowned by the highest Brahminical priest. He then exhibited the sword of state, whose gold scabbard is richly embossed, and covered with diamonds and jewels; and his Majesty unsheathed it, and showed two swords, one within the other—the inner of steel, the outer of metal. The handle was partly made of "sacred wood," covered by a succession of ornamented and jewelled rings.

Sir John Bowring, in another interview with the king, describes him seated on an elevated and gorgeous throne, like the curtained box of a theatre. He was clad in golden garments, his crown at his side, but he wore on his head a cap decorated with large diamonds, and enormous diamond rings were on his fingers.

Since 1868 there has been no TYCOON OF JAPAN. Before the twelfth century the mikado reigned alone in Japan, though his sway was considerably modified by the daimios. During the latter period, Vorilomo, the general of the mikado (Xoniei), raised himself into an antagonistic position to his lord, under the title of shiogun. His successors were so powerful that the mikado had little real power, though the shiogun had to render him homage. Since 1853 the shiogun has been called tycoon, or taicoon, by Europeans. In the recent wonderful revolution in Japan, the reform party, which had long been growing in importance, were powerful enough to enforce the resignation of the shiogun.

This, followed by the voluntary surrendering by the daimios of their vast estates, left the field to the mikado. The history of no other country can show such an example of patriotism. The oldest hereditary nobility in the world gave up their rights and their property for the good of their country! One of these daimios had an income of two millions of our money. The Government allowed them all a tenth.

The *Times* (August 14, 1872) says that "tycoon" is Japanese for "great prince," while "shiogun" simply means "commander-in-chief."

The ancient Japanese used to make their prince sit crowned on his throne for some hours every morning, without suffering him to move his hands or feet, his head or eyes, or, indeed, any part of his body, believing that by this means alone could peace be preserved; and if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country.

Among the *regalia* which were always carried in procession when the SULTAN OF JAVA moved abroad, and were arranged behind him while seated on the *dímpar* (a large stool or bench of gold or silver, with a velvet cushion), were the following golden figures:—an elephant, a serpent, a bull, a deer, a cock-fowl; each of a size to be borne in the hand. These, with the golden box for tobacco, and the golden spitting-pot, and a variety of golden salvers, bowls, etc., distinguished by the respective names applicable to their different purposes, have descended as heirlooms in the royal family, and are esteemed with the greatest veneration.

When the sovereign moved abroad, he was attended by numerous spearmen, the duty of eight of whom was to attend the figures of the sacred elephant and bull. The royal state umbrella was carried in front of the royal procession.

The ceremonies of state, however, lost much of their character from the admission of European customs, introduced by the Dutch after the Javan war.

The ornaments of state, or *regalia*, were well wrought in gold; the royal shield was richly inlaid with precious stones, and the royal *kris* hung in a belt, which, with its sheath, was one blaze of diamonds.

On the success of the Dutch against the Sultan of Java, *Mangkúrat Mas*, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the celebrated *makóta*, or crown of *Majapáhit*, was lost. The regalia of the sovereigns of Java, with the exception of this important article, were delivered, by order of the Dutch, to the acknowledged sovereign, *Pakabúana*; but nothing more was ever heard of the crown, and since that time the princes wore a cap. As the Dutch had now become supreme at Java, a crown, perhaps, was an empty pageant. It is suspected that the jewels were abstracted and the gold melted down.

In the embassies from the Pope of Rome to the East, in the thirteenth century, prior to the travels of Marco Polo, a description is given, in the narrative of Carpini, of the manner of electing and installing the EMPEROR OF THE TARTARS. After an account of the splendour of the imperial court, the friars composing the embassy relate that the grand ceremony was delayed a few days by a tempest of hail, but on August 24 (1246) the whole multitude assembled, and, turning their faces to the south, performed various genuflexions. The spot selected for the ceremony was beautifully situated on a river between mountains, where a golden tent had been pitched, supported by pillars richly gilded, and covered with the finest Bagdad cloth. A gilt chair was brought out, upon which Cuyne (Kuyuk Khan) was seated. The Tartar chiefs said, "We wish, we pray and command, that you have power and dominion over us all." Cuyne replied, "If you wish that I be your king, are you resolved and disposed, each of you, to do all that I shall command—to come when I call, to go whither I send, and to kill whom I shall order to be killed?" The chiefs replied, "Yes." "Then," said he, "henceforth my word alone shall be my sword." Immediately after, he was seated on a chair of felt, and addressed as follows—"Look on high and see God, and look down on the felt whereon thou sittest. If thou dost govern well thou shalt reign in power and magnificence, and the whole earth shall be subject to thee; but if ill, thou shalt be poor, miserable, vile, and contemptible, and shalt not have power even over the felt whereon thou sittest."

His principal wife was then placed on the same seat, and both were lifted up into the air and proclaimed, with loud shouts, emperor and empress of all the Tartars.

THE CORONATION OF A KING OF KANDY was a curious ceremony. Before the successor of a deceased monarch could be considered completely king, it was necessary that he should choose a name and be girt with the regal sword. It was the duty of the royal astrologers to ascertain a fortunate period for the ceremony, and invent fortunate names, each individual being required to write a name on a plate of gold set with precious stones. On the day fixed, which was sometimes a year or two after the election, the prince went in great state to the temple, where he presented offerings and made prostrations to the gods. Thence he passed to the place of meeting, and having gone through the same religious ceremony, inspected the plate that pleased him, and read it to the first priest, who proclaimed aloud, "This is the name that the gods have chosen for the king to bear." Then the gold plate on which the name was inscribed was tied to the prince's forehead, and the regal sword was attached to his belt. A pot of sandal-powder was next presented to the king, in which he dipped his fingers and touched the sword. From the temple, mounted on his elephant, the king went round the great square, and paraded through the illuminated streets of his capital, preceded by dancers, singers, and musicians, and attended by his whole court in great splendour.

Though a crown was not among the essential regalia (which were the white umbrella of pearl, the brush made of the tail of the Thibet cow, the gold sword, the gold forehead plate, and the golden slippers), a crown was assumed by the last monarchs—a handsome one of gold, set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. It was seldom worn, and a cap, from superstitious motives, was substituted for it, a king imagining that in wearing a crown he placed himself on a level with the gods, who are supposed to wear crowns. An assemblage of all the dignitaries in Church and State having been made, the royal *masdappa*, or canopy, was brought forth, richly ornamented, amidst much reverence. Beneath this the monarch's throne (described in the chapter on "Fragmenta Regalia") was placed, and on occupying it a royal virgin, adorned with costly ornaments and holding a shell full of the purest seawater, approached him. Then, elevating the shell above the king's head, she poured water on it as a libation, saying, "Your Majesty is hereby anointed to rule over the whole assembly of Rohatrias; therefore, may it please your Majesty to perform the duties of a sovereign, and to exercise your

sway with benignity and justice." The ceremony ended by the king assuming his title of "king of kings."

The following curious particulars relating to the CROWN AND REGALIA OF KANDY are from the *Edinburgh Advertiser* (1820):—"A chest recently brought from India, containing the regalia and other articles taken in 1815 from the palace of the deposed King of Kandy, has been opened at the Bank of England. Among the curious and costly articles disclosed to view were a regal crown of pure gold, an entire suite of golden armour, together with a number of tiaras, bracelets, amulets, and other ornaments, for the most part studded with precious stones, and many of them suspended by massive gold chains of ingenious workmanship. The whole collection, which is of considerable value, has been given up by his Majesty for the benefit of the captors, and will shortly, it is understood, be offered for sale."

In former times the CORONATION OF A KING OF ABYSSINIA (one of the oldest monarchies in the world) was celebrated with curious and splendid ceremonies, which, by keeping the subjects in respectful condition, excited also for the person of their sovereign a veneration approaching to worship. The monarch was richly attired in crimson damask, and a chain of gold about his neck. With uncovered head he mounted a horse, splendidly caparisoned, and advanced, at the head of the nobility, to the area in front of the church. A number of young girls, daughters of the *ambares*, or supreme judges, with many other noble virgins, ranged themselves on each side of the court. Two of them held in their hands a cord of crimson silk, stretched across from row to row and drawn tight, about breast high. The king then entered at a moderate pace, displaying his skill in horsemanship as he went along. When he advanced to the cord the damsels cried, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am your king, the King of Sion." "You shall not pass," they replied; "you are not our king." Retiring a few paces, he again presented himself, and the question was repeated as before. "I am your king," he replied, "the King of Israel." But this answer was again rejected. Returning a third time, and being asked again, "Who are you?" he said, "I am your king, the King of Sion;" and, unsheathing his sabre, he cut the cord. The virgins chanted hallelujahs, and the air rang with the accla-

mations of the army and the royal attendants. Amidst these expressions of joy he rode up to the stair of the church, and there dismounting, sat upon a throne resembling an altar of Anubis, or the Dog-star. A number of priests followed in procession. The king was first anointed and then crowned. Singing priests attended him halfway up the steps. He then stopped at an aperture made on purpose in the stair, where he was fumigated with myrrh, aloes, and cassia. Divine service was celebrated, and on his return to the camp, fourteen days were spent in feasting and rejoicing.

The modern ceremonies of the coronation in Abyssinia are of a less imposing character. In 1855 Theodoros, or Theodore, was crowned King of Ethiopia by the *abuna*, the bishop or metropolitan of Abyssinia. The original name of this sovereign was Kassa-Kuaranga, but he adopted the designation of Theodoros after his accession from the name of a *negus* (king of kings) who reigned in the twelfth century. About forty years ago the *legitimate* sovereign of Abyssinia was reduced to manufacture cloaks as a means of subsistence. A boy, twelve years of age, being asked his name, said, "My name by baptism is Oulda-Salassie" (son of the Trinity). "I am Negus."

After the defeat of Theodore, in 1868, he shot himself in despair. In 1872 Prince Kassai was crowned King of Abyssinia at Axan, under the title of King Johannes.

Odd mischances befall crowns. At the close of the war in Abyssinia the true crown of King Theodore was bought, at the capture of Magdala, from a common soldier by a Prussian officer attached to the expedition. It was by him presented to his sovereign. His Majesty had his attention drawn to Lord Napier's order forbidding the sale of articles taken by the army, and the crown was forwarded to the Government, and is now in the South Kensington Museum. The workmanship dates from about a hundred and fifty years, a copy of European work of the sixteenth century. The material is of pure gold, of which there is but little in the country. This crown is thirteen inches and three-quarters high and eleven inches in diameter.

Among the "loot" at the taking of Magdala were the *abuna's* mitre, three hundred years old, of pure gold, probably weighing six or seven pounds troy weight, and four royal crowns, two of which were very fine specimens of workmanship and very valuable, including that already mentioned.

It is a Manansa (South African) custom, after the death of a king, for the men to meet together and conduct the heir to the royal residence. Then they brought a handful of sand and small stones from the Zambesi and a hammer. These they give him as tokens of his sovereignty over the land, and over water and iron, symbolizing industry and labour. At the same time they remind him of the obligation that rests upon him, that from the day of his accession to the throne he was not to eat the flesh of the rhinoceros nor the hippopotamus, as these, being "mischievous" animals, would be likely to impart their own evil qualities to him.

THE STATE UMBRELLA OF THE KING OF ASHANTEE is said to have cost from three to four thousand dollars. It is made of alternate pieces of crimson and black velvet, while hundreds of gold pendicles form a fringe round it, and a large boss of pure gold surmounts it above. It is borne over the king, by a chief, wherever he moves, and is the emblem of sovereignty.

The Bautammah, which is the Tower or the Louvre of Coomassie, is the treasure-house of the kings of Ashantee, including the costly presents received by them from the British, the Dutch, and the French Governments, and splendid objects collected from time to time. Here lie the specie, and the gold dust, ingots and bars of solid gold, and many a chestful of rings and chains of gold, besides a vast amount of jewels and dresses, etc. In the Bautammah, side by side with the crown of the kings, is laid the gold decorated cup fashioned out of the skull of the unfortunate governor of Cape Coast Castle, Sir Charles McCarthy. It is only on days of state and festival that this ghastly cup is used.

The GOLD AXE OF ASHANTEE, the barbarous emblem of sovereignty in that country, and sent as the highest tribute of royalty to the Queen of England, in 1881, is in its origin involved in some obscurity on account of its very great age, and also because there exists no record concerning it. It is believed by the Ashantees themselves to have been used as a battle-axe in war by a former King of Ashantee, who reigned at a very remote period, and before the introduction of guns and gunpowder. It is much revered by the Ashantees, and by them is regarded as so precious an object, that it was deposited for safety in the Bautammah, on the right of the royal state stool of Ashantee, and in the cere-

monial processions which take place periodically at Coomassie, it took precedence of the royal stool. It is covered with leopard-skin, as symbolical of courage—the Ashantees believing the leopard to have more courage than any other animal, the lion not excepted. The gold upon it is significant of wealth. Thus, by the leopard-skin and the gold, the Ashantees themselves interpret that they possess the highest amount of courage, and unlimited amount of wealth with which to support their wars. At first the King of Ashantee refused to give it up, but the successive messengers who were despatched to him for it, pointing out how essential it was for him to yield up something great to prove the sincerity of his words, as delivered by his great ambassador to the governor, he assembled his chiefs and people in council at Coomassie, when it was resolved that the axe should be given up. “But,” said the king, “this axe is an emblem of such high sovereignty, that if I yield it up, and it is kept on the coast, I shall yield all the power I possess, and my neighbours and the Fantees will laugh at me.” Then it was suggested, “Send it to your good friend (Captain Barrow), bidding him ask the governor not to keep it in one of the castles on the coast, where, if seen, your Majesty would be laughed at by the Fantees and others, but to send it to the Queen of England.” Then said the king to his great chief, Acampong, “On that condition I will give it up to you to carry to my good friend;” and on these terms Acampong in person handed it to Captain Barrow, who, in turn, delivered it to the governor, and by his Excellency’s instructions Captain Barrow brought it to England.

The INSTALLATION OF CETEWAYO AS KING OF THE ZULUS is the subject of an interesting Parliamentary report (February 6, 1875) of the expedition sent for that purpose by the Government of Natal. The reasons for this ceremony appear to be important, Mr. (now Sir Theophilus) Shepstone, the chief of the commission, having succeeded in inducing the king to alter some of the fundamental laws of his kingdom, so as to check cruelty and the capricious and arbitrary exercise of the power of shedding human blood; also obtaining, otherwise, a political influence tending, it was hoped, to civilization. A few remarks on the ceremony itself are given. On September 1, 1874, the preparations for the installation commenced. The spot selected was in front of the Amahla-

batani Valley, a few miles from Umgungundhlovu. A large marquée had been brought for the purpose, which was decorated with shawls, blankets, and other showy articles which had been brought as presents. In the middle of one side stood a table covered with drapery, with a mirror, in front of which had been placed the head-dress, the design of which was taken from the Zulu war head-dress. There also stood the king's chair of state, with the scarlet-and-gold mantle upon it.

Cetewayo had not in any way interfered with or suggested any portion of the programme; but he was anxious, in accordance with the theory acted upon, that Mr. Shepstone should, at some part of the ceremony, take possession of him, and so transform him that his people would not know him: it should not be done in public. The Zulus had given him over to Mr. Shepstone, who must take him from their sight a minor, and present him to them a man; he was to be taken as a prince, and restored to his people as a king. To save time and avoid accidents—always the danger in such cases—the complimentary entrance of the Zulu regiments was dispensed with.

A procession was then organized. The brilliant uniform of the officers formed a contrast with the costumes of the clergy and the miscellaneous dresses of the others, and added much to the appearance of the procession. The artillery, mounted volunteers, and the band of the Maritzburg Rifles formed on the right of the marquée, the native attendants of Mr. Shepstone on the left; Cetewayo with his councillors, and Mr. Shepstone and suite, formed a group in front. The Zulu people described three-fourths of a circle about fifty yards off, and might be estimated at from eight thousand to ten thousand, mostly young men. Mr. Shepstone then rose, and explained in the native language the nature and importance of the ceremony he had come to perform. The points which he wished to establish and impress were presented in the form of questions, which he required should have an audible assent from all the brothers of Cetewayo and the rulers and councillors of the country, the common people being too far off to hear him speak. He ended by proclaiming that the indiscriminate shedding of blood should cease in the land; that no Zulu should be condemned without an open trial, and the public examination of witnesses, both for and against, and that he should have a right to appeal to the

king; that no Zulu's life should be taken without the previous knowledge and consent of the king, after such trial should take place, and the right of appeal had been allowed to be exercised; that for minor crimes the loss of property, all or a portion, should be substituted for the punishment of death.

Cetewayo was then led by Mr. Shepstone to the tent, followed by the Europeans. The door was closed, and guarded by two sentries. The prince had only one body-servant. He was then invested with the head-dress and scarlet mantle. He was afterwards conducted to a chair of state, placed facing the people. He was then presented to his brothers and councillors as their king, and the heralds went round and made a proclamation to that effect in the face of the people. Thus he, who had a few moments before been but a minor and a prince, had now become a man and a king, and as if to suit the humour, one or two of his warriors pretended to doubt his identity. After the proclamation a salute of seventeen guns was fired, the volunteers saluted, and the band struck up. The thousands of Zulus present lifted their shields, and struck them sharply with sticks in token of applause, which frightened the horses, but these were soon controlled. The marquée was handed over to the king, who took immediate possession of it.*

A curious mode of kingly inauguration is reported from the WEST COAST OF AFRICA, as having occurred in July, 1879, when Prince Duke was elected as successor to King Archibong, the sovereign of Old Calabar. The scene appears to have been of an animated description, an immense number of spectators crowding the space set apart for important celebrations. The festival proper began in the afternoon, the morning being occupied with the firing of guns and the shouting of the people. The dancing was carried on entirely by the men, the music being supplied by the spectators, who kept up a continuous and most hideous noise by tapping their mouths with the palms of their hands, yelling and shouting

* The calamities of the Zulu War are too recent to need more than an allusion. It may be considered a singular coincidence, that the day on which the defeated Zulu king was marched away as a prisoner (September 1, 1879)—passing through his ruined capital into captivity—was the anniversary of his installation (with certain restrictions of territory) by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in January, 1883.

all the time. The dancers advanced and retired with imitation spears in their hands, at the same time bending their toes so as to bring them completely beneath the soles of the feet. After this the chiefs rose and went through a somewhat similar performance. Prince Duke then joined the chiefs, and they all advanced to the seat occupied by Consul Hopkins, who, with his wife and some few Europeans, were present as the representatives of the queen. The "music" ceased, and perfect quietness remained, while the chiefs presented the prince to Mr. Hopkins as the future King of Old Calabar. This was the signal for a demonstration of an extraordinary character. The whole company rose *en masse*, shouted, screamed, jumped, and yelled as only Africans can, and then the dancing recommenced and became general. The king-elect was attired in a robe of bright-coloured cloth; an admiral's worn-out hat, with a white feather sticking in it, covering his head. He carried a silver spear, and a live fowl, tied by the leg to a long string, which his Majesty held, fluttered on the ground before him. A brush of peacocks' feathers, some five or six feet long, was suspended from his back to represent a tail. Some of the native costumes were ludicrous in the extreme. Discarded naval and military uniforms were the favourites on account of their bright colours. Big negroes wore little coats, the sleeves of which did not reach further than their elbows, and they were tied with string in front to draw them closer to the body; others, again, of small stature, wore large coats, and the result often was that, when the collars were turned up, very little of the wearers inside could be seen. During the dancing a good deal of commotion was caused by the sudden appearance of one of the members of a secret society, known as "Egboe men," amongst whom only two white men are known to belong; the chief object of organization is understood to be to obtain justice in their dealings with others. When this man appeared in the dance, the upper portion of his body was encased in armour, and his legs were covered with elaborate beadwork. He wore a mask to conceal his features, and had a bunch of feathers behind him as a tail, to which was attached his bell, the sound of which, when he makes his nightly journeys, is terrifying to the inhabitants. After his disappearance from the scene the natives resumed their dancing, which was kept up until nightfall, when they all retired to another enclosed space, where the ceremony of

burning an effigy of Satan brought the day's rejoicing to an end.

On the 17th of April, 1880, was celebrated the crowning by Acting Consul Easton of the successor to the late King Archibong III., of Old Calabar. The title of the new monarch is Duke Ephraim Eyamba IX. The coronation passed off successfully. All the Europeans on the river and the native chiefs were present. Before placing the crown on Eyamba's head, the consul addressed the assembly, showing the necessity for a new king, and pointing out to his Majesty the work he had before him in the maintenance of peace and encouragement of trade.

"At the installation of a native KING OF HAWAII, over the throne," observes Mr. Bodham Whetham in his "Pearls of the Pacific," "was spread one of the royal mantles, entirely woven out of the feathers taken from a species of birds found only on these islands. The *oo*, or royal bird, as it is called, is a plain black little fellow of the tribe of honey-suckers, having under each wing two or three bright yellow feathers. Ages ago these feathers were amassed, the birds being caught with lime and set free after the abstraction of the coveted treasures, which, when a sufficient number had been collected, were woven with wonderful skill into mantles and helmets. Centuries, however, were required in order to obtain the necessary quantity of them, and nine or ten generations of chiefs were occupied in making the cloak above mentioned. At the present time the art of weaving these feathers is lost, and there is no one in the island capable of weaving such a mantle. It is about four and a half feet long, and, when spread out, eleven feet at the bottom. The red feathers of another bird, called the *mo-mo*, are interwoven with the yellow, giving a speckled appearance to the royal cloak. These yellow mantles and a Grecian-shaped helmet, of exquisite workmanship, are the richest treasures in the regalia of Hawaii.

"While every one was regarding with interest this war-mantle of the Kamehameha, the attention of the assembly was drawn to four natives, who entered the hall, dressed in short yellow capes, in appearance very like the royal robe, but which I afterwards heard were merely imitations, and tall black hats. These men bore the *kahilis*, or emblems of royalty. These are long staffs, the tops of which are

ornamented with a drum-shaped structure, about four feet in depth and two in diameter, and made entirely of feathers fixed at right angles. Some of them are composed of the most brilliant coloured feathers, while others are completely black, and look well adapted to adorn a hearse.

“The four men, who apparently possessed the privilege of wearing their hats in the presence of royalty, took up their position at the corners of the daïs, and the king entered, surrounded by his staff, all glittering with gold cords, gilt bands, and decorations.

“The audience rose, and the king, after ascending the throne, read his speech from a manuscript, enclosed in a crimson velvet folio, first in his own tongue, and then in English, and on his return to the palace was heartily greeted.”

On February 12, 1883, King Kalakana (“Day of Battle”) and Queen Kapuolani were crowned, in presence of the chief personages of the realm and several thousand spectators, at Honolulu, the capital of the Sandwich Islands (kingdom of Hawaii). These found accommodation in a grand stand, erected in front of the royal palace, which is a stately edifice supported by Corinthian pillars; in the centre of the space was a domed pavilion, of octagonal shape, open at the sides, and decorated with heraldic shields in colours, and with small flags of different nations. The soldiers forming the guard of honour stood close along the front wall of the palace. Among the privileged spectators in the verandah of the palace were the British commissioner and consul-general, Mr. J. H. Wodehouse, with his wife and daughter, the American, French, and other diplomatic and consular agents, and the commanders and officers of the ships on the station. The king and queen, with their three young daughters, were accompanied by the marshals and chaplains of the household, the chancellor, the Hon. Francis Judd, the president of the legislative assembly (Hon. Godfrey Rhodes), and the principal native officials of the court. The Hon. J. M. Kapena, master of the household, made proclamation of the style and titles of his Majesty, who thereupon swore to maintain the constitution. He received first the symbols of the ancient native chieftainship, afterwards the sword and sceptre, the ring and mantle of feathers, presented respectively by the premier and nobles thereto appointed, the chancellor, Mr. Judd, conducting these pro-

ceedings in due form. The crown was presented by Mr. Godfrey Rhodes on behalf of the legislative assembly, with a similar crown (of gold lined with crimson velvet) for Queen Kapuolani. The king took the first crown and placed it on his head, and he next put the second crown on the head of his wife. A prayer and benediction having been pronounced by the chaplain, the Rev. A. MacIntosh, the guns and ships fired a royal salute, which ended the proceedings for the day.

Ellis, in his "Polynesian Researches," gives a lengthened account of the INSTALLATION OF ROYALTY IN TAHITI: "The inauguration ceremony, answering to coronation among other nations, consists in girding the king with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle of red feathers; which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with their gods. The girdle was made of the beaten fibres of the *aoa*; the feathers were taken from the images of their deities. A human victim was sacrificed when the girdle was manufactured. Prior to the coronation, when the king bathed, another human creature was killed. The pageant proceeded by land and water. The image of Oro, decorated with all the emblems of his divinity, was conveyed to the large court of the temple, and the great bed of Oro, a large curiously formed bench or sofa, was brought out, for the throne on which the king was to sit. In the procession from the temple, a priest carried the image; the king followed; and behind them the large bed of Oro was borne by four chiefs. Then came priests with the great drum of the temple, trumpets, and other instruments; they thus proceeded to the sea-shore, where a fleet of canoes awaited them. The sacred canoe, or state barge of Oro, was distinguished from the rest by the sacred leaves of platted cocoa-nut by which it was surrounded, and which were worn by every individual on board.

"As soon as the procession reached the beach, Oro was carried on board, and followed by the priests and instruments of music, while the king took his seat on the sacred sleeping-place of Oro, which was fixed on the shore. The chiefs stood around the king, and the priests around the god, until, upon a signal given, the king arose from his seat, advanced into the sea, and bathed his person. The priest of Oro then descended into the water, bearing in his hand a branch of the sacred *mero*, plucked from the tree which grew in the precincts of

the temple. While the king was bathing, the priest struck him on the back with the sacred branch, and offered up the prescribed *ubu*, or invocation to Taaroa. The design of this part of the ceremony was to purify the king from all defilement or guilt he had contracted, according to their own expression, by his having seized any land, banished any people, committed murder, etc. When these ablutions were completed, the king and the priest ascended the sacred canoe. Here, in the presence of Oro, he was invested with the sacred girdle. The priest, while employed in girding the king, pronounced the words, 'Extend or spread the influence of the king over the sea to the sacred island,' describing also the nature of his girdle, and addressing the king at the close, 'Parent this, of you, O king,' indicating that from the gods all his power was derived. At this, the multitude on the beach, and in the surrounding canoes, lifted up the right hand, and greeted the new monarch with loud acclamations. The steersman in the sacred canoe struck his paddle against the side of the vessel, which was a signal to the rowers, who instantly started from the shore towards the reef, having the god and the king, girded as it were with the deity, on board; the priests beating their large drum, and sounding their trumpets, which were beautiful large turbo, or trumpet shells. The spectators followed in their canoes. Having proceeded in this manner a considerable distance, to indicate the dominion of the king on the sea, and receive the homage of the powers of the deep, they returned towards the shore.

"During this excursion, Tuumao and Tahui, two deified sharks, a sort of demi-gods of the sea, were influenced by Oro to come and congratulate the new king. If the monarch was a legitimate ruler, and one elevated to the office with the sanction of the superior powers, these sharks, it was said, always came to pay their respects to him, either whilst he was bathing in the sea, or during the excursion in the sacred canoe. But it is probable that when they approached while his Majesty was in the water, some of his attendants were stationed round to prevent their coming too near, lest their salutations should have been more direct and personal than would have proved agreeable. Yet it is said that the parents of the present rulers of some of the islands, at the time of their inauguration, actually played with these sharks, without receiving any injury.

"The fleet reaching the shore, the parties landed, when the

king was placed on the sacred couch of Oro, as his throne ; but instead of a footstool, the ordinary appendage to a throne, he reclined his head on the sacred pillow of Tafeu. This was also cut out of a solid piece of wood, and ornamented with carving. The procession was now formed as before, and moving towards Tabutabuatea, the great national temple, Tairimoa, bearing the image of Oro, led the way. The king, reclining on his throne, followed. He was borne on the shoulders of four principal nobles connected with the reigning family. The chiefs and priests followed in his train, the latter sounding their trumpets and beating the large sacred drum, while the spectators shouted as they proceeded to the temple. The multitude followed into the court of the temple, where the king's throne was fixed upon an elevated stone platform, in the midst of the carved ornaments of wood, erected in honour of the departed chiefs whose bones had been deposited there. The principal idol Oro, and his son Hiro, were placed by the side of the king, and the gods and the king here received the homage and allegiance of the people. A veil must be thrown over the vices with which the ceremonies were concluded.

“Although the ceremony was one of the least offensive festivities among them, the murderous cruelty with which it commenced, and the wickedness with which it terminated, were adapted to impress the mind with acutest anguish and deepest commiseration. A banquet or feast closed the coronation.”

CHAPTER XII.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA.

'Tis a brave sight ; the regal trappings,
 The pomp of power, the attributes of rule,
 Pregnant with meaning. Surely the earth's elect
 Should feel the weight of high distinction
 And shrine rare virtues in its glory.

THE EMPRESS OF INDIA.



THE proclamation of our beloved sovereign as EMPRESS OF INDIA was made at Delhi, January 1, 1877, amidst a splendour which those who were present on that august occasion could never forget. The preparations for the solemnity

were on a colossal scale. The canvas city which sprung up around Delhi covered an extent of seven or eight miles. The native princes vied with each other in prodigal display. Nowhere out of India could there have been witnessed such a display of gold and silver brocade, of pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, and sapphires sewn into the stiff fabrics which constitute the beau-ideal of Oriental dandyism. When perchance a straggling ray of sunshine lighted up this or that costume, it was flashed back in myriad hues. There were in all sixty-three ruling princes who were present, and the money value of their outer man must have been enormous.

One chieftain remarked to the political officer who was showing him to his seat, "I have sixty-three thousand rupees' worth of pearls on my dress, and I am dropping them at every step I take; but I don't care."

The imperial dais where the ceremony was held was on the Daheerpore Plain, about three miles from the viceroy's camp. In the centre of the arena an exceedingly graceful kiosk was erected, surmounted by the imperial crown on a cushion, and decorated with coloured pennons. The gilt railing round the platform of the kiosk looked airy and bright in the clear sunshine, and the panels beneath were exceedingly



Indian commemoration medal.

pretty, being decorated with the imperial crown between the letters "V. I." in gold *appliqué* work upon a groundwork of green leaves in needlework. A silver chair of state was placed on the platform facing the amphitheatre. Behind the kiosk had been erected two long blocks of raised seats, forming a semicircle, intersected by a broad passage leading from the plain to the throne, carpeted with red cloth fringed with gold lace. Each block was calculated to hold two thousand persons. The great point of attraction, however, lay on the opposite side of the arena, where the ruling princes and the chief members of the British Government were seated

in a semicircular amphitheatre facing the kiosk. Nothing could be more picturesque than the extraordinary combination of rich colours under a bright sun that was here presented to the eye. The roof, of delicate blue and white colours, was supported by ninety gilt pillars in front, and by a hundred in the outer line, each decorated with fasces of banners of the most gorgeous hues, surmounted by two censor's axes, the dread emblems of justice. Between every two pillars there gleamed in the radiant sunlight the rich satin banners, worked with heraldic devices, bestowed by her Majesty on all the ruling princes, etc.

His Excellency the viceroy, accompanied by Lady Lytton, arrived (his carriage passing by a double hedge of British soldiers) and ascended the steps of the dais, his blue mantle upheld from the ground by two pages. The massed bands played a grand anthem, the heralds sounded a flourish of trumpets, and the vast assemblage remained standing until the viceroy took his seat. A few bars of the National Anthem preluded the reading aloud by the chief herald, Major Barnes, who was appropriately arrayed in a tabard valued at £300. This officer, who is said to be the tallest man in the army, was attended by twelve trumpeters—six Europeans and six natives—who wore dresses on the same model as that of the chief herald, but, of course, far inferior in splendour. He read the proclamation, "Given at our Court, at Windsor, the 28th day of April, 1876, in the thirty-ninth year of our reign." This document, which merely gave force to the Act of Parliament that enabled her Majesty to "make an addition to the Royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its dependencies," was translated into Hindu and recited by Mr. Thornton, officiating secretary in the Foreign Department. A salvo of artillery was then fired by half-batteries, that is, by three guns as one. When thirty-four salvos had been fired to the eastward, the infantry, thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty in number, drawn up in two lines, extending over a mile and a half, fired a *feu de joie* that ran from east to west and back again with extraordinary rapidity and precision. The effect was astounding, as the elephants attested by breaking loose and tearing wildly over the plain. Fortunately, only two coolies were killed, though three stampedes took place, and numbers of people were knocked over. The batteries to the westward then took up the firing, thirty-

three times, succeeded by another *feu de joie*, the fire seeming to run along the line. After this the eastern batteries completed the number of one hundred and one, or, rather, of three hundred and three guns, and a third crisp rattle and roar of musketry terminated the gunpowder contribution to the ceremony. The royal standard was now hoisted, and the massed bands again played a verse of the National Anthem. That being over, the viceroy advanced to the front of the canopied dais and read his speech, and at the conclusion the National Anthem once more greeted the ear, followed by three cheers. The viceroy was then about to dissolve the assemblage, when Scindia rose to his feet and



Reverse of Indian commemoration medal.

exclaimed, "Padshah, Shah-au-Shah, be happy." In a few more vigorous phrases his Highness wished her Majesty every blessing from on high, and expressed his own inviolable loyalty. Similar declarations were made by other high princes, and the assemblage was after that declared to be dissolved, and the viceroy took his leave with the same honours that had greeted his arrival.

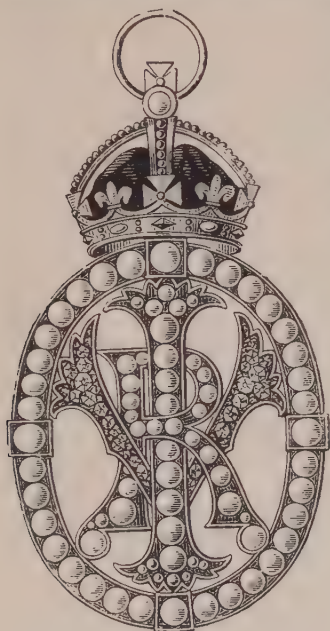
In the evening his Excellency entertained the governors and the lieutenant-governors at a grand banquet in the durbar tent. In proposing the health of her Majesty, the

queen-empress, the viceroy made a speech in keeping with the occasion.

In the *Gazette Extraordinary*, which was issued on the 1st of January, it is stated that the salute for her Majesty in India is now one hundred and one guns, and for the viceroy thirty-one. While the old salutes for chiefships remained unchanged, additional personal salutes have been granted to several rulers. The title of "counsellor of the empress" was conferred *ex officio* on several of the native princes, also titles of honour.

The inscription "Victoria, Empress" is substituted for "Victoria, Queen" on the coinage of the realm.

The Imperial Order of the Crown of India, recently instituted, consists of a jewelled badge, composed of the impe-



Imperial Order of the Crown of India.



Coronet of the Prince of Wales.

rial cypher "V. R. I." in diamonds, pearls, and turquoises, within a border of pearls, and surmounted by the imperial crown, worn on the shoulder pendent from a bow of pale blue-watered silk ribbon, edged with white.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.—The coronet placed on the head of the heir-apparent of England when created Prince of Wales is of gold, and consists of crosses *patée* and *fleurs-de-lis*, with the addition of one arch; and in the midst a ball and cross, like that in the royal diadem, which was ordered to be used by Charles II. in 1661. The cap is of crimson velvet, and turned up with ermine.

The Prince of Wales's plume is an ornament peculiar to himself; it consists of an ancient coronet encircling three ostrich feathers, under-

neath which is a scroll with the words "*Ich dien*" ("I serve"). This is said to have been assumed first by Edward, the Black Prince, after the battle of Crécy, where John, King of Bohemia was slain, and from the head of that monarch, who was in the ranks of the French king, he took the plume and motto, which has since been used by the princes of Wales.*

The eldest son and heir of the King or Queen of England is born Duke of Cornwall, and immediately entitled to all the rights, revenues, etc., belonging thereto, as being deemed in law at full age on his birthday. He has also been, since the time of James I., Duke of Rothsay

* With regard to the ostrich feathers, the badge of the Prince of Wales, it should be observed that M. Planché considers this story of its origin untrue. The late Mr. John Gough Nichols was of the same opinion: "The crest of John, King of Bohemia, is copied from a seal in the woodcut ('British Costume,' 1846), and described by Planché (page 50) as an entire wing or pinion of an eagle; and I myself, in a paper in the *Archæologia* (xxix. 50), had previously, in 1840, more exactly described it as 'two wings of a vulture besprinkled with linden leaves of gold,' on the authority of Barante's 'History of the Dukes of Burgundy;' but in the same paper I showed that Anne of Bohemia, the queen of Richard II., and granddaughter of the same King of Bohemia, used an entire ostrich for her badge, and that, therefore, there might be some truth that the ostrich feather referred to Bohemia. However, in the form which is now popularly called a plume, or a group of three feathers—the present badge of the Prince of Wales—it does not occur earlier than the monument of Prince Arthur, in Worcester Cathedral, in the reign of Henry VII. For a long period the ostrich feather was borne *single*, generally with its quill inserted into a scroll. The Black Prince indeed has three ostrich feathers on his 'coat of peace,' placed on his tomb at Canterbury, but they are not grouped as a 'plume.' They are arranged 'two and one,' as customary with the charges of an armorial shield."

Sir H. Nicolas (*Archæologia*, xxxi. 350) concludes his valuable observations on the badge and mottoes of the Prince of Wales, by his belief that both the former, namely, the *feathers* and the mottoes "*Ich dien*" and "*Houmont*," were derived from the house of Hainault, possibly from the Comté of Ostrevant, which formed the appanage of the eldest sons of the counts of that province.

The various statements on this subject will be found condensed in Doran's "Princes of Wales" (pp. 150, 151). The sum of it is that the physician John de Adern (contemporary with the Black Prince) distinctly states (Sloane Collection, 76, fol. 61) that the Prince of Wales derived the ostrich feathers from the King of Bohemia. It would appear that he assumed the motto "*Ich dien*" as a mark of humility, just as Elizabeth of York took that of "humble and reverent."

Ben Jonson, in the "Masque," says—

"From the Bohemian crown the plume he wears
Which after, for his crest, he did preserve,
To his father's use, with the fit word—"I serve."

and Seneschal of Scotland from his birth. He is, at the pleasure of the sovereign, created by patent and other ceremonies Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester and Flint, etc.

Before the reign of Edward I. the eldest son was called the Lord Prince. The title of Prince of Wales originally distinguished the native princes of that country. Henry III., in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, gave to his son Edward (afterwards Edward I.) the principality of Wales and earldom of Chester, but rather as an office of trust and government than as a special title to the heir-apparent to his crown. When Edward afterwards became king, he conquered in 1277 Llewellyn and David, the last native princes of Wales, and united the kingdom of Wales with the crown of England. There is a tradition that Edward, to satisfy the national feeling of the Welsh people, promised to give a prince without blemish on his honour, a Welshman by birth, and one who could not speak a word of English. In order to fulfil his promise literally he had sent Queen Eleanor to be confined at Caernarvon Castle, and he invested with the principality her son, Edward of Caernarvon, then an infant, and caused the barons and great men to do him homage. Edward was not at that time the king's eldest son, but on the death of his brother Alphonso he became heir-apparent, and from that time the title of Prince of Wales has been borne by the eldest son of the sovereign. The title is not inherited, but is conferred by special creation and investiture,* and was not

* The following preparation for the creation of a prince is from a "MS. account of the Conveyance of Great Estates into the King's presence at the time of their creation" (British Museum, Additional MSS., No. 6297) :—

"First, his robes of estate, viz. a mantell or robe of crimson velvet, containing eighteen yards, edged with gold lace, and furred with ermine. Item, a kirtle or riccote, containing fourteen yards, and furred as before, and of the same stuff. Item, the laces, tassels, and buttons, of silk and gold, for the same robes, and a girdle of silk for the nether garment. Item, a hood and a cap of estate of the same velvet, with the edging and the furring as afore, with button, laces, and tassels of Venice gold for the said cap. Item, a sword, the scabbard covered with crimson cloth of gold, plain, and a girdle agreeable to the same. Item, a coronet. Item, a verge of gold. Item, a ring of gold to be put on the third finger."

In the *London Gazette* (November 15, 1783) is the "Ceremonial of the Introduction of his Royal Highness, George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales into the House of Peers, at the Meeting of Parliament, on Tuesday, November 11, 1783."

"His Royal Highness having been, by letters patent, dated the 19th day of August, in the Second Year of His Majesty's reign, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, was in his robes, which, with the Collar of the Order of the Garter, he had put on in the Earl Marshall's room, introduced into the House of Peers in the following order :—

"Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod with his staff of office. Earl of Surrey, Deputy Earl Marshall of England. Earl of Carlisle, Lord Privy Seal. Garter, Principal king of arms, in his robes, with his sceptre,

always given immediately on the birth of the heir-apparent. Edward II. did not create his son Prince of Wales till he was ten years old, and Edward, the Black Prince, was not created until he was thirteen.

The titles now borne by the Prince of Wales are : Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, Duke of Saxony (by right of his father, the late Prince Consort), Duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Great Steward of Scotland.

The prince bears the royal arms, differenced by a label of three points, and over all an escutcheon of pretence for Saxony—viz. barry of ten, *or* and *sa.*, a bend, *treflé, vert.*

The patent for the creation of the Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester is dated December 8, 1841. The arch was not added to the Prince of Wales's coronet until after the restoration of Charles II.

CORONETS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—The coronets of all the sons, brothers, or uncles of the sovereign consist of a circle of gold, bordered with ermine, heightened with four *fleurs-de-llys*, and as many crosses *patées* alternately, agreeably to the grant made by Charles II. in the thirteenth year of his reign.



Coronet of the English Princesses.

The coronets of the princesses of Great Britain consist of a circle of gold, bordered with ermine, and heightened with crosses *patées*, *fleurs-de-llys*, and *fleurs-de-llys* and crosses.

bearing his Royal Highness' patent. Sir Peter Burrell, Deputy Great Chamberlain of England. Viscount Stormont, Lord President of the Council. The coronet on a crimson velvet cushion, borne by Viscount Lewisham, one of the Gentlemen of his Royal Highness' Bed-chamber. His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES, carrying his writ of Summons, supported by his uncle, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and the Dukes of Richmond and Portland. And proceeding up the House with the usual reverences, the writ and patent were delivered to the Earl of Mansfield, Speaker, on the woolsack, and read by the Clerk of the Parliament at the table ; his Royal Highness and the rest of the procession standing near : after which, his Royal Highness was conducted to his chair on the right hand of the throne, the coronet and cushion having been laid on a stool before the chair ; and his Royal Highness being covered as usual, the ceremony ended.

"Some time afterwards his Majesty entered the House of Peers, and was seated on the throne with the usual solemnities, and having delivered his most gracious speech, retired out of the House.

"Then his Royal Highness at the table, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration ; and also took and subscribed the oath of abjuration."

The coronets of the royal *cousins* of the queen have the circlet heightened with crosses *patées* and strawberry leaves only.



Coronets. Temp. Henry VI.



Coronet of Arthur, Prince of Wales,
son of Henry VII.

CORONETS appear to have been originally a circlet or garland, worn merely as an ornament. In this form, when enriched with precious stones, it was termed a circle. It was not used by knights before the time of Edward III., and then indiscriminately by princes, dukes, earls, and knights.

Chaucer, in the "Knight's Tale," says:—

"A wreath of gold arm gret of huge
weight
Upon his head he set, full of stones
bright,
Of fine rubys and clere diamants."

And in the "Romance of the Rose":—

"For round environ her coronet
Was full of rich stones afret."



Coronet of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk,
A.D. 1475.

THE ROYAL STYLE AND TITLE.—On the 5th of November, 1800, it was settled by the Privy Council that in consequence of the Irish Union, the royal style and title should be changed on the 1st of January following—namely, "from George III., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith," to "George III., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith." Thus the title of King of France, which has been borne by the monarchs of this country for four hundred and thirty-two years—since the forty-third year of the reign of Edward III.—was ultimately abandoned. It was the Salic law which excluded Edward from the inheritance of France; but Queen Elizabeth, nevertheless, claimed the title, asserting, as it is said, that if she could not be Queen, she would be King of France. It is more singular that Elizabeth should have retained the title, for in

the second year of her reign it was agreed, in a treaty made between France and England, that the King and Queen of France (Francis II. and his consort, Mary of Scotland) should not for the future assume the title of King or Queen of England and Ireland.

The abandonment of the title of "King of France" led to our foreign official correspondence being carried on in the English language, instead of in French, as had been the custom.

One of the minor titles held by the kings of England, who were also electors of Hanover, was very enigmatical to Englishmen, particularly when expressed by the following initials:—S. R. I. A. T. Nor even when it was extended thus, *Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Thesaurus*, and translated into English as "Arch-Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire," was it less puzzling to the uninitiated. The arch-treasurership of the German empire was an office settled upon the electors of Hanover, in virtue of their descent from Frederic, elector palatine, but its duties were always performed by deputy.

KING, QUEEN, AND MAJESTY.—The word *king* is derived from the German *können*, "to be able." In the Anglo-Saxon the word *king* occurs as *cynning*, *cynig*, *cyng*, *cinc*, *cing*, *cinge*, *cinig*, *cininc*. In Swedish it is *konung*; Danish, *konge*; Finnish, *kuningas*. *Queen* in Anglo-Saxon is *cwaen*, *cwen*; the Gothic, *quino*; and in old German times *queno*, *chena*, *kona*. The word *queen*, with a slight difference in the spelling, has still that original meaning in English where *quean* implies "woman" in the spirit with which it is used in the vulgar tongue. The Tartar *khan* is probably another form of the word *king*. The Latin form *rex* is from the Hebrew *rosch*, a "chief," from which is derived *rajah*.

With regard to the assertion of the imperial character of English royalty in later times, it was declared in the reign of Edward III. (1330), "Quod regnum Angliæ ab omni subjectione Imperiali sit liberrimum," and in 1416 a renunciation of all supremacy was required from Sigismund, King of the Romans, before he was allowed to land in England. In the time of Henry VIII. the words "empire" and "imperial crown" are constantly used in a way which cannot fail to be of set purpose. Selden says, "The Crown of England in other Parliaments of later times is titled the Imperial Crown." At the coronation of Elizabeth her herald formally proclaimed her as "most worthy Empress from the Orcade Isles to the Mountains Pyrene." In Camden's "Annals," the title of the book is given as "The true and Royall history of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queen of England."

A pamphlet was published in 1706, when the union with Scotland was under debate, headed "The Queen an Empress, and her Three Kingdoms an Empire," proposing a curious scheme for a British empire, with subordinate kings, princes, and a patriarch of London. In England it would seem that Canute, and Canute alone, before the Norman Conquest, called himself "King of England." After the Conquest "Rex Angliæ" begins to creep in, but at first very rarely. William himself is all but invariably "Rex Anglorum." Richard is

the first king who is systematically styled "*Rex Angliæ*" in his charters, and even he is "*Rex Anglorum*" on his seal. During his reign his mother clung to the old style, "*Regina Anglorum*." The final innovation of "*Rex Angliæ*" on the seal is due to King John.

Robertson says that the title of MAJESTY was first assumed by Charles I. of Spain, on his election to the imperial crown in 1519, as Charles V. "A trivial circumstance discovered the effects of this great elevation upon the mind of Charles. In all the public writs which he now issued as *King of Spain*, he assumed the title of Majesty." But we have (*pace* Robertson) evidence of the use of the appellation by an English monarch, a generation earlier than its assumption by Charles V. In the record of Cardinal Adrian's oath (Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*") of fidelity on being invested by the king with the bishopric of Bath and Wells, Henry VII. is three or four times styled "his Majesty," "your Majesty." In Leo X's. bull, granting Henry VIII. the title of "*Defender of the Faith*," dated "*quinto id. Octobris 1521*," the king is frequently addressed as "*majestatem tuam*," "*majestatis tuæ*," "*majestas tua*." Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were usually styled "*Majesty*" in official documents; Queens Mary (of England and Scotland) and Elizabeth as generally "*Highness*" and "*Grace*."

Pope Sylvester II. bestowed the title of *Apostolical Majesty* on Stephen, Duke of Hungary (*temp.* 1000), a title borne by the Empress Queen Maria Theresa in 1760, upon whom it had been formally re-conferred by the reigning pontiff.

The title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH appears to have been given to Henry VII. An interesting note on this subject by Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, is preserved by Peck, in "*A Collection of Divers Curious Historical Pieces*," etc., appended to his "*Memoirs of Cromwell*" (4to, 1740): "That King Henry VII. had the title formerly of *Defender of the Faith* appears by the Register of the Order of the Garter in the black book (*sic dict.* a tegmine; now in my hands by office), which having showed to K. Charles I., he received with much joy; nothing more pleasing him then that the right of that title was fixed in the Crown, long before the Pope's pretended Donation."

There is no date to this memorandum, but Dean Wren was made registrar of the order in 1635, and died in 1658.

The bull of Pope Leo X., conferring the title on Henry VIII., is in Rymer's "*Fœdera*" (tom. xiii. p. 756), with a fac-simile of the original, which expressly mentions that the title was conferred on the king on account of his book against Luther.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Queen Elizabeth first used the name "*Great Britain*" as the prospective appellation of England, Scotland, and Ireland, when they should be united in one realm. James I. had sufficient wisdom to adopt it. As early in his English reign as October 23, Lord Cranbourne wrote thus to Mr. Winwood from the court at Whitehall: "I do send you here a proclamation published this day of his Majesty changing his title and taking upon him the name and

style of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by which he henceforward desires to be acknowledged both at home and abroad, and that his former titles shall be extinct."

DEI GRATIA.—The use of this style by the kings of England is older than is generally supposed. Edward III. was the first to use it on his coins, but only on the gold coins and the groat. But the employment of it on the great seal of England goes back to William Rufus. The publication of the Anglo-Saxon charters has shown that the use of this style by our kings is above a thousand years old, since it is found in the genuine charters of Ethelbert of Kent, A.D. 605; Offa, King of Mercia, A.D. 780; Coenwulf, A.D. 814; Egbert, A.D. 828, and of many later Saxon kings. The "Dei Gratia," however, was not invariable, for down to the tenth century the words "Dei dono," "divina providentia," "Christo donante," and other equivalents were common in the royal charters.

In Bréquigny's collection of French charters we find that the formula "Dei gratia" was not used by any of the Frankish monarchs before King Pepin the Short, A.D. 752.

THE ROYAL "WE."—Coke, in his "Institutes" (2, p. 2), makes these observations on the Magna Charta of Henry III: "Here, in this Charta, both in the title and in divers parts of the body of the Charta, the King speaketh in the plural number *concessimus*; the first King that I read of before him that in his graunts wrote in the plural number, was King John, father of our Henry 3; other Kings before him wrote in the singular number; they used *Ego*, and King John, and all the Kings after him, *nos*." It appears, however, from a charter of Richard Cœur de Lion, that he was the *first* monarch to assume this style.

DIEU ET MON DROIT.—This was the *parole* of the day given by Richard I. of England to his army at the battle of Gisors, in France. In this battle the French were defeated, and in remembrance of this signal victory, he made it the motto of the royal arms of England, and it has ever since been retained.

THE ARMS OF ENGLAND.—As the kingly office exalts a sovereign prince above all other ranks of men, so are the royal arms of a sovereign distinguished in a peculiar manner from all other heraldic insignia. The distinction is clearly conveyed by the term "Arms of Dominion." These arms thus symbolize the royalty of a prince regnant, as well as declare his personal individuality. Accordingly these royal arms are inseparable from the rank and office of royalty, and they cannot be borne without some difference by any person whatever except the sovereign. The arms attributed to the Saxon monarchs are not sufficiently authenticated, and even the authority for ascribing distinctive arms to the Anglo-Norman kings rests entirely on tradition. Space will not permit me to enter into details of the various changes in the royal arms, which are fully described in works on heraldry.

On the accession of Queen Victoria the royal arms of England were

simply a combination of the insignia of the three realms of the United Kingdom: England, Scotland, and Ireland.



Royal arms of England from the tenth year of the reign of Edward III. until the seventh year of the reign of Henry IV.



Arms of England from the seventh year of Henry IV. until the accession of James I.

THE LIONS OF ENGLAND are found to be habitually blazoned in heraldry as *leopards* until the fifteenth century was far advanced; then, at length, the lion, whatever his attitude or his action, received his true name, which he has retained under all circumstances until our own times. The earliest royal shield for which we have contemporary authority is that of Richard Cœur de Lion, bearing three lions *passant gardant* (leopards in *pale*). Henry II. on his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine assumed a third lion. It has been remarked that the lions in the royal arms are all the insignia of territories now lost to us; the first belongs to Normandy, the second to Poictou or Maine, the third to Aquitaine. Since the time of Henry II. the three golden lions upon a field of red have always been held to be the *royal arms of England*. They have been associated with other devices, but still, in a peculiar sense, the three lions, *passant gardant or*, have been, as they still are, the *three lions of England*.



Royal arms from the accession of James I. until the year 1707.

THE UNICORN, as a royal supporter, was introduced by James VI. of Scotland, when he ascended the throne of England, on account of the Scottish royal supporters being two unicorns *rampant argent*, crowned with imperial, and gorged with antique crowns, with chains affixed to the latter, passing between their forelegs, and reflexed over their backs, *unguled, armed, and crined, all or*; the dexter one embracing and bearing up a banner of gold charged with the royal

arms; the sinister, another banner azure, charged with the cross of St. Andrew, *argent*. Queen Elizabeth had used as supporters, dexter, a lion *rampant gardant*, crowned; and sinister, dragon *rampant*, both *or*. She also used a *rampant gardant*, crowned, and a greyhound, both *or*. James adopted as supporters, dexter, a lion *rampant gardant*, crowned with the imperial crown, *or*; sinister, a unicorn *argent*, armed, crined, unguled, gorged with a coronet composed of crosses *patées* and fleurs-de-lys, a chain affixed thereto, passing between its forelegs, and reflexed over the back, all *or*. These have been used as the royal supporters ever since their first adoption, with but one exception, and that is in the seal of the Exchequer, time of Charles I.,



Star of the Thistle.

where the supporters are an antelope and stag, both ducally collared and chained.

The origin of the THISTLE as the national badge of Scotland is thus given on tradition. When the Danes invaded Scotland, it was deemed unwarlike to attack an enemy in the darkness of night, instead of a pitched battle by day; but on one occasion the invaders resolved to avail themselves of stratagem; and, in order to prevent their tramp being heard, they marched barefooted. They had thus neared the Scottish force unobserved, when a Dane unluckily stepped on a thistle, and uttered a cry of pain, which discovered the assailants to the Scots, who ran to their arms, and defeated the foe with great slaughter. The thistle was then adopted as the insignia of Scotland.

[In Switzerland the *Carduus Marianis*, or blessed thistle, is said to have obtained its white marks from the droppings of the Virgin's milk.]

THE HARP IN THE ARMS OF IRELAND.—In the "Numismatic Chronicle" (vol. iv. p. 205), it is suggested that Henry VIII., on being presented by the pope with the harp of Brian Borhu, was induced to change the arms of Ireland, by placing on her coins a representation of the relic of her most celebrated native king.

The three crowns (found on the Irish coinage of Edward IV., Richard III. and Henry VII.) were the armorial bearings of Ireland from the reign of Richard II. to that of Henry VIII.

In the "Polycronycon" we find, "Though Scotlonde, the doughter of Irlonde, use harpe, tymbre, and tabour, nethelesse Irysshe men be counyng in two maner instrumentis of musyke, in harpe and tymbre that is armed with wyre and strenges of bras. In whyche instrumentes thoughe they playe hastely and swyftely, they make ryght mery armonye and melodye with thycke tewnes, werbles, and notes."

The origin of the SHAMROCK as the national emblem of Ireland is thus related: One day St. Patrick was preaching at Tara. He was anxious to explain the doctrines of the Holy Trinity. The people failed to understand, and refused to believe that there could be three Gods, and yet but one. The holy man paused a moment, absorbed in thought, and seeing a shamrock peeping from the green turf exclaimed, "Do you not see in this simple little wild flower how three leaves are united in one stalk?" His audience understood without difficulty this simple but yet striking illustration, to the inexpressible delight of St. Patrick.

THE ROSES OF ENGLAND.—"The fatal colours of our striving houses." According to historic tradition, those fatal badges of the contending houses of York and Lancaster, "the pale and purple rose," were first chosen during the momentous dispute, about 1450, between Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, in the Temple Gardens, when Somerset, to collect the suffrages of the bystanders, plucked a red rose, and Warwick a white rose, and each called upon every man present to declare his party by taking a rose of the colour chosen by him whose cause he favoured.

The great national tragedy which ended in the extinction of the royal line and name of Plantagenet was called from their badges, the "War of the Roses." Thus, Shakspere, in "King Henry VI."—

"This brawl to-day,
Grown to this faction, in the Temple Garden,
Shall send between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and deadly night."

When Henry VII. married Elizabeth of York, the rival houses were blended, and the rose became the emblem of England.

THE ROYAL STANDARD OF ENGLAND.—What is now called the

royal *standard* contains the royal arms, and is, properly speaking, a *banner*, and not a standard. The national ensign, or UNION JACK, is, properly, the national *banner*, and retains the ancient charge of the red cross of St. George, though, unfortunately, not in its ancient simplicity; for, in violation of all heraldic principles, it has been so amalgamated with the saltire of St. Andrew for Scotland, and with that of St. Patrick for Ireland, that the integrity of each has been entirely destroyed.

The ORIFLAMME, *enseigne de France*, or, as it is called by some writers, the "Banner of St. Denis," was, in olden times, the great standard of France—the palladium of the country. It derived its name from being made of scarlet silk, almost entirely covered with flames of gold. It was about twelve feet in length, terminating in a point, divided below, and affixed to the head of a long lance. This banner was deposited in the abbey of St. Denis, and never taken from thence but on the most important expeditions, or on occasions of the greatest national danger. Charles VI. raised the oriflamme no less than seven times against his enemies. When on such exigencies recourse was had to St. Denis, the custom was, first, to offer up prayers to the Virgin in the church of Notre Dame at Paris; from thence a procession was formed to the abbey of St. Denis, where, after a solemn reception by the abbot and monks, the chief persons in the procession descended, bareheaded and without girdles, into the subterranean vaults, where the bodies of the holy martyrs lay interred and where the oriflamme was also kept, which being delivered by the Abbot of St. Denis into the king's own hand, he presented it to the Count de Vexin, as the first vassal of St. Denis, who carried it to the altar, where the king usually laid it himself. This ceremony was accompanied by many prayers and benedictions. The standard-bearer appointed on this occasion was always a knight of undoubted loyalty, courage, and discretion. Previously to receiving this important charge, according to an invariable custom, he confessed his sins, obtained absolution, received the Eucharist, and took a solemn oath at the altar to be faithful to his trust, and never suffer it to be torn from his hands but with the loss of life. It was lost, however, during the reign of Charles VI. at the battle of Rosbec, or, as tradition says, was burnt with Joan of Arc at the funeral pyre.

The legendary history of the FLEURS-DE-LYS relates to the days of King Clovis of France, whose wife, the pious Clotilda, having by her prayers secured victory to her husband at the critical point of a great battle, he became a Christian, and was baptized by St. Remi. On this occasion, owing to a vision of Clotilda, the lilies were substituted in the arms of France for the three frogs, or toads (*crapauds*), which Clovis had formerly borne on his shield. In the famous Bedford Missal, presented to Henry VI. when he was crowned King of France, this legend, with appropriate and significant flattery, is introduced in a beautiful miniature. An angel receives in heaven the celestial lilies, descends to earth, and presents them to St. Remi, who receives them

reverently in a napkin, and delivers them to Clotilda. Lower down in the picture she bestows the emblazoned shield on her husband.

Similar tales have been related as to the origin of the fleur-de-lys in connection with the French royal family. The emblem was discarded by Napoleon, and finally discontinued by Louis Philippe.

It has been suggested whether the fleur-de-lys, the origin of which Montfaucon even ascribes to the time of Theodosius the Great, in the fifth century or before, is not of much higher antiquity, and that the figure, very perfectly sculptured, was a common ornament in the head-dresses of the Egyptian sphinxes. Planché mentions that this decoration is seen on Roman monuments, and also on the top of a sceptre or sword-hilt from the earliest periods of the French monarchy. Montagu considers the iris as the type.

The introduction of the fleur-de-lys by our English monarchs, and the alteration from *semée*, or of an indefinite number, to *three*, extends from Edward III., who did this in right of his mother, a daughter of the King of France, as well for the purpose of showing his claim to the throne of that kingdom, as to that of Henry V., who, in imitation of his contemporary, Charles VI., reduced the fleurs-de-lys to three, as they were afterwards borne on the accession of the house of Hanover.

The fleur-de-lys, as a national badge of England, was very properly discontinued by royal proclamation, January 1, 1801.



Fleur-de-lys.

THE ROYAL TOUCH.—Stow, in his "Annals," gives the origin of the miraculous virtues of the royal touch from the Latin account by Alfred, Abbot of Rievaulx: "A certain woman, married, but without children, had a disease about her jawes, and under her cheeke, like unto kernels, which they termed akornes, and this disease so corrupted her face with stench, that shee could scarce without shame speake to any man. This woman was admonished in her sleepe, to goe to King Edward, and get him to washe her face with water, and shee shoulde bee whole. To the Court shee came; and the King hearing of this matter, disdained not to doe it; having a basin of water brought unto him, hee dipped his hand therein, and washed the womanne's face, and touched the diseased place; and this hee did often times, sometimes also signing it with the signe of the Crosse, which after hee hadde thus washed it, the hard crust or skinne was softened, and dissolved; and drawing his hand by divers of the holes, out of the kernels came little wormes, whereof they were full with corrupt matter and blood, the King still pressed it with his handes to bring forth the corruption, and disdained not to suffer the stench of the disease, untill hee hadde brought forth all the corruption with pressing: this done hee commanded her a sufficient allowance every day for all things necessary, untill shee hadd received perfect health, which was within a weeke after. . . . Although this thing seeme strange yet the Normans sayed that hee often did the like in his youth, when he was in Normandy."

It does not appear that Edward the Confessor knew of this gift before, but he continued to use it ever after, and his successors followed him in the practice. Dr. Plot, in his "Natural History of Oxfordshire," gives a drawing of the touch-piece supposed to have been given by Edward the Confessor. The ribbon, he says, was white.

Voltaire says that William the Conqueror was affirmed to have this gift of Heaven, but it does not appear that he ever exercised it. Probably it did not extend to usurpers, so that it must have slept during all the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, till resumed by Henry VII. This king touched for the evil, as the religious ceremonials used upon these occasions, such as prayers, benedictions, suffrages, etc., during his reign, are to be found, not only in manuscripts in the British Museum, but were afterwards printed by order of James II. (1686). Another proof arises from charges made for pieces of money delivered for this purpose in that reign. In the eighteenth year of Henry VII. we find a disbursement of 20s. made by John Heron "for heling 3 seke folks," and again, "13s. 4d. for heling 2 seke folks." From these sums it is evident that the touch-pieces given were nobles, or 6s. 8d. in value. In the ceremonial the king crossed the sore of the sick person with an *angel-noble*. Fabian Philips ("Treatise on Purveyance") states that the angels issued by the kings of England on these occasions amounted to a charge of three thousand pounds *per annum*. That Queen Elizabeth exercised the healing touch is acknowledged, but it is as evident she had no high opinion of its efficacy. Being on a progress in Gloucestershire, she was so pestered with applications from diseased people, who pressed about her person in hopes of obtaining the royal touch, that she ill-humouredly exclaimed, "Alas, poor people, *I* cannot cure you; it is God alone who can do it!" The queen, however, afterwards admitted a general resort to her for the purpose of being touched. James I. claimed the royal privilege. In "Macbeth," answering a question of Macduff, Malcolm says—

"Tis called the evil;
A most miraculous work in this good king,
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I've seen him do. How he solicits Heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely visited people,
All swoll'n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers."

Holinshed's Chronicle is Shakspeare's authority, but by referring to the passage it will be seen that the poet has mixed up in his description the practice of his own times.

In the State Paper Office there are preserved no less than eleven proclamations issued in the reign of Charles I. respecting the touching for the king's evil. In the troubled times of his reign he had not always gold to bestow, for which reason silver was substituted. Mr.

Wiseman, who was principal surgeon to Charles II. after the Restoration, says, "I myself have been a frequent eye-witness of many hundreds of cures performed by his Majesty's touch alone, without any assistance from chirurgery." The number of cases seem to have increased after the Restoration, as many as six hundred at a time having been touched, the days appointed for it being sometimes thrice a week. In the first four years of his restoration he touched nearly twenty-four thousand persons.

Evelyn, in his "Diary," March 28, 1684, says, "There was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the evil, that six or seven were crushed to death by pressing at the chirurgeon's door for tickets."

The ceremony of touching was continued by James II. In the "Diary" of Bishop Cartwright, date August 27, 1687, we read, "I was at his Majesty's levee; from whence at nine o'clock I attended him into the closet, where he healed three hundred and fifty persons." James touched for the evil while at the French court. William III. never performed the ceremony.

Queen Anne seems to have been the last of the English sovereigns who actually performed the ceremony of touching. Dr. Dicken, her Majesty's serjeant-surgeon, examined all the persons who were brought to her, and bore witness to the certainty of some of the cures. Dr. Johnson, in Lent, 1712, was amongst the persons touched by the queen. He was but thirty months old when he was thus treated. Carte ("History of England," vol. i. p. 367, *note*) appears to have been not only a believer in the efficiency of the royal touch, but in its transmission in the hereditary royal line; and to prove that the virtue of the touch was not owing to the consecrated oil used at the coronation, as some thought, he relates an instance of a person who had been cured by the Pretender.

A form of prayer to be used at the ceremony was originally printed on a separate sheet, but was introduced into the Book of Common Prayer as early as 1684. It appears in the editions of 1707 and 1709. It was altered in the folio edition at Oxford, in 1715, by Baskett.

Previous to the time of Charles II. no particular coin appears to have been executed for the purpose of being given at the touching. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the small gold coin called the angel seems to have been used. The touch-pieces of Charles II. are not uncommon, and specimens belonging to his reign, and of the reigns of James II. and Queen Anne, may be seen at the British Museum. They have figures of St. Michael and the dragon on one side and a ship on the other. A piece in the British Museum has on one side a hand descending from a cloud towards four heads, with "He touched them" round the margin, and on the other side a rose and a thistle, with "And they were healed."

The French claim a more ancient exercise of the royal touch than our English antiquaries. Laurentius, first physician to Henry IV., in his work "*De Mirabili Strumas Sanando*" (Paris, 1609), derives the practice of touching for the king's evil from Clovis (A.D. 481), and says

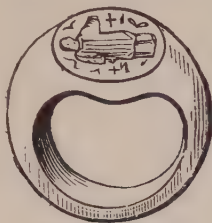
that Louis I., in 814, also performed the ceremony with success. Philip de Comines, speaking of Louis XI. when he was ill at Forges, near Chignon, in 1480, says, "He had not much to say, for he was shriven not long before, because the kings of France used always to confess themselves when they touch those that are sick of the king's evil, which he never failed to do once a week."

If, as asserted, the French kings possessed the divine gift sooner than our English sovereigns, it certainly lasted longer, for George I. had the good sense not to pretend to it, whilst the French kings kept up the farce at least until 1775, though with some address in the words spoken by the king: "*Le roi te touche, Dieu te guerisse.*" The French kings gave alms on the occasion, but there is no mention of particular pieces. The practice of the royal touch appears to have been confined to coronations in France.

CRAMP-RINGS.—The blessing of cramp-rings by the sovereigns of England is believed to have taken its rise in the efficacy for that disease supposed to reside in a ring of Edward the Confessor, which used to be kept in Westminster Abbey. There can be no doubt that the belief in the medical power of the cramp-ring was once as faithfully held as any medical maxim whatever. The ceremonies of blessing the cramp-rings on Good Friday were of a solemn and important character. The late Cardinal Wiseman possessed a manuscript containing the service on this occasion, as also that for the royal touch. At the commencement of the manuscript are emblazoned the arms of Philip and Mary. The first ceremony is headed, "Certain prayers to be used by the Quene's Heighnes in the Consecration of the Cramp-ringes." Accompanying it is an illumination, representing the queen kneeling, with a dish, containing the rings to be blessed, on each side of her. In Burnet (vol. ii. p. 266 of "Records") there is the whole Latin formula of the consecration of the cramp-rings. The king went through the ceremony of blessing the rings on Good Friday. Coming in state to his chapel, he found a crucifix laid upon a cushion, and a carpet spread on the ground before it. The monarch crept along the carpet to the crucifix, as a token of his humility, and there blessed the rings in a silver basin, kneeling all the time, with his almoner kneeling also beside him. After this was done the queen and her ladies came in, and likewise crept to the cross.

The rings were blessed with an invocation to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and signed frequently with the cross. In the last benediction the prayer was made "that the rings might restore contracted nerves." A psalm of benediction followed, and a prayer against the frauds of devils. This ceremonial was practised by previous sovereigns, and discontinued by Edward VI. Queen Mary intended to revive it, and in all probability did so, from the manuscript to which I have alluded as having belonged to the late Cardinal Wiseman. The superstitious belief in the efficacy of cramp-rings was by no means confined to the ignorant and uneducated classes; even Lord Berners, ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., writing to "my Lord

Chancellor's Grace," from Saragossa (June 30, 1518), says, "If your Grace remember me with some crampe-ryngs, ye shall doe a thing muche looked for, and I trust to bestowe theyme well, with Goddes grace, who evermore preserve and increase your most reverent estate."



Silver cramp-ring.

Bishop Gardiner in 1529 received a number of cramp-rings to be distributed among the English embassy to the pope, "the royal fingers pouring such virtue into the metal that no disorder could resist it."



Lead cramp-ring.

CROWNS OF VARIOUS MATERIALS.—Crowns have been composed of almost every substance, from the first simple bandage of vine, oak, and other leaves, such as we see upon the medals of the Ptolemies and the kings of Syria, to the gold, jewels, helmet, and ermine which, in more modern times, have been employed in their composition. When *vegetable* crowns were in use among the ancients, Timoleon was nearly causing a mutiny in his army, because he took it *into* his head to cover the *outside* of it with leaves of parsley; his soldiers having a predilection for those of the pine or pitch tree. Dean Swift, in his parallel between ancient extravagance and modern parsimony, values the laurel crown at three halfpence.

The Greek princes sometimes appear on their coins crowned with the laurel, crowns of which were presented as a token of victory by the Greeks to the victorious *athletæ*, or those who contended in the Olympic games.

The highest and most honourable reward among the Romans was the *corona civica*, composed of oaken boughs, and given to him who had saved the life of a Roman citizen, whence it had the inscription, "*Ob civem servatum.*" It was presented by the person who had been saved, to his deliverer, except in the time of the empire, when the emperors presented it themselves. The possession of the civic crown was attended with particular honours. The recipients had the privilege of wearing it at all the public spectacles, as a mark of distinction.

There were other crowns of honourable dignity. The *corona obsidionalis* was made of the grass growing in a besieged place, and presented by the soldiers to the general who relieved them by raising the siege.

The *corona triumphalis* was originally the crown of laurel, but in after ages it was made of gold.*

* PETRARCH was crowned with the *laurel* crown at Rome (April 8, 1341). The poet and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic crown.

The ceremony was performed by his friend and patron, the supreme

This crown designated the possession of distinguished merit and bravery. Thus, it was the custom of the allies of the Roman republic, who ascribed their safety or deliverance to the success of Roman arms, and even the cities of Italy, who admired the virtues of

magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of princes and nobles, the senator, Count Orso, of Anguillara, a kinsman of Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of a herald, Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude, and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma presented to Petrarch, among other privileges was that of wearing at his choice a crown of holly, ivy, or myrtle.

The belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned at the Capitol inflamed the emulation of Petrarch, and the laurel was endeared to him by a verbal resemblance to the name of his mistress.

The curious formula used at the coronation of Petrarch has been preserved: "We, Count and Senator, for us and our college, declare Francis Petrarch great poet and historian; and for a special mark of his quality of poet, we have placed with our hands on his head *a crown of laurel*, granting to him by the tenor of these presents, and by the authority of King Robert, of the senate and the people of Rome, in the poetic as the historic art, and generally whatsoever relates to the said arts, as well in this holy city as elsewhere, our free and entire power of reading, disputing, and interpreting all ancient books, to make new ones, and compose poems, which, God assisting, shall endure from age to age."

Very different to the well-merited ovation to Petrarch was the gift of the laurel crown to Voltaire, a desecration that ought never to have occurred. At the entrance of the cynic into the theatre, where it was intended by the Parisians to surprise him, he was seated between Madame Denis and Madame de Villette. Brisard, an actor, approached to place the crown on his head. Voltaire exclaimed affectedly, "Ah Dieu! vous voulez donc me faire mourir," at the same time weeping with joy. An actress, holding a paper, repeated with an emphasis proportionate to the extravagance of the whole scene, some silly verses, one of which was:—

"Voltaire, receive the crown
That has just been offered;
It is glorious to merit such distinction
When it is France that gives it."

When he returned home, he protested that he had not the slightest idea that such honours would have been conferred upon him, or he would not have gone to the play. He died in the month following.

their victorious general, to adorn the pomp of his triumph by their voluntary gifts of crown of gold, which, after the ceremony, were consecrated in the temple of Jupiter, to remain a lasting monument of his glory to future ages. Thus, the triumph of Cæsar was enriched with 2822 massive crowns, whose weight amounted to 20,414 pounds of gold. This treasure, however, was immediately melted down by the prudent dictator, as more serviceable to the soldiers than the gods—an example imitated by his successors.

This custom was derived from the Greeks. The oration of Demosthenes is well known, the subject of which is the golden crown decreed to him by his fellow-citizens and opposed by Æschines.

Virgil represents the Emperor Antonine saying—

“Tarchon, the Tuscan chief, to me has sent
The crown and every regal ornament.”

The *corona castrensis* or *vallis* was a gold crown given to the soldier who first mounted a rampart or entered the camp of the enemy. The *corona muralis*, also of gold, was given to him who first scaled the walls of a city in an assault, and therefore it bore some resemblance to a wall. The *corona navalis* or *rostrata* was adorned with figures similar to the beaks of ships. It was given to the first boarder of an enemy's ship, or to one who otherwise distinguished himself in a naval engagement.

It was a custom, as it is in some Northern nations at present, for new-married people to wear crowns at their wedding. Crowns were likewise worn at feasts, and were composed of herbs that had the quality of refreshing and strengthening the brain.

These crowns were not regulated by law but by usage, as also the *corona sacerdotalis*, worn by the priests and bystanders when engaged in sacrifice, with the exception of the *pontifex maximus*. It was sometimes of olive leaves or ears of corn, or of gold. The *corona funebris* or *sepulchralis*, with which the dead was crowned, was a custom that prevailed both among the Greeks and Romans. A law of the Twelve Tables provided that if any one had been crowned while living, the crown should be placed on his head when carried out for burial. Crowns were also placed on the bier and scattered from the windows under which the procession passed. The *corona nuptialis*, or bridal wreath, was made of flowers plucked by the bride herself, and not bought, which was considered a bad omen. Amongst the Romans it was made of verbenæ. The *corona natalitia* was a chaplet suspended over the door of the vestibule of the house in which a child was born. At Athens, when the infant was male, the crown was made of olive; when female, of wool. At Rome it was of laurel, ivy, or parsley.

The *corona ovalis* was given to a commander who obtained only an ovation. It was made of myrtle.

According to Pliny (“Nat. Hist.,” xxi. 8, 10) the Romans scarcely used any flowers for crowns but violets and roses, and these crowns

were not only for the honour of the gods and the *lares*, public and private, but also *sepulcrorum et manium*.

BRIDAL CROWNS.—A diadem, circle, or fillet of gold and precious stones was worn by the Jewish bridegroom at his marriage. This custom is of high antiquity. In Canticles we read, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon with the crown where-with his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals."

In the Greek Church the marriage crowns were formerly of flowers and shrubs, but silver ones are now kept for the purpose in the churches.

In the marriages of the Maronites, in Syria, the bishop puts a crown first on the bridegroom's head, after which on the bride; the bridesman and the bridesmaid are crowned in the same manner.

Crowns form a distinguishing feature in the Russian Imperial marriage usages. At the marriage of the Princess Dagmar of Denmark to the present Czar of Russia, in 1866, in a certain part of the service the bride and bridegroom stepped forward from the circle of the imperial family, and having been conducted by the emperor to a raised dais, joined in the prayer of the metropolitan, after which two younger princes of the blood approached, and held above the heads of the bridal pair the marriage crowns peculiar to the orthodox ritual. They resemble in shape and size the episcopal tiaras, and are of silver wire, or some such material, interwoven with silk.

At the marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to the Czarevna in 1874, the crowns were held by Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught) and the Grand Duke Vladimir. The metropolitan presented the crown to the bride to be kissed, and for an instant touched her brow with the royal emblem. After an appeal to the Almighty to crown the pair with His honour and glory, the priest said, "Thou hast put crowns of precious stones upon their heads; they asked life of Thee and Thou gavest them long life; Thou shalt give them the blessing of eternal life, and make them glad with the joy of Thy countenance."

In imperial weddings, and indeed in those of the higher classes, the marriage couples do not wear the crowns until the end of the ceremony.

In the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen are exhibited the crowns of the Northern brides, ancient Icelandic, modern Icelandic, ancient and modern Norwegian and Swedish; all of silver gilt and of very curious workmanship. These crowns are usually heirlooms in wealthy families or the property of the parish. Each crown has its history. This bridal ornament, however, is not always required. Pure and spotless must be the reputation of the maiden who durst appear and challenge the scandals of her village neighbours, and reckless is the girl who would clothe herself in unmerited plumage; the bridal crown and veil may be torn from her head by the indignant bystanders.

Chaucer, in his "Clerke of Oxenfordes Prologue," introduces

Grisyld, a "verray faithful mayde, dressed out for her wedding." The wreath or "*coroun*" is mentioned:—

"Hir heeres han they kempt, that lay untressed
Ful rudely, and with hire fyngres smale
A *coroun* on hir heed they bani-dressed,
And set hir ful of nowches gret and smale."

Crowns used by brides are mentioned by Leland (vol. v. p. 332), Polydore Virgil, and in Brand's "*Popular Antiquities*" (vol. ii. p. 123).

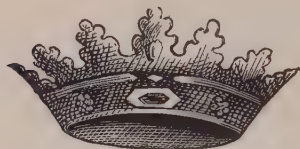
The *KINGS-OF-ARMS* in our country enjoy the privilege in court ceremonials of wearing, for distinction of their high office, a *crown*, with other official badges. They were formerly created by the sovereign, with great solemnity, upon the occasion of some high festival; but since the ceremonies used at the creation of peers have been laid aside, the king-of-arms has been created by the earl marshal, by virtue of the sovereign's warrants. Upon this occasion he takes his oath; wine is poured upon his head out of a gilt cup with a cover; his title is pronounced, and he is invested with a tabart of the royal arms richly embroidered upon velvet, a collar of SS. with two portcullises of silver gilt, a gold chain with a badge of his office, and the earl marshal places on his head a crown of a king-of-arms, which formerly resembled a ducal bonnet, but since the Restoration it has been adorned with sixteen leaves, resembling those of the oak, and inscribed, according to ancient customs, with the words, "*Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*" Garter has also a



Earliest portrait of a king-of-arms,
William Bruges, created in 1420.

mantle of crimson satin, as an officer of the order, with a white rod, or sceptre, with the sovereign's arms on the top, which he bears in the

presence of the sovereign,* and he is sworn in a chapter of the Garter, the sovereign investing him with the ensigns of his office. Garter



Crown of Sir William Dugdale,
Garter principal king-of-arms.



Modern crown of king-of-
arms.

was instituted by Henry V. in 1417, for the service of the most noble order of the Garter, and for the dignity of that order he was made sovereign within the office of arms, over all the other officers, subject



Star of the Garter.

to the crown of England, by the name of Garter king-of-arms of England. It is his duty to go next before the sword in solemn proces-

* It may fairly be presumed, says Planché, that the sceptre of the king-of-arms in its modern form dates from the accession of James I., as it first appears in a print engraved *circa* 1616; and it is probable, also, that the form of the crown or coronet of the kings-of-arms was altered, and definitively settled, subsequent to that period.

sions, none interposing except the marshal. He bears his white rod, with a banner of the ensign of the order thereon, before the sovereign.

The others are called provincial kings, and their provinces together comprise the whole kingdom of England, that of Clarencieux (named from the Duke of Clarence, the third son of King Edward III.) comprehending all to the south of the river Trent, and that of Norroy (or North Roy, *i.e.* north king) all to the north of that river. The kings-of-arms are distinguished from each other by their respective badges, Garter's being blue, and the provincials purple.*

The crowns were, anciently, of gold, or silver, or copper gilt, but no jewels were allowed in them, except rubies, expressive, as it is thought, of faithfulness.

The crown has a cap turned up ermine, and is surmounted by a golden tassel.

Kings-of-arms of Ireland had been as early as the reign of Richard II.

In Scotland the king-of-arms was held in special honour. Sir Walter Scott in "*Marmion*" alludes to the chief Scottish herald, Lord Lyon, king-of-arms, in the mission sent by James IV. to greet *Marmion* on his entering that country:—

"So bright the king's armorial coat,
That scarce the dazzled eye could note
In living colours blazoned brave
The Lyon which his title gave.

* * * * *

Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,
Lord Lyon, King-of-Arms."

Sir Walter Scott says that the inauguration of a king-of-arms was the mimicry of a royal coronation, except that the unction was made with *wine* instead of oil. In Scotland a namesake and kinsman of Sir David Lindesay was crowned by King James with the ancient crown of Scotland, which was used before the Scottish kings assumed a close crown, and, on occasion of the same solemnity, dined at the king's table, wearing the crown. It is probable that the coronation of his predecessor was not less solemn. This was down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

* The wand or rod borne by the ancient heralds appears to have signified their office as marshals, and the collar of SS. their status as members of the sovereign's household. Those of the three kings-of-arms are of silver gilt. The badges appended to them originally displayed only the armorial bearings of their respective offices, but in the seventeenth century permission was granted to impale with them their family arms. Various alterations took place in the collar, which was composed of SS. only. The portcullis was introduced into those worn by judges, etc., in the time of the Tudors, of whom it was a family badge, but not into those of the heralds. The pendant of the combined rose, thistle, and shamrock was added subsequently to the union of the three kingdoms.

Chamberlayne, in his "*Magnæ Britanniae Notitia*" (1726), states that the COLLEGE OF ARMS received the first charter of incorporation from Richard III., who gave them for the residence and assembling of the heralds, Poulteney's Inn, "a righte faire and stately house in Coldharbour. They were dispossessed of this property by Henry VII., when they removed to the Hospital of Our Lady of Rounceval, at Charing Cross, where now stands [*lately stood*] Northumberland House. They next removed to Derby or Stanley House, on St. Benet's Hill, granted by Queen Mary, July 18, 1555, to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King-of-Arms, and to the other Heralds and Pursuivants-at-Arms, and their successors. The service of the Pursuivants, and of the Heralds, and of the whole College is used in marshalling and ordering Coronations, Marriages, Christenings, Funerals, Interviews, Feasts of Kings and Princes, Cavalcades, Shows, Justs, Tournaments, Combats, before the Constable and Marshal, &c. Also they take care of the coats of Arms, and the Genealogies of the Nobility and Gentry."*

Belonging to the Barber-Surgeons' Company are four *garlands*, with which the master and wardens are crowned on election day. The master's crown is a cap of crimson velvet, mounted in a hoop of foliage of oak branches and acorns, of silver parcel gilt, and in which are shields bearing the arms with the supporters of the company, also the Tudor rose crowned. The wardens' garlands are two of crimson, and one of green satin, but on the mountings of silver are shields bearing the arms only, without supporters, and on one garland is the motto, "DE PRÆSCIENTIA DEI."

The master and wardens of the Carpenters' Company have also four garlands. The cap of the master is dated 1561.

THRONES.—The allusions to *thrones* in the Holy Scriptures are numerous. That of Solomon is fully described: "Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind; and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays. And twelve lions stood there on the one side

* In the gallery over the library in the Heralds' College are to be seen the sword and dagger which belonged to the unfortunate James V. of Scotland, who died at Flodden. The sword-hilt has been enamelled, and still shows traces of gilding, which has once been red-wet with the Southron's blood; and the dagger is a strong and serviceable weapon, as no doubt many an English archer and billman that day felt. The heralds show also the plain torquoise ring, which, tradition says, the French queen sent James, begging him to ride a foray in England.

Scott, in his "*Marmion*," says—

"The fair Queen of France
Sent him a torquoise ring and glove,
And charged him, as her knight and love,
For her to break a lance."

and on the other upon the six steps; there was not the like made in any kingdom." * Archelaus addressed the multitude from "an elevated seat and a throne of gold." A throne became the emblem of regal power.

Layard, in his account of the Assyrian bas-reliefs at Nineveh, describes the king's throne and footstool in the north-west palace, Nimroud: "The throne, or rather stool, for it had neither back nor arms, was tastefully carved, and adorned with the heads of rams; the legs of the footstool terminated in lions' paws. They may have been of wood, or copper, inlaid with ivory and other precious materials, or of solid gold like the tables and couches in the temple of Belus at Babylon."

The late Mr. George Smith, in his "Assyrian Discoveries," mentions that during his excavations in Sennacherib's palace, he discovered several portions of a throne in rock crystal. This, so far as preserved, was similar in shape to the bronze throne found by Layard at Nimroud. The throne is beautifully turned and polished.

"Assyrian thrones and chairs," observes the Rev. Mr. Rawlinson, "were very elaborate. The throne of Sennacherib exhibited on its sides and arms three rows of carved figures, one above another, supporting the bars with their hands. The bars, the arms, and the back were patterned. The legs ended in a pine-shaped ornament, very common in Assyrian furniture. Over the back was thrown an embroidered cloth, fringed at the end, which hung down nearly to the floor. A throne of Sargon's was adorned on its sides with three human figures, apparently representations of the king, below which was the war-horse of the monarch, comparisoned as for battle. Another throne of the same monarch had two large and four small figures of men at the side, while the back was supported on either side by a human figure of superior dimensions."

The throne of the monarchs of ancient Persia was an elevated seat with a high back, but without arms, cushioned and ornamented with a fringe, and with mouldings and carvings about the legs. The ornamentation consisted, chiefly, of balls and broad rings, and contained little that was artistic or elaborate. The legs, however, terminated in

* In the Book of Esther (Talmud) we read: "And it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, that he desired to sit upon the throne of Solomon, the magnificent throne of Solomon, which had been carried from Jerusalem to Egypt by Sheshak, the King of Egypt. From his hands it passed to Sennacherib, the King of Assyria; from him was it returned to Hezekiah, and again carried away by Pharaoh Nechoh of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, wrenched it from the possession of Pharaoh, and when Cyrus, the King of Media, conquered the land of Persia, the throne was brought to Shushan, and passed into the possession of Ahasuerus. But he had a new throne made for himself. He sent artisans to Alexandria, and they were two years making for him his throne.

"In the third year of his reign, the King Ahasuerus sat on his own throne, and Solomon's throne was not used any more."

lions' feet, resting upon half balls, which were ribbed or fluted. The sides of the chair, below the seat, appeared to have been panelled, like the thrones of the Assyrians, but were not adorned with any carving. The seat of the throne was very high from the ground, and without a rest the legs would have dangled; a footstool, consequently, was provided, which was plain like the throne, but was supported by legs terminating in the feet of bulls. Thus the lion and the bull, so frequent in the symbolism of the East, were here again brought together, being represented as the supports of the throne.

With regard to the material of which the throne was composed, there can be no doubt it was something splendid and costly. Late writers describe it as made of pure gold, but as we hear of its having silver feet, we may presume that parts, at least, were of the less precious metal. Ivory is not said to have been used in its composition. We may, perhaps, conjecture that the frame of the throne was wood, and that this was overlaid with plates of gold and silver. The throne of Cyrus the Younger is said to have been in part gold, and in part silver. The golden throne of the monarch stood under an embroidered canopy, or awning, supported by four pillars of gold, inlaid with precious stones.

The court of the Sassanian kings, especially in the later part of the empire, was arranged upon a scale of almost unexampled grandeur and magnificence. The robes worn by the great king were beautifully embroidered, and covered with gems and pearls, which in some representations may be counted by hundreds. The royal crown, which could not be worn, but was hung from the ceiling by a gold chain, exactly over the head of the king when he took his seat in the throne-room, is said to have been adorned with a thousand pearls, each as large as an egg. The throne itself was of gold, and was supported on four feet, each formed of a single enormous ruby. The great throne-room was ornamented with enormous columns of silver, between which were hangings of rich silk or brocade. The vaulted roof presented to the eye representations of the heavenly bodies—the sun, the moon, and the stars; while globes, probably of crystal or of burnished metal, hung suspended from it at various heights, lighting up the dark space as with a thousand lustres.

Representations of the Persian throne are found on the Persepolitan monuments. In general character it seems to have resembled the Assyrian; but it was less elaborate, and further distinguished from the Assyrian by a marked difference in almost all the details.

Sitting upon the king's throne is said to have been an offence punishable with death in Persia.

Sir Robert Ker Porter, in the account of his travels in the East, describes the throne of the shahs of Persia (a work of the seventeenth century, constructed for Abbas the Great, who held his court at Ispahan) as of pure white marble carpeted with shawls and cloth of gold, on which the king sat in the fashion of his country, his back supported by a large cushion, encased in a network of pearls. The spacious apartment in which it was erected was open in front, and supported by two twisted columns of white marble, fluted with gold.

The interior was profusely decorated with carving, gilding, arabesque paintings, and looking-glass, which latter material was interwoven with all other ornaments, gleaming and glittering in every part from the vaulted roof to the floor.

The throne, towards the close of the last century, when Teheran became the capital, was removed there with other treasures, and appears to be kept rather as a relic of past magnificence than for actual use at the present time. The throne of the sovereign now ruling in Persia is described as very spacious, with a splendid carpet fringed with tens of thousands of pearls; the bolster on which the shah rests his back or arm also being richly embroidered with pearls. Behind his head is a sun glittering with jewels, supported at the two corners by birds in plumage of the same costly material.

The thrones of some Eastern potentates were of extraordinary richness. We are told of Guatama Buddha, that on his first visit to Ceylon he converted the Nagas, and settled a dispute between two of their princes, who made an offering to him of the throne composed of gold, inlaid with precious stones, which had been the original cause of their quarrel.

Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1161) mentions the throne of the Emperor Manuel in his palace at Constantinople, "as of gold and ornamented with precious stones; a golden crown hangs over it, suspended on a chain of the same material, the length of which exactly admits the Emperor to sit under it. This crown is ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value. Such is the lustre of these diamonds, that even without any other light, they illumine the room in which they are kept."

The throne of the ancient Kandian monarchs resembled an old armchair. It was about five feet high in the back, three in breadth, and two in depth. The frame was of wood, covered with gold sheeting, studded with jewels. The most prominent features in this curious relic were two golden lions or sphinxes, forming the arms of the throne, of uncouth appearance, but beautifully wrought, the heads of the animals being turned outwards in a peculiarly graceful manner. The eyes were formed of entire amethysts, each rather larger than a musket-ball. Inside the back, near the top, was a large golden sun, from which the founder of the Kandian monarchy was supposed to have derived his origin. Beneath, about the centre of the chair, and in the midst of some sunflowers, was an immense amethyst about the size of a large walnut.

The department of antiquities in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France has lately received an interesting addition of what is known as the *throne* or *chair of Dagobert*, King of the Franks (died 638). All the Carlovingian kings of France were seated in this chair when they received the oaths of their vassals. This curious historic relic remained for many years in the abbey of St. Denis, but after the suppression of that abbey in 1793, it passed to the Palais Royal. Napoleon I. borrowed it for the purpose of distributing the first decorations of the Legion of Honour at his camp at Boulogne in 1804,

but it does not appear to have been used by any of the later French sovereigns. It is of bronze, gilt, and artistically ornamented. In the twelfth century it was considered the work of the famous St. Eloi, the friend and minister of King Dagobert, but modern archæologists are inclined to think that some portions of the chair, probably in the shape of repairs, are of later date.

In the Kremlin at Moscow, with other gorgeous paraphernalia of imperial regalia, are four objects of remarkable archæological interest—the ancient throne of the czars, and three other chairs. The oldest of these is more properly a stool, presented by Shah Abbas, of Persia, to the Czar Boris Godunow, in the year 1605. It is so covered with gold in sheets as to appear to be of massive gold, and it is also decorated with pearls and precious stones; it has no back to it, and it has all the appearance of an ancient stool. The second seat is called the “Golden Throne,” and is in the form of a high-backed armchair. It is decorated with no less than fifteen hundred rubies, eight thousand turquoises, two large topazes, and four rare amethysts. This costly seat dates from the time of the grandfather of Peter the Great, Czar Michael Feodorovitch. The third, which is, properly speaking, the emperor’s throne, is popularly called the “Diamond Throne.” It is richly decorated with pearls and precious stones, and was presented to the Czar Alexis Michaelovitz, father of Peter the Great, in 1660. On the back of the chair is the following inscription:—“For the powerful and most invincible Alexis, Emperor of the Muscovites, that reigns prosperously on earth. May this throne, which is built with the greatest art and most refined skill, be a pledge to him of heavenly and earthly bliss.”

In Mr. Crawford’s mission to the King of Siam in 1822, the throne of that monarch is thus described: “The throne and its appendages occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The first was gilded all over, and about fifteen feet high; it had much the shape and look of a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains of gold tissue upon a yellow ground concealed the whole of the upper part of the room except the throne; and they were intended to be drawn over this also, except when used. In front of the throne and rising from the floor, were to be seen a number of gilded umbrellas of various sizes. These consisted of a series of canopies decreasing in size upwards, and sometimes amounting to as many as seventeen tiers. The king, as he appeared seated on his throne, had more the appearance of a statue in a niche, than of a living being. His head was bare, for he wore neither crown nor any other ornament on it. Close to him was a golden baton, or sceptre.”

The *humma* was one of the ornaments of Tippoo Sahib’s famous throne. It was placed on the top of the canopy, and fluttered over the sultan’s head. This bird, the most beautiful and magnificent ornament of the throne, was sent by the Marquis of Wellesley to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It was about the size and shape of a small pigeon, and intended to represent the fabulous bird of antiquity well known to all Persian scholars; a bird peculiar

to the East, supposed to fly constantly in the air, and never to touch the ground. It is looked upon as a bird of happy omen, and every head it overshadows will wear a crown. The tail of the *humma* on Tippoo's throne, and its wings, were in the attitude of fluttering. It was formed of gold, entirely covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. At the plunder of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, (when the amount of riches he carried off exceeded seventy millions sterling), the most superb article of imperial spoil was the Fucht Taoos, or "Peacock Throne," in which the expanded tails of two peacocks, in their natural size, were imitated in jewellery, composed of the most costly diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, topazes, and amethysts, producing a wonderful effect. This throne was valued at upwards of twelve millions sterling. It was six feet long, and four wide, standing on six massive feet, which were of solid gold, inlaid with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. The throne was ascended by silver steps, and surmounted by a canopy of gold, fringed with pearls, supported by twelve pillars richly ornamented with precious stones. Between the peacocks once stood the figure of a parrot of the ordinary size, which, tradition says, was carved out of a single emerald! On each side of the throne was placed a *chattar*, or umbrella, of richly embroidered crimson velvet, fringed with pearls. The handles, of solid gold and studded with diamonds, were eight feet long.

This throne was one of the glories illustrated in the days of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe.

The designer of the "Peacock Throne" of the palace in Delhi, was Austin de Bordeaux, the designer also of the magnificent palace-tomb Taj Mahal, who was named by Shah Jehan the "Jewel-Handed," and received a salary of two thousand rupees a month.

At Koolburga, an important town in the nizam's dominions, was, in the seventeenth century, the *Cerulean Throne of the House of Bhamenee*, a rival of the "Peacock Throne." Ferishta, the Persian historian, describes it as nine feet long and three wide, made of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold, and set with precious stones.

In the "Private Life of an Eastern King" the throne of Nussur-odeen, who occupied the throne of Oude, is described as a structure of great value, a platform of two yards square, raised several feet above the floor, and approached in front by six steps. Upon three sides of it a gold railing extended. The sides of the platform were of solid silver, richly ornamented with jewels. A square canopy supported by poles—the whole of wood, covered with beaten gold—hung over the throne. Precious stones ornamented this canopy in great numbers. A magnificent emerald, said to be the largest in the world, was conspicuous in the front of the canopy above.

At the late Vienna Exhibition were displayed some of the magnificent objects belonging to the *Turkish regalia*. Among these, the most precious, and, historically, the most interesting, was the celebrated throne of the last really great monarch of Persia, whose defeat by Sultan Achmed III. was expiated by an enormous tribute in money and jewels. The Shah Nadir, whose property it was, had evidently

spared no pains nor expense to surround himself with the richest piece of furniture that could be seen. Its feet, arms, and sides are resplendent with precious stones, some of which are of an unusually large size. They principally consist of emeralds, rubies, and pearls. This throne is adorned with upwards of ten thousand gems, the value being estimated at two millions of pounds sterling. In point of shape and workmanship it is a clumsy and barbarous specimen of cabinet work, wholly unlike the throne of the present sultan in the Seraglio at Constantinople. It is in the form of a divan, or couch, with a canopy supported by hexagonal columns of gilded brass, sprinkled with garnets, amethysts, turquoises, topazes, emeralds, and other precious stones in the rough state; for, formerly, the Turks did not cut their gems. Horse-tails hang at the four corners from large golden balls, surmounted by crescents.

SCEPTRES.—The sceptre as a special ensign of sovereignty dates from the earliest period. "It is most clear," remarks Selden, "that both in prophane and early writers, the Sceptre is much ancients, as it was attributed to a King, than either crown or diadem . . . the word denoting a King or supreme governor." There are frequent allusions to the sceptre in the Holy Scriptures. The Hebrew word thus rendered in its primary signification denotes a staff of wood (Ezek. xix. 11), about the height of a man, which the ancient kings and chiefs bore as an ensign of honour. As such it appears to have originated in the shepherd's staff, since the first kings were mostly nomad princes. A golden sceptre, that is, one washed or plated with gold, is mentioned in Ezekiel. Inclining the sceptre was a mark of kingly favour, and the kissing it a token of submission. Saul appears to have carried his javelin as a mark of superiority.

The golden sceptre of the ancient Persians was a plain rod, ornamented with a ball or apple at its upper end, and at its lower tapering nearly to a point. The king held it in his right hand, grasping it near, but not at the thick end, and rested the thin end on the ground. When he walked he planted it upright before him, as a spearman would plant his spear. When he sat he sloped it outwards, still, however, touching the ground with its point.

The kings of Egypt carried a sceptre, on whose top was the figure of a stork, and on the other side, towards the handle, another of the hippopotamus; besides this was the cumbent sceptre, or war instrument, nearly in the form of the modern, and the sceptre with an eye upon it, Osiris, or the sun.

Dr. Schliemann, in his account of discoveries at Mycenæ, describes two objects (represented in an engraving, p. 201, "Mycenæ") which appear to be sceptres. The silver staff of each has been plated with gold, as we see on that part of it which sticks in the beautifully turned knobs of rock crystal. The crystal ball of one is ornamented with small vertical furrows, and quite perforated; and there are evident signs that another object, probably of gold, has been attached to its lower end; and such a piece of gold was found lying separately,

the more so as its upper end had evidently been broken off; it is ornamented on both sides with *repoussé* work, representing lions. Dr. Schliemann further observes that the enormous gold-plated silver rods were doubtless stuck in wooden staves, covered with gold plate.

The Greek tragic and other poets put sceptres in the hands of the most ancient kings they introduce. In most remote antiquity, Justin says, the sceptre was an *hasta*, and men adored the *hastæ* as immortal gods.*

The Greek *skeptron*, "staff," from *skepto*, "to send or thrust," is thus mentioned in the "Iliad" (i. 246), 962-927 B.C., Achilles swearing by his *staff*. In the course of time, the sceptre was also a weapon of assault and defence: Cyrus, according to Zenophon, was always attended by three hundred "sceptre-bearers." Homer also speaks of the sceptre as an attribute of kings, princes, and leaders of tribes, and according to him it descended from father to son, and might be committed to any one to denote the transfer of authority. Among the Persians whole classes of persons vested with authority, including eunuchs, were distinguished as the "sceptre-bearing" classes. It is said to have been first assumed among the Romans by Tarquin (died 496 B.C.). Ovid speaks of the sceptre as enriched with gems, and made of precious metals or ivory. The sceptre of the kings of Rome, which was afterwards borne by the consuls, was of ivory, and surmounted by an eagle. There has been considerable variety in its form; that of the Merovingian kings of France was a golden rod of the height of the king himself.

The senate of Rome alone had the power of conferring the sceptre on the consuls elect, and sent it as a present to friendly kings and allies. The consulars also carried it as a token of their ancient dignity or wand of command. Phocas was the first who added a cross to the sceptre without a globe.†

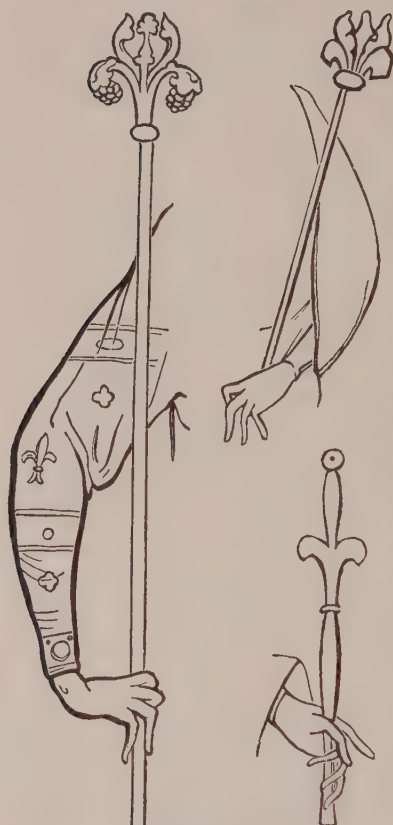
* Among the Frankish and Lombard nations an additional ceremony was the delivery of a spear to the newly made monarch. Such is in the case of Hildebrand (A.D. 744), Childeric (A.D. 456), Childebert II. (A.D. 585). Martene writes of the Frankish kings, "*Tradita in manum hasta pro sceptro, excelso in solio honorifice imponunt.*"

The delivery of the sceptre and staff in the English ritual of coronation of the "Pontificale" of Egbert is evidently derived from this custom.

It may be worthy to notice that the spear or lance was a symbol of authority among the Anglo-Saxons. In the laws of Edward the Confessor, regarding the wapentake, or, more properly, the weapon-touch, it is stated that when any one was appointed head of wapentake, on a fixed day, at the usual place of meeting, all the eldest born (*maiores natu*) rose up to meet him, and he, descending from his horse, received their homage with his lance. He kept his lance erect, whilst all touched it with theirs. These were the thanes and barons of the court baron, who formed the feudal militia, the manor, the hundred, and the county courts, and who succeeded to their landed estates by right of primogeniture.

† At the exhibition of antiquities at the Norwich meeting of the

The Anglo-Saxon sceptres are surmounted with crosses, a fleur-de-lys, or a bird. That of Ethelred II. seems to have been terminated



Sceptres. From MSS. of the thirteenth century.

by three pearls, or small globes, forming a cross, and that of Canute by a fleur-de-lys. The Confessor has the cross, and also the dove, which is not observed before his reign. William the Conqueror is represented on his coins as having a sceptre with the cross *patée* in his right hand, and in the left, one like that of Ethelred. The most remarkable deviation from the common forms is in the verge, or mace, of Edward III. and Richard II., which are surmounted by a very beautiful turret, or pinnacle, of rich Gothic tracery, with crockets on the edges. A nearly similar ornament may be seen on the seals of Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., but in these the top is not so pointed as in those mentioned.

The sceptre of Charlemagne, with which the sovereigns of France were invested at their coronations, was six feet high, with the figure of that great monarch in relief on it, seated on a throne ornamented with two lions and two eagles; the mound, or globe, is in his hand in the manner in which he is represented in old illuminations. The whole of solid gold,

enamelled, and enriched with Oriental pearls.

Archæological Institute in 1847, a curious sceptre was exhibited by Viscount Acheson. It consisted of four pieces of Oriental onyx, a portion of the original length being apparently deficient; they were mounted at both ends with silver gilt, and on the extremity was fixed a bronze eagle. This curious object was purchased at the sale of Dr. Mead's collection in 1755 by Sir Francis St. John, who has left a note that it was "said to have been found in the ruins of Augustus Cæsar's palace at Rome, and therefore supposed to be his consular sceptre."

The ordinary mode of conveying investitures, both lay and clerical, in Sicily and elsewhere, is proved by ancient charters to have been by a touch of the royal sceptre. Thus William the Good, King of Sicily, in 1181 conferred upon his son Boemond the dukedom of Apulia by a touch of the golden sceptre. The Emperor Louis of Bavaria elevated Castruccio to the dukedom of Lucca by the sceptre he held in his hand.

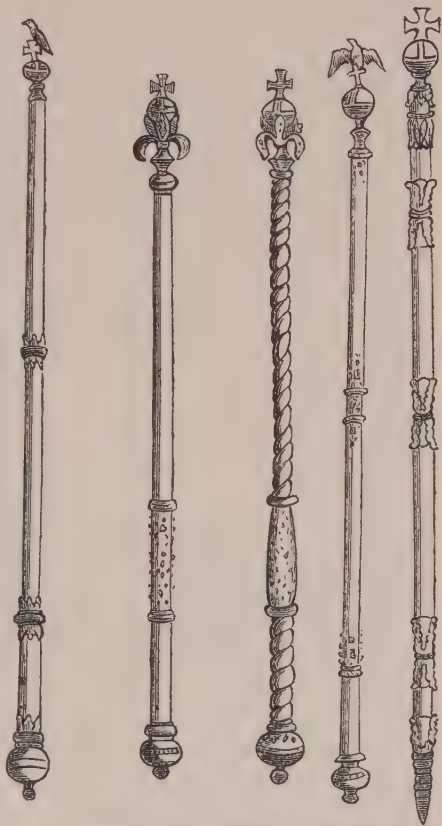
CORONATION ROBES.—

The royal vestments of sovereigns have in all times been distinctive for their sumptuousness, and, in many cases, by peculiarities of colour. In the Book of Esther we read that Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, with a great crown of gold, and also a garment of fine linen and purple. This accords with the early custom of the Persian monarchs, which is still practised, of investing their ministers and favourites with splendid robes and ornaments.

From Zenophon's representation that death would be the punishment of any noble, however illustrious, assuming to himself the royal mixture of purple and white, we may gather the peculiar honour, bestowed on Mordecai.

Josephus says that King Solomon was usually clothed in white, the colour of the priestly garments, the difference consisting, probably, in the richness of the material.

"The King of Babylon," says Rawlinson, "wore a long gown, somewhat scantily made, but reaching down to the ankles, elaborately patterned and fringed. Over this, apparently, he had a close-fitting sleeved vest, which came down to the knees, and terminated in a set of heavy tassels. The girdle was worn outside the outer vest, and in war the monarch carried also two cross-belts, which, perhaps, sup-



Sceptres. From Sandford's "Coronation of James II."

ported his quiver. The upper vest was, like the under one, richly adorned with embroidery. From it, or from the girdle, depended in front a single heavy tassel attached by a cord, similar to that worn by the early kings of Assyria."

The dress of the Assyrian kings appears to have been similar to that of their successors in the empire of the East. Zenophon describes Astyages as clothed in a purple coat and rich habit. Darius wore a tunic of white and purple. According to Plutarch, the entire dress of a Persian king was worth twelve thousand talents (£2,925,000).

The description of Darius, King of Persia, when marching to the conflict with Alexander the Great, affords an instance of the splendour of the regal state. The monarch was clothed in a vest of purple striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, on which were represented two falcons rushing from the clouds and pecking one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, whence his scymetar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems.

In his chariot he appeared seated as on a high throne. The carriage was enriched on other sides with images of the gods in gold and silver, and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing War, and the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended.

Representations on the bas-reliefs discovered in Assyria show that the royal garments were of a magnificence it is difficult to describe. The draperies of Asshur-idauni-pul (Sardanapalus I.) in the north-west palace at Nimroud are more minutely laboured and more tasteful than those of any later time. Besides elegant and unmeaning patterns, they exhibit human and animal forms, sacred trees, sphinxes, griffins, winged horses, and occasionally bull-hunts and lion-hunts. The upper part of the king's dress is, in one instance, almost covered with figures which range themselves in a circular breast ornament.

Among the discoveries at Kouyunjik is a representation of an Assyrian queen seated in a chair of state. She wears upon her head a band or fillet, having something of the appearance of a crown of towers, such as encircles the brow of Cybele on Greek coins and statues. Her dress was a long-sleeved gown reaching from the neck to the feet, flounced and trimmed at the bottom in an elaborate way, and elsewhere patterned with rosettes, over which she wore a fringed tunic or frock descending half way between the knees and the feet. Her ornaments, besides the crown upon her head, were ear-rings, a necklace, and bracelets. Her hair was cushioned, and adorned with drapery which hung over the back.

The chief wife, or queen-consort, of the ancient kings of Persia was privileged to wear on her head a royal tiara or crown.

From the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian, the principal distinction of the Roman princes was the imperial or military robe of purple. The pride, or rather policy, of Diocletian led to the introduction of the stately magnificence of the court of Persia. The robes

were of silk and gold, and, it is remarked by ancient writers, even the shoes of the emperor and his successors were studded with the most precious gems.

In the Anglo-Saxon documents we read of a king's coronation garment as of silk woven with gold flowers, and his cloak is mentioned as distinguished by its costly workmanship and its gold and gems. The royal robes were of a purple colour.

The coronation *mantle* was in colour purple. "I give," said Witlaf, King of Mercia, in his charter to the abbey of Croyland, "to the secretary of the said abbey, my purple mantle which I wore at my coronation, to be made into a cope, to be used by those who minister at the holy altar; and also, my golden veil, embroidered with the history of the siege of Troy, to be hung up in the church on my anniversary."

So William the Conqueror gave to Battle Abbey the sword and royal robe which he wore at his coronation. The monks kept these until the "Suppression," and used to exhibit them as great curiosities.

The state mantles of the Norman kings were very valuable, being made of the finest cloth, embroidered with gold and silver, and lined with the most costly furs.

The order is extant for making the coronation robes of Henry III., one of which was commanded to be of "the best purple samite [a rich silk], embroidered with three little leopards in front and three behind." His sandals also were to be fretted with gold, each square of the feet containing a lion or a leopard.

On opening the tomb of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey (1774), his corpse was discovered arrayed in a dalmatica, of red silk damask, and a mantle of crimson satin, fastened on the shoulder with a gilt buckle, or clasp, four inches in length, and decorated with imitative jewels and pearls. The sceptre was in his hand, and crossed over his breast was a stole of rich white tissue, studded with gilt quatrefoils in filagree work, and embroidered with pearls in the shape of what are called true "lover's-knots."

In a manuscript of the Cottonian Library, Edward II. is represented on a light red throne, dressed in a blue robe lined with ermine; his arms and his hose are red, and his shoes are of a darkish brown.

The effigy of Edward III. in Westminster Abbey represents that monarch in his robes of state. The number of the royal vestments does not exceed that of his predecessors, but their form is rather different. The dalmatica is lower in the neck and shorter in the sleeves than the under tunic, and the sleeves of the latter come lower down than the wrist. His shoes or buskins are richly embroidered, and he bears the remains of a sceptre in each hand.

From a representation of the coronation of Richard II. in the "*Liber Regalis*," we find that the king's robe was gold, his close garment pink and gold flowers; the garment of his queen was blue, the gold robe lined with ermine. The curious portrait of Richard, preserved in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, represents him in a robe embroidered all over with roses and the initial letter of

his name. The king was extravagant in dress, and had a coat valued at thirty thousand marks, probably from the precious stones with which it was embroidered.

It was usual in early times to bear in the procession at coronations, with the regalia, the royal vestments upon a checker-table, which was carried by six noblemen.

In the chapter on "Coronations of English Sovereigns" I have alluded to the royal vestments of Richard III., and also to the orbes ordered for Edward V. At Richard's coronation at York, he was dressed with unusual magnificence.

In the "Device" for the coronation of King Henry VII. (see chapter on "Coronations of English Sovereigns") a description is given of the royal robes in which the king and queen were arrayed after receiving the communion: "The King, unaraied by his Chamberlayn of all his said regalles to his coote and shurte, shalbe by the said Chamberlayn new arraied with hosen, sandallis, and other robes of state, that is to say, a surcote of purpill velwet close or open, furred with mynever pure, bordered with armyns, and ribbanded with gold at the colar, hands, and speris; a hode of estate furred with armyns poudred with armyns, with a greit lace of silke, and ij tarcellis purpill, and the King at his pleasur may were moo of his robes vndre his said mantell as a taberd, a kirtell or eny of them.

"The Queene shalbe chaunged by her jentilwomen of her chambre, in to newe garments, that is to say, a surcote roiall of purpill velwet, a mantell with a trayn of the same," etc.

The coronation robes of Henry VII. are described in the chapter on "Coronations of English Sovereigns."

"Mary [Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII.,] proceeded from Westminster Hall to the abbey for her coronation "in her parliamentary robes of crimson velvet . . . containing a mantle with a train, a surcoat with a kirtle furred with wombs of minever, a riband of Venice gold, the mantle of crimson velvet powdered with ermines, with a lace of silk and gold, and buttons and tassels of the same. Such," observes Planché, "is the account of two contemporary documents in a MS. containing the official records of the coronation of Queen Mary, in the College of Arms, marked I. 7 and W. Y. the French ambassador, Mons. de Noailles, corrects a confusion in these accounts, and says that at a certain part of the ceremony the Queen retired to a private chamber, and having taken off her mantle returned in a corset of purple velvet, and after being anointed was clad in a robe of white taffeta, and a mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine, and without a band,—'sans rabat.'"

The coronation robes of Queen Elizabeth are mentioned in the list of her Majesty's wardrobe (1600):—"Firste, one mantle of clothe of golde, tissue with gold and silver, furred with powdered armyons [ermine], with a mantle lace of silke and golde, with buttons and tassels to the same. Item,—one kirtle of the same tissue, the traine and skirts furred with powdered armyons, the rest lined with sarceonit, with a paire of bodies and sleeves to the same."

The Parliamentary robes (which the sovereign exchanges in the abbey at the close of the coronation) of the same queen are thus mentioned in the list of her wardrobe:—"Item. One mantle of crimson vellat [velvet] furred throughoute with powdered armyons, the mantle lace of silke and golde with buttons and tassels to the same. Item. One kirtle and surcoate of the same crimson vellat, the traine and skirts furred with powdered armyons, the rest lined with arçonet [saracenet] with a cap of maintenance to the same stryped downright with passamaine lace of gold with a tassel of gold to the same furred with powdered armyons, with a whood [hood] of crimson vellat furred with powdered armyons, with a paire of bodies and sleeves to the same."*

A precise account of the coronation robes of Charles II. is given by Sir Edward Walker in his relation of the ceremony. He states that "because through the rapine of the late unhappy times, all the royal ornaments and regalia heretofore preserved from age to age in the treasury of the church at Westminster were taken away, sold and destroyed,† the Committee met divers times not only to direct the re-making such royal ornaments and regalia, but even to settle the form and fashion of each particular."

I have mentioned the robes of estate of James II., as described by Sandford in his account of the coronation of that monarch; besides these, were provided from the great wardrobe on that occasion, a shirt of fine linen, to be open at the places of anointing, another shirt of red saracenet over it, and a surcoat of crimson satin made with a collar; a pair of under trousers and breeches over them, with stockings fastened to the trousers, all of crimson silk; a pair of linen gloves; a linen coif, etc.

* Horace Walpole, alluding to the profusion of ornaments in Queen Elizabeth's dresses, thus describes her Majesty: "A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls are the features by which everybody knows at once the pictures of Queen Elizabeth."

† The ancient coronation robes, which were destroyed in 1649, were thus valued by the Parliamentary commissioners:—

	£	s.	d.
"One common taffaty robe, very old, valued at ...	0	10	0
One robe laced with goulde lace ...	0	10	0
One silver cullered silk robe, very old, and worth nothing	0	0	0
One robe of crimson taffaty saracenet, valued at ...	0	5	0
One paire of buskins, cloth of silver and gold stockings, } very old, and valued at	0	2	6
One paire of shoes of cloth of gold at ...	0	2	0
One paire of gloves embroidered with gold at ...	0	1	0
Three swords with scabbards of cloth of gold at ...	3	0	0
One old comb of horne, worth nothing ...	0	0	0
Total in the chest ...	4	10	6"

The comb was used in coronations for smoothing the hair after the anointing.

The coronation dress of his royal consort, Queen Mary, consisted of a mantle of purple velvet, eighteen feet long; the cape of ermine powdered. The surcoat was fifteen and a half inches in the shape, edged with ermine, and the forepart edged with seven large breast jewels, edged with ermine, in which were small locketts of precious stones. The petticoat was cloth of silver.

A few brief notices may be given of the more particular vestments used in the coronation ceremonials.

The *dalmatic*, a long robe or super-tunic, partly open at the sides,



Coronation robes of James II. From Sandford. The dalmatic.

derives its name from being of Dalmatian origin. It was usually composed of white silk with purple stripes, but the colour does not appear to have been arbitrary. Besides being a portion of the coronation vestments, it gives a meaning for its use in its ecclesiastical character, the monarch representing the Church and the protector of its privileges.

In connection with the *stole* (an embroidered band or scarf), it is mentioned from very early times among the coronation robes of the

sovereigns of England. In the account of the enthronement of Richard I. we have "*primo tunica deinde dalmatica.*" Walsingham states that Richard II. was invested first with the tunic of St. Edward, and then with the dalmatic. Henry VI. was attired "as a bishop that should sing Mass, with a dalmatic *like a tunic*, and a stole about his neck." Being worn over the tunic, it is frequently called a super-tunic.

Sandford, in his account of the coronation of James II., observes that "the mantle had been heretofore a rich embroidery with golden



Coronation robes of James II. From Sandford. The surcoat, or super-tunic.

eagles, but this was stolen during the civil wars, and another was made for the ceremony of very rich gold and purple brocaded tissue, the outside being shot with gold thread, brocaded with gold and silver threads, with large flowers of gold frosted, heightened with some little silver flowers, all edged about with purple. The lining was a rich crimson Florence taffeta, and the fastening a broad gold clasp."

The *stole* (erroneously called the armilla) is made of the same cloth of tissue as the dalmatica, or super-tunica, lined with crimson

sarcenet, and was formerly embroidered with eagles, roses, *fleurs-de-llys*, and crowns. The length of it is about an ell, and the breadth three inches, with two double ribbons at each end of crimson taffeta,



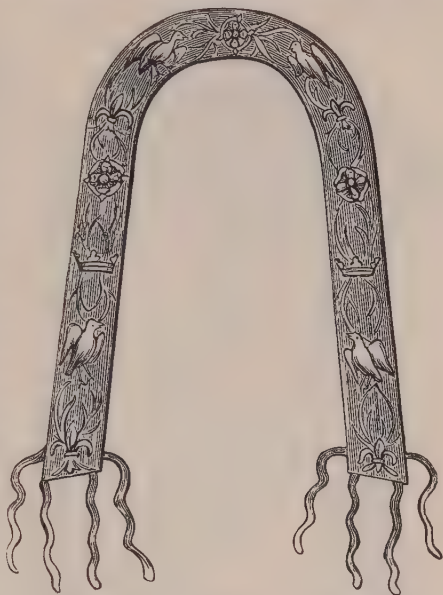
Coronation robes of James II. From Sandford. The mantle.

two at the corners of the ends to tie it below the elbows, and two a little higher for tying it above them.*

* The regal *stole*, from some inexplicable circumstance, obtained as early as the reign of Henry VII. the name of *armil*, whereby it has been subsequently confounded with the bracelets, *armillas*, which form a portion of the regal ornaments.

In the "Device" for the coronation of Henry VII. (Rutland Papers, Camden Society) we read, "The King thus gird with his swerd and standing, shall take armyll of the Cardinall, saying these words, *Accipe armillam*; and it is to wete that armyll is made in maner of a stole

To the *surcoat* belongs a belt or girdle, made of cloth of tissue, with a gold buckle, to which clasps of the same are affixed for the sword with which the sovereign is girded. The surcoat is a straight one, with plain sleeves, of a thick and rich cloth of gold tissue, ornamented with gold flowers, brocaded and frosted, without either silk or velvet. The *colobium sindonis*, or *surplice*, an ancient dress of bishops and priests, is without sleeves, and is the last garment put upon the sovereign after the anointing. It is made of very fine white cambric, and is in length somewhat deeper than the super-tunica. It is laced about the neck, round the arm-holes, down the breast, up the sides, and round the lower part with fine white lace.



Coronation robes of James II. From Sandford.
The stole.

Both its names signify short linen garments; and *sindonis* is sometimes used

to denote the shroud for wrapping the dead. The lace used for trimming the colobium of Charles II. cost ("Accounts of the Earl of Sandwich," 28th April, 1661) eighteen shillings the yard.

The ornaments appropriated to the legs of the king are the *caligæ*, or *bushkins*, and the *sandals*, the former made of the same cloth of tissue as the super-tunica, and lined with crimson sarcenet; the sandals are of cloth tissue, lined with crimson taffeta, with bands. Sandford, in his "Coronation of James II.," has given a representation of the sandals made for that ceremony. In the "particulars" ordered to be provided for the coronation of Mary, queen of William III., are a pair of sandals of crimson satin, garnished the same as the king's.*

wovyn with gold and set with stones, to be put by the Cardinall aboute the King's necke, and commyng from both shuldres to the King's both elbowes wher it shalbe fastened by the said Abbot [of Westminster] with laces of silke on evry elbow in twoo places, that is to saye, aboue the elbowes and byneth."

* The royal sandals of the Assyrian kings (time of Sargon) were of two kinds. The simplest sort had a very thin sole and a small cap for

At the coronation of a female sovereign the MISTRESS OF THE ROBES performs important services. The duties of the office on such



Colobium sindonis.

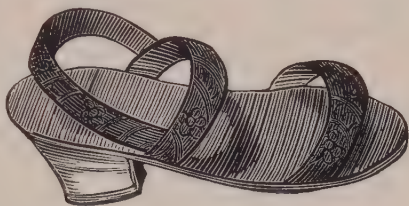
occasions were, formerly, very precise, as will be seen from a memorandum made by Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, mistress of the robes to Caroline, queen of George II. It is supposed to have been drawn up as a guide to the coronation of Queen Charlotte. "At the late Queen's coronation, the Duchess of Dorset was Mistress of the Robes, but Mrs. Howard, Bed-chamber Woman, having had all things belonging to that office for many years under her care, received her Majesty's commands to provide everything proper for her Majesty's dress for the coronation, and to enquire into all particulars necessary for the Queen to know. Upon enquiry into the different offices, she received information that the Mistress of the Robes was the only person in whose name demands were to be made, and all answers were to be directed to her; upon which Mrs. Howard told this to the Duchess of Dorset, who

desired her to write in her (the Duchess's) name, and to receive all

the heel, made apparently of a number of strips of leather sewn together. It was held in place by a loop over the great toe, attached to the forepart of the sole, and by a string which was laced backwards and forwards across the instep, and then tied in a bow.

Gibbon relates that the Emperor Alexius, after the capture of Constantinople by the Venetians and French in 1204, was taken prisoner by the King of Thessalonica, who sent the imperial robes, the *calyptra*, and the *purple buskins*, as offerings to the newly elected Emperor of "Roumania," Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Hainault.

answers. All that follows may be taken as done by the Mistress of the Robes. Upon enquiry where her Majesty should be dressed, it was answered at Westminster. Immediately the Earl Marshal delivered up a room of his, very convenient for the purpose, and on the morning before the coronation, all her Majesty's robes and jewels were carried to that room under a guard. The Page of the Robes stayed there all night with a proper guard, which was asked of the officer on duty there.



Sandal. From Sandford's "Coronation of James II."

"The night before the coronation, the Queen's order to all her servants, except the Bed-Chamber Woman, was to be at Westminster in the places assigned them, at the hour appointed for their summons, and at a little after seven o'clock the next morning, her Majesty, being in an undress, but everything new, went into her chair (not a state one) with the curtains drawn; her Lord Chamberlain in a hackney chair before her Majesty, and Mrs. Howard in hers, behind, and particular care was taken that it should not be suspected when her Majesty passed the park. As soon as her Majesty got to Westminster, Mrs. Howard dressed her, assisted only by those who belonged to the office. As soon as the Queen came into the room where the peeresses were assembled, from that time the Duchess of Dorset assisted as Mistress of the Robes. She walked alone immediately after the Queen, and when the service was over, and the Queen was to be crowned and anointed, the four ladies were called to the pall, and the Mistress of the Robes then advanced on the right side of the pall, the Bed-Chamber Woman on the left, to be ready to take off the circle and open the Queen's tucker, that the Bishop might crown and anoint her Majesty, and to be ready to close the tucker and pin on the crown.

"There is a little handkerchief, which the Bed-Chamber Woman in waiting gives to the Mistress of the Robes, to wipe off any oil that might fall on the face. The Queen retires to St. Edward's Chapel to offer her crown, and then the Mistress of the Robes, assisted by the Chamber Woman, pin on the *fi*ne crown appointed for her Majesty.

"After dinner the Queen retired into the room in which she had been dressed, and there was undressed, and everything was left there for the night, guarded, as they had been the night before. Her Majesty went back to St. James's in private" ("Suffolk Correspondence," vol. i. pp. 262-265).

In September, 1556, Queen Elizabeth was entertained at Oxford with an English play called "Palamon and Arcite," which gave her great satisfaction. The theatrical wardrobe for these performances was actually furnished from the garments of deceased kings and

queens of England, however inconsistent with the costume of Athens; for we find that the heads and fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote to Lord Burleigh, stating that "they were going to perform certain comedies and one tragedy; and as there were in that tragedy sundry personages of the highest rank to be represented in ancient princely attire," which was nowhere to be had but in the office of the robes in the Tower, they humbly supplicated to be indulged with the loan of some of these, on their depositing a sufficient pledge for their security. The following item is in one of the wardrobe books of Queen Elizabeth:—"There was occupied and wore at Oxford in a play before her Majesty certain of the apparel that was the late Queen Mary's; at what time there was lost one fore-quarter of a gown without sleeves, of purple velvet with satin ground," etc. At a much later time there was borrowing from the stores of the Tower for the decoration of the stage. As Pope writes—

"Back fly the scenes, and enter foot and horse,
Pageant on pageants in long order drawn,
Peers, heralds, bishops, ermine, gold and lawn;
The champion, too! And to complete the jest,
Old Edward's armour beams on Cibber's breast."

By way of reflecting the glories of the coronation of George II., "Henry VIII.," with a grand spectacle of a coronation,* had been presented at the theatres, the armour of one of the kings of England having been brought from the Tower for the due accoutrement of the champion. And here we may note a curious gravitation of royal finery towards the theatre. Downes, in his "*Roscius Anglicanus*," describes Sir William Davenant's play of "*Love and Honour*," produced in 1662, as "richly clothed, the King giving Mr. Betterton his coronation suit, in which he acted the part of Prince Alvaro; the Duke of York giving Mr. Harris his, who did Prince Prospero; and my Lord of Oxford gave Mr. Joseph Price his, who did Lionel, the Duke of Parma's son." Presently we find the famous Mrs. Barry acting Queen Elizabeth in the coronation robes of James II.'s queen,

* At the period of the royal nuptials and coronation of George III., Rich, the whimsical stage manager, revived the scenic representation of the "Coronation." It was forced on the public for nearly forty nights successively, sometimes at the end of a play, and sometimes after a farce. But then he surprised the audience with opening the back of the stage into Drury Lane, where a real bonfire was exhibited, with the populace huzzaing and drinking porter to the health of Anne Boleyn; whilst the stage was paraded by dukes, duchesses, archbishops, heralds, etc., but nearly hid from view, being covered with a thick fog from the effects of the weather and the smoke of the fire.

Rich went to such expenses for this pageant that the account for velvets alone came to £4000. The success of it, however, fully repaid him.

who had before presented the actress with her wedding suit. Mrs. Barry is said to have given her audience a strong idea of Queen Elizabeth. Mrs. Bellamy played Cleopatra in a silver tissue "birthday" dress that had belonged to the Princess of Wales; and a suit of straw-coloured satin, from the wardrobe of the same illustrious lady, was worn by the famous Mrs. Woffington in her performance of Roxana.

The robes worn by Elliston, when he personated George IV., and represented the coronation of that monarch upon the stage of Drury Lane, were probably not the originals.

Among other royal robes that have descended to the stage, mention may also be made of the coronation dress of the late Queen Adelaide, of which Mrs. Mowatt, the American actress, became the ultimate possessor.

At the coronation, the mantle which has usually been worn by a Prince of Wales, when such a member of the royal family existed, is doubled below the elbow with ermine, spotted diamond-wise. His Parliamentary robes are adorned with five guards of ermine at equal distances, and gold lace above each guard.*

A house in the Blackfriars, built by Sir John Beauchamp (died 1359), was sold to Edward III., and subsequently converted into the office of the master of the wardrobe, and the repository for the royal clothes. In Fuller's "Worthies" we find that "this wardrobe was in effect a Library for Antiquaries, therein to read the mode and fashion of garments in all ages. These King James, in the beginning of his reign, gave to the Earl of Dunbar, by whom they were sold and re-sold at as many hands almost as Briareus had, some gaining vast estates thereby."

An extraordinary coronation dress was invented for King Friedrich

* The wardrobe of that royal sybarite George IV., "who spent £10,000 a year for the coats on his back," was sold by auction in June, 1831, and among the lots was "a superb and costly robe of rose-colour satin, with the stars, etc., worn at the coronation by the chief object of the pageant;" also three crimson velvet waistcoats worn at the same time. The whole for £21 19s., and (*sic transit*) to adorn the waxwork representation of royalty in Madame Tussaud's Exhibition! Amongst a very large variety of clothing, were the coronation ruff of Mechlin lace, £2; the crimson velvet mantle embroidered with gold worn on the same occasion, forty-seven guineas; a crimson coat to match with the robe, £14; a richly embroidered silver-tissue coronation waistcoat and trunk hose, £13; the splendid purple velvet coronation mantle, embroidered with two hundred ounces of gold, £55; an elegant and costly green velvet mantle, lined with ermine of the finest quality, presented by the Emperor Alexander, and which had cost upwards of one thousand guineas, £125.

August of Saxony (crowned September 5, 1697, at Cracow). The chamberlain's powers were strained to the uttermost, for the costume was to be antique, at the same time Polish, and also fashionable and suitable for a cavalier. Therefore the king wore on his well-powdered head a Polish cap with a heron's plume; on his body a strong golden breast-plate; over his short French breeches a short Roman tunic; on his feet sandals; over all a blue ermine cloak: the whole dress covered with splendid precious stones. He became faint at the coronation, and it was doubtful whether it was owing to the uncomfortable costume or to shame.

CORONATION BANQUETS.—*The banquet on the occasion of a coronation* has been a usage in all ages and countries. That it was observed in ancient Persia we know from Holy Writ. Thus, on the royal inauguration of Esther, "the king made a great feast unto all his princes and his servants, even Esther's feast; and he made a release to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the state of the king."

A manuscript in the British Museum gives the particulars of the coronation banquet of Henry VI. (1429). After mentioning the entrance of the king's champion, we have the first course of dishes:—"A bore's head enarmed in a castell royall; frumenty with venysoun (vyaunde ryall); gylt groce [grouse]; char, swan, capon stewed, heron, grete pyke; red leche [soup], with a whyght lyon crowned therinne; custardys ryall [royal], with a ryall lybbard of gold set therin, holding a floure de lyce; fritour like a sonne, a floure de lyce therinne; a sotyltye [device], Seynt Edward and Seynt Lowes [Lewis], armed in their cootes of armes, &c., &c. The second course,—Viaunde blakely wreten [inscribed with the black-letter character], and noted with *Te Deum laudamus*; pyg endored [gilt], crane, bytore [bittern], cony, chykins endored, partrich, peacock, grete breme leche, with an antelope shynyng as gold, flampayne powered with lybards and flowre de lyce of gold [the arms of England and France], fritour, custard, and a lybbardis [leopard's] head, with estrych [ostrich] feathers; a sotyltie, the Emperour and King, &c. The thirde course,—quynces in compost, blaundishere, venyson roasted, egrete, curlewys, and cokks, plovers, quayles, snytes [snipes], grete byrdes, larkes, grete carpe, leche made with a vyolet colour, bake metes, chekyns powdered with losynges gylt with flowers of borage, fritours gryspe [crisp]; a sotyltie, our Lady syttyng and hyr chyld in hyr armes, holding in every hand a crowne, and St. George knelyng on that oon syde, and St. Denyse on that oder syde, presentyng the King to our Lady with this reason, 'O blyssed Lady Christis Modyr deere,'" etc. (Bibl. Cotton, Nero, C. ix. fol. 173).

The detail of red soup in which white lions are swimming, golden leopards immersed in custards, roast pigs, gilt like gingerbread, fritters like the sun, the head of a pard crowned with ostrich feathers, and a haunch of venison inscribed with "*Te Deum laudamus*," is sufficiently amusing.

It appears to have been the practice in old times to provide for the coronation banquet by sending precepts to the sheriffs of the several counties, enjoining them to assist the royal purveyors in procuring oxen, sheep, fowls, etc., in quantities proportioned to the extent and means of their respective districts. Some of these letters are in Rymer's "*Fœdera*." Thus on the coronation of Edward I. the following orders were issued :—

	Oxen.	Swine.	Sheep.	Fowls.
Sheriff of Gloucester	60	101	60	3,000
„ Bucks and Bedford	40	66	10	2,100
„ Oxford	40	67	40	2,100
„ Kent	40	67	40	2,100
„ Surrey and Sussex	40	67	40	2,100
„ Warwick and Leicester	60	98	40	3,000
„ Somerset and Dorset	100	176	40	5,000
„ Essex	60	101	60	3,160
	440	743	330	22,560

In the year 1307 Edward II. issued an order, dated at Clipston, September 25, to the Sénéchal of Gascony and Constable of Bordeaux, to provide a *thousand pipes* of good wine, and send them to London, there to be delivered to the king's butler before Christmas, to be used at the approaching coronation. The purchase and freight of the wine was to be paid for out of the revenues of Gascony by a company of Florentine merchants, who farmed these revenues.

A similar condescension was observed towards their subjects by the French kings, in allowing them to provide for the coronation banquet, in which the good people of Rheims were conspicuous for their liberality. The feast was held in the hall of the archiepiscopal palace in that city. The king being seated, grace was said by the Archbishop of Rheims; the great crown of Charlemagne, the sceptre, and the hand of justice were laid upon the table, and the constable with his drawn sword stood at the upper end of it. His Majesty's table was served by his own officers to the sound of drums and trumpets. The great master of the pantry of France carried the great dish. The king sat alone at his table, unless he had a brother, in which case the prince sat on the left of the king. When there was a queen, a kind of balcony, or raised gallery, was fitted up in the hall for a commodious view of the king at table.

When the king had dined, the archbishop said grace, and his Majesty, taking again the sceptre and hand of justice, withdrew to his apartment.*

* In an old roll in the Chamber of Accounts at Paris is a state-

of veal; 2474 lbs. of mutton; 20 quarters of house-lamb; 20 legs of house-lamb; 5 saddles of lamb; 55 quarters of grass-lamb; 160 lambs' sweetbreads; 389 cow-heels; 400 calves' feet; 250 lbs. of suet; 160 geese; 720 pullets and capons; 1610 chickens; 520 hens; 1730 lbs. of bacon; 550 lbs. of lard; 912 lbs. of butter; 8400 eggs.

In the description of this banquet, the "scramble" that took place after the king's departure, by the visitors, appears to have been most unseemly. A gathering crowd of spoliators, by a simultaneous rush, in a moment surrounded the royal table. A rude hand having been thrust through the first ranks and a golden fork having been seized, this operated as a signal to all, and was followed by a general snatch. In a short time all the small portable articles were transferred into the pockets of the multitude. The lord great chamberlain, being alarmed by the confusion, returned to the hall, and by the greatest personal exertion succeeded in preventing the extension of the supposed "licensed plunder" to the more costly parts of the coronation plate. Thus the spoil which was seized was confined mainly to a few knives and forks, some gold plates, the glasses, a few spoons, and two or three of the gilt figures by which the plateau in the centre of the table had been ornamented. With great difficulty all the remainder of the plate was removed to a place of safety, and the marauders were left to the undisturbed exercise of their coronation privileges in the body of the hall. The scene which was now presented scarce admits of parallel in modern times. Those in the gallery poured down the different stairs and passages to the festive board, which was vigorously attacked. In a few moments every bottle was emptied of its contents, and fresh supplies obtained. In solids the work of devastation was equally fierce; sweetmeats, pastry, and confectionery of every kind vanished like lightning. Arms were everywhere seen stretched forward, breaking and destroying the table ornaments as trophies; thus baskets, flower-pots, vases, and figures were everywhere disappearing, and these were followed by spoons, plates, dishes, etc. These last were of pewter, engraved with the royal arms and the letters "Geo. IV.," and were therefore greatly coveted.*

* The late Mr. Edmund Lenthall Swifte, writing to the editor of *Notes and Queries*, observes, "The appearance of Queen Caroline at his coronation was forbidden by George IV. I was told by Sir Thomas Mash that the report of her object having been partly accomplished had so agitated his Majesty that, had not a glass of brandy been at hand, he could not have gone through the royal solemnity. My own responsible office gave me occasion to know that certain articles of plate, and accessories of the coronation banquet, had been appropriated by persons whose loyal feelings had made them desirous to possess memorials of that event; one lady had been seen pocketing a spoon, and declined its restoration, which being insisted on, she exclaimed—compulsion being also hinted at—'Man, lay a finger on me, and I will scream my heart out!' Aware of the consequence of any alarm, the attendant suffered her to carry off her booty."

A similarly disgraceful scene occurred at the coronation banquet of George I. When the waiters came to collect the various objects of the feast, plates, knives, forks, viands, table-cloths, had all nearly disappeared. A great outcry arose, and the rogues were "commanded," in public advertisements, to make restitution, or dreadful penalties would follow; but they seem to have kept all they had purloined, and to have escaped detection.

CORONATION CUP.—An interesting relic of the past is in the possession of Mr. J. L. Bonython, of Adelaide, South Australia, a lineal descendant of the De Bonythons, an ancient family formerly flourishing in Cornwall. The flagon, which has been out of the family for twenty years, and at length recovered, is in good preservation, and the quaint designs, arabesques, and armorial devices upon it are clearly defined. The date 1598 is in raised figures over the central compartment. It is of brown stoneware, probably of Dutch manufacture, and on the body of the cup are three oval medallions, filled with armorial devices. On the central medallion the double imperial eagle is displayed, surmounted by a crown, the shield having as supporters, on either side, coroneted lions in arabesque; the neck band is ornamented with scroll-work in relief, and lower down, on the shoulders of the jug, are scroll patterns in compartments. A label is attached to the handles of the flagon, with the following inscription: "Date of this jug, 1598. It was used at the coronation banquet of James I. and VI. of Scotland, by one of the Bonython family, who officiated at the banquet."

It is believed to have been the property of John Bonython, who was elected a member of Parliament several years before the date of the jug, and had evidently been carefully treasured by its former possessors.

PRICES OF SEATS AT CORONATIONS.—From the works of Stow, Speed, and others, it appears that the price of a good place at the coronation of the Conqueror was a *blank*, and probably the same as that of his son and successor, William Rufus; at that of Henry I. it was a *crocard*, and at King Stephen's and Henry II.'s a *pollard*; at King Richard's and King John's it was a *fuskin*, and rose at Henry III. to a *dodkin*. In the reign of Edward I., the coins begin to be more intelligible,* and we find that for seeing his coronation, a Q was given, or the half of a *ferling*, or farthing, which was the fourth part of a *sterling*, or penny. At the coronation of Edward II. it was a farthing, and at that of Edward III. a half-penny, which was very generally given. In the reign of Richard II. it was a penny, and continued the same at that of Henry IV. At the coronation of Henry V. it was two pennies, or the half of a *grossus*, or groat, and the same at that of Henry VI., and of Edward

* The coins here mentioned were a sort of base money of the lowest value, which was, at one time, imported into England, with many other pieces equally rude in their names. Most of them, however, were prohibited by statute 3 Henry V.

IV., nor do we find it raised at the coronation of Richard III. or of Henry VII. At that of Henry VIII. it was the whole groat, or *grossus*, nor was the price altered at those of Edward VI. and Queen Mary; but at Queen Elizabeth's it was a *teston*, or *tester*, sixpence. At those of James I. and Charles I. a shilling was given, which sum was advanced to half a crown at the coronation of Charles II. and James II. At King William and Queen Anne's it was a crown, and at George I.'s the show was seen by many at that price. At George II.'s some gave half a guinea. Large sums were given at the coronation of George III. In a letter from a gentleman in London (Bonnell Thornton) to his friend in the country, he mentions "having had a fine view of the procession out of doors from a one pair of stairs room, which your neighbour, Sir Edward, had hired at the small price of one hundred guineas." The front seats in the galleries of Westminster Abbey were let at ten guineas each, and those in houses along the procession at no less prices. The terms in ordinary houses were from one guinea to five, so that a small house in Coronation Row, after the scaffolding was paid for, cleared £700, and some large houses upwards of £1000. In the "Coronation Theatres," as they were called, which were large temporary erections, containing twelve hundred to fifteen hundred seats, the prices asked were enormous.

Among some curious advertisements which appeared in the public prints of 1761, relative to the coronation of George III., is the following:—"To be Lett, for the Coronation, a whole House in New-Palace Yard, which has a full view of the Champion and Procession, with Beds in it, and all other conveniences, to bring their own servants for their attendance; or it may be divided for separate companies; not less than twelve in each, all to be within doors."

At the coronation of George IV. a great number of pavilions were erected along the whole line of the procession; the prices varied from two to five guineas for a single seat.

The inauguration of William IV. and Queen Adelaide was of a far more simple character, unattended with the pomp and display of the preceding coronation, but the prices to view the procession were high.

The arrangements for spectators at the coronation of Queen Victoria were admirably made, especially the erections on the vacant ground contiguous to the abbey, where an immense number of persons were seated at from ten to thirty shillings each. In the galleries erected in front of Westminster Hospital, seven hundred seats were let at one guinea each, and many of these were afterwards disposed of at two guineas premium.

ROYAL EFFIGIES IN WAX.—The waxwork exhibition in Westminster Abbey, or the "Play of the Dead Volks," as the common people called it, was discontinued in 1839. The exhibition originated in the old custom of making a lively effigy in wax of the deceased—a part of the funeral procession of every great person—and of leaving the effigy over the grave, as a kind of temporary monument. Some of these effigies were executed at great cost and with considerable skill. The effigy of

La Belle Stuart, one of the last that was set up, was the work of a Mrs. Goldsmith. This kind of exhibition was found so profitable to the dean and chapter, that they manufactured effigies to add to the popularity of their series.

From a passage in a rhyming account of the tombs in Westminster Abbey in "The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence" (1658), it would appear that, at that time, the following were the waxen figures exhibited in the presses:—

"Henry the Seventh, and his fair Queen,
Edward the First and his Queen;
Henry the Fifth here stands upright,
And his fair Queen was this Queen.

"The noble Prince, Prince Henry
King James's eldest son;
King James, Queen Anne, Queen Elizabeth
And so this Chapel's done."

Peacham, in his "Worth of a Penny," enumerating what the simple value of a penny will effect, says, "For a penny you may hear a most eloquent oration upon our English kings and queens, if keeping your hands off, you seriously listen to him who keeps the monuments at Westminster."

In Tom Brown's "Walk through London and Westminster" (1708) we have an amusing notice of the royal waxen figures: "And so we went to see the ruins of majesty in the women [*sic*: waxen?] figures placed there by authority. As soon as we had ascended half a score stone steps in a dirty cobweb hole, and in old wormeaten presses, whose doors flew open at our approach, here stood *Edward the Third* as they told us; which was a broken piece of waxwork, a batter'd head, and a straw-stuff'd body, not one quarter covered with rags; his beautiful Queen stood by, not better in repair; and so to the number of *half a score* Kings and Queens, not near so good figures as the King of the Beggars make, and all the begging crew would be ashamed of the company. Their rear was brought up with good Queen Bess, with the remnants of an old dirty ruff, and nothing else to cover her."

It was customary, after the exhibition of the figures, to send round what was called the "cap of General Monk" for contributions. The reader will remember the "Ingoldsby Legends":—

"I thought on Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester's crowning fight,
When on my ear a sound there fell, it fill'd me with affright;
As thus, in low unearthly tones, I heard a voice begin—
'This here's the cap of General Monk! Sir, please put summut in.'"

In Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" the cap is thus alluded to: "Our conductor led us through several dark walks and winding ways, uttering lies, talking to himself, and flourishing a wand which he held in his hand. He reminded me of the black magicians of Kobi. After we had been almost fatigued with a variety of objects, he, at last, desired me to consider attentively a certain suit of armour which

seemed to shew nothing remarkable. 'This armour,' said he, 'belonged to General Monk.'—Very surprising that a general should wear armour!—'And, pray,' added he, 'observe this cap; this is General Monk's cap.'—Very strange, indeed, very strange that a general should have a cap also!—'Pray, friend, what might this cap have cost originally?' 'That, sir,' says he, 'I don't know; but this cap is all the wages I have for my trouble.'

In Pope's "Life of Seth Ward" (1697) we read: "Another time he [Dr. Barrow] preached at the Abbey on a holiday. Here I must inform the Reader that it is a custom for the servants of the church, upon all Holidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the Sermon and Evening prayers, to shew the Tombs and Effigies of the Kings and Queens in Wax, to the meaner sort of people, who then flock thither from all the corners of the town, and pay their two pence to see The Play of the Dead Volks, as I have heard a Devonshire Clown most improperly call it. These perceiving Dr. Barrow in the pulpit after the hour was past, and fearing to lose that time in hearing which they thought they could more profitably employ in receiving—these, I say, became impatient, and caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over playing till they had blow'd him up."

In the "Historical Account of the Curiosities of London and Westminster" (1763) we have a statement of the condition of these effigies, which were then kept (as they are now) in the Chapel of Islip, or St. John the Baptist, in Westminster Abbey. These were in two large wainscot presses, but were in a sad, mangled condition; some stripped, and others in tattered robes, but all maimed and broken. The most ancient were the least injured. The robes of Edward VI., which were of crimson velvet, and appeared like leather, were left entire; but those of Queen Elizabeth and James I. were entirely stripped, as were all the rest, of everything of value.

Horace Walpole observes that in his time the mangled and worn-out effigies were called the "ragged regiment."

Donne, in his "Satires," alludes to the kingly "shows" at Westminster:—

"He, like to a high-stretcht lute-string squeak'd, 'O, Sir,
'Tis sweet to talk of Kings' At Westminster,'
Said I, 'the man that keepe's the Abbey tombes
And for his price doth, with whoever comes,
Of all our Harries and our Edwards talke
From King to King and all their Kin can walke:
Your ears shall hear nought but Kings; your eyes meet
Kings only; the way to it is King Street.'"

The most interesting of the eleven existing figures is that of Elizabeth, a restoration by the chapter in 1760 of the original figure carried at her funeral, which had fallen to pieces a few years before. She looks half-witch and half-ghoul. Her weird old head is crowned by a diadem, and she wears the huge ruff, laden with a century of dust, the long stomacher covered with jewels, the velvet robe em-

broidered with gold' and supported on paniers, and the pointed high-heeled shoes with rosettes, familiar from her pictures.

Next in point of date of the royal effigies is that of Charles II., robed in red velvet, with lace collars and ruffles. It long stood over his grave in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and served as his monument. By his side once stood the now ruined effigy of General Monk, dressed in armour. Mary II. and William III. stand together in an oblong case on either side of a pedestal. Mary, who died at thirty-two, is a large woman, nearly six feet high. The effigy was cast from her dead face. She wears a purple-velvet bodice, three brooches of diamonds decorate her breast, and she has pearl earrings and a pearl necklace *à la Sévigné*. William III. is represented much shorter than his wife, which was the case.* Next comes the figure of Anne, fat, with hair flowing on her shoulders, wearing the crown and holding the orb and sceptre. This figure, which was carried on her coffin, is still the only sepulchral memorial to this great queen-regnant.

At the ceremony of lying in state in Somerset House, at the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, a waxen image of the Protector was placed on a richly adorned bed. The robes were of purple and crimson velvet, ornamented with ermine and lace of gold. To the side of the effigy was affixed a splendid sword, and in one hand was a sceptre, and in the other a globe. A cap of ermine and purple velvet covered the head. On a high stool of gold tissue lay *an imperial crown*, and near it a suit of complete armour. At the feet of the figure was seen the crest of the deceased. After a few weeks the aspect of the ceremony was somewhat altered. The effigy was removed to another and not less splendid apartment, where, instead of being placed in a recumbent posture as before, the waxen figure was made to stand on a raised dais, and under a canopy of state. The ornaments and devices were nearly the same, and, with the exception of the cap being exchanged for a crown, the figure was robed as before. The Protector, in this stage of his apotheosis, was intended to be represented in a state of glory, and the light was so concentrated as to form a celestial halo round his effigy. Ludlow says, "This folly and profusion so far provoked the people that they threw dirt in the night on the escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset House."

On the day of the funeral, the waxen figure was carried in procession, by two gentlemen who had belonged to the household of the late Protector, to a splendid hearse, or chariot, which had been constructed for its reception. The figure was again habited in the robes

* Michelet, in his "Louis XIV.," describes the waxen effigy of William III., more from imagination than fact: "La forte bonne figure en cire de Guillaume III., qui est en Westminster, le montre au vrai. Il est en pied comme il fut, mesquin, jaune, mi-Français par l'habit rubané de Louis XIV., mi-Anglais de flêgme apparent être a sang froid, que pousse certaine fatalité mauvaise."

of royalty, with a crown on its head, and the globe and sceptre in its hands. The hearse, which was open, was adorned with plumes and escutcheons, and drawn by six horses in trappings of black velvet. At the head and feet of the effigy were placed two seats, on each of which sat a gentleman of the bed-chamber. At the west entrance to Westminster Abbey, the effigy was carried by ten gentlemen, under a canopy of state, to the eastern end of the pile, where a magnificent couch of wax had been prepared to receive it.* Here, surrounded with plumes, escutcheons, banners, gilded armour, and other splendid devices—the whole enclosed by gilt railings and curiously wrought pillars—the waxen effigy remained until the Restoration.

The dress of the figure itself could hardly have been exceeded by the fantastic trappings of an Elizabethan fop. "The shirts of fine Holland laced," "the doublet and breeches of Spanish fashion, with great skirts," "the silk stockings, shoe-strings, and gaiters suitable," "the black Spanish-leather shoes," "the surcoat of purple velvet, richly laced with gold lace," "the rich crown," "the stones of various colours," "the cording and bosses of purple and gold," "the bands and ruffs of best Holland," and "the royal robe of purple velvet," must have suffered sadly from the damp of the grave.

The kings of France had also their waxen effigies. Mr. Cole, of Milton, upon his visit to the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris (November 22, 1765), says in his "Diary," "Mr. Walpole had been informed by M. Mariette, that in this treasury were several wax figures of some of the later Kings of France, and asked one of the monks for leave to see them, as they were not commonly shown, or much known. Accordingly, in four cupboards, above those in which the jewels, crosses, busts, and curiosities were kept, were eight rugged figures of so many monarchs of this country to Louis the Thirteenth, which must be very like, as their faces were taken off in wax immediately after their decease. The monk told us that *the great Louis the Fourteenth's face was so excessively wrinkled that it was impossible to take one off from him.*"

REGAL MONUMENTS.—In the "Report of the Sepulchral Monuments Committee" (describing the condition, etc., of existing monuments), presented to the Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty (1872), we have, under the head of "Regal Monuments," the following list of kings and queens regnant of England and Scotland:—

Edward the Confessor, died 1066, buried in Westminster Abbey: shrine of marble and mosaic, with upper parts of wood. Erected by

* The term "hearse of wax" is one of continual recurrence in the accounts of funeral pageants in old times, and is to be understood not of the material of the hearse itself, but of the candles and tapers with which it was covered.

Henry III., 1269. William II., 1100, Winchester Cathedral: stone coffin with coped top of Purbeck marble. Authenticity doubted. John, 1216, Worcester Cathedral: altar-tomb of stone, with recumbent effigy. The tomb not contemporary, though the effigy is nearly so. Henry III., 1272, Westminster Abbey: marble and mosaic altar-tomb, with recumbent effigy, brass gilt. Edward I., 1307, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb. Edward II., 1327, Gloucester Cathedral: high tomb, with canopy and recumbent effigy. Edward III., 1377, Westminster Abbey: on a marble altar-tomb, with wooden canopy, recumbent effigy in copper gilt. Richard II., 1400, Westminster Abbey: on a marble altar-tomb, with wooden canopy, recumbent effigies of himself and his queen, Anne. Henry IV., 1413, Canterbury Cathedral: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigies in alabaster, under wooden tester, with paintings of himself and his queen, Joan of Navarre. Tester much decayed. Henry V., 1422, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigy in wood, formerly plated with silver, and with silver head. Head and plates stolen in 1546. Edward IV., 1483, St. George's Chapel, Windsor. A screen of wrought and stamped iron is popularly called the tomb of King Edward IV. Edward V., 1483, Westminster Abbey: marble urn with inscription, erected by King Charles II., in 1678, on supposed discovery in the Tower of the remains of the king and of his brother, Richard, Duke of York. Henry VII., 1509, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigies in copper gilt of himself and his queen, Elizabeth of York. Mary I., 1558, Westminster Abbey: an inscription on Queen Elizabeth's monument marks the interment of Mary in the same tomb with her sister. Mary, Queen of Scots, 1587, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with canopy and recumbent effigy. Elizabeth, 1603, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with canopy and recumbent effigy.

Some of the following royal monuments are of doubtful authenticity.

Sebert, King of the East Angles, and his queen, Ethelgoda (*circa* 616), buried in Westminster Abbey: Purbeck marble sarcophagus on the site whither the remains of this king are recorded to have been translated in the reign of Edward II.

Athelstan, King of England, 941, buried in Malmesbury Abbey Church: brass plate, and inscription of much later date. The plate very possibly marks the actual site of the interment.

Ethelred II., King of England, 1016, Wimborne Minster: a brass half-length incised figure of the fourteenth century, with an inscription renewed in the seventeenth century. This plate may also represent the actual site of the interment.

Alfwold, King of Northumbria, 788, Hexham Abbey: slab of stone, six feet long, sculptured with vines and fruit.

MONUMENTS OF QUEENS CONSORT.—Eleanor of Castille, first wife of King Edward I., 1290, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigy in copper gilt, with fine contemporary ironwork. Philippa of Hainault, wife of King Edward III., 1369, Westminster

Abbey: altar-tomb of dark marble, with external arcading and tabernacle-work in alabaster, and recumbent effigy of the same. Anne of Bohemia, first wife of King Richard II., 1394, Westminster Abbey: in one tomb with King Richard II. Jean of Navarre, second wife of King Henry IV., 1437, Canterbury Cathedral: in one tomb with King Henry IV. Elizabeth of York, wife of King Henry VII., 1503, Westminster Abbey: in one tomb with King Henry VII. Katherine of Arragon, first wife of King Henry VIII., 1536, Peterborough Cathedral: flat stone with inscription. Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of King Henry VIII., 1557, Westminster Abbey: incomplete stone altar-tomb. Katharine Parr, sixth wife of King Henry VIII., 1548, Sudeley Castle chapel, Gloucestershire: canopied tomb, with recumbent effigy in white marble. The castle chapel appears to be private property; the monument has lately been erected by the owner.

PRINCES CONSORT.—No monument was erected to Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Anne. His Royal Highness was buried, 1708, in Westminster Abbey.

Albert, Prince Consort, died 1861, has a magnificent monument at Frogmore.

PARENTS OF KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND.—Edward the Black Prince, father of King Richard II., 1376, Canterbury Cathedral: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigy in brass with wooden tester. Richard, Duke of York, 1460, and Cecily Neville, his wife, 1456, parents of King Edward IV. and King Richard III., Fotheringay: high tomb of stone, erected by Queen Elizabeth in lieu of monument destroyed with the choir. Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, father of King Henry VII., 1456, St. David's Cathedral: altar-tomb of Purbeck marble, inlaid with brasses, removed from Grey Friars at Carmarthen after Dissolution. Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of King Henry VII., 1509, Westminster Abbey: marble altar-tomb, with recumbent effigy in gilt metal. Sir John Seymour, father of Queen Jane Seymour, 1536, Great Bedwyn, Wilts: altar-tomb with recumbent effigy in freestone. Sir Thomas Boleyn, K.G., Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, father of Queen Anne Boleyn, 1538, Hever, Kent: altar-tomb, with inlaid effigy in brass.

FORMULARIES OF CORONATIONS.—Besides the coronation rituals previously mentioned in the chapter on "Coronations of English Sovereigns," there is the magnificently illuminated missal, or service book, the "*Liber Regalis*," prepared in 1373, under the care of Nicolas Littleton, at that time Abbot of Westminster, and which is now in excellent preservation in the library of the abbey. It contains, among other matters, the office for the coronation of the king and queen, and that for the queen only when not crowned with the king. The "*Liber Regalis*" has been the basis of all subsequent ceremonies, and has been in the custody of the abbots and deans of Westminster from the time that it was drawn up by Abbot Littleton. A reprint of the

"*Liber Regalis*" was made in 1871 for the Roxburgh Society, by the munificence of Lord Beauchamp.*

In the library of Westminster Abbey, among many rare and curious works, are the books used at the coronations. The first two are histories: those of the coronation and "*Entertainment*" of King Charles II., by John Ogilvy; the other is Sandford's work on the coronation of James II. We then come to George III.'s reign—a book handsomely bound in red morocco and gilt, the inner sides of the covers ornamented with gold and flowers, entitled, "*The Form and Order of the Service that is to be performed, and of the ceremonies that are to be observed in the Coronation of their Majesties King George the Third, and Queen Charlotte, in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Tuesday, the 22nd of September, 1761; printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, and by the assigns of Robert Baskett, 1761.*"

In their order are the books of George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria. The last one, however, is simply stitched in black paper covers.

In the Lambeth Library are preserved the coronation services from Edward VI. to the present time. In Archbishop Secker's copy of the service of George III., used as the basis as that of George IV., the orders for the queen's appearance were significantly erased throughout. The declaration against transubstantiation was from the time of George IV. read, not in the abbey, but previously before the two Houses of Parliament.

In the Bodleian Library there is a manuscript of which it is not easy to ascertain the date. It contains a complete copy of the coronation; as the Saxon oath is in it, it must be very ancient.

There is also in the Bodleian a complete copy of the coronation service of Edward II., very similar to the former, but with some

* An interesting mention is made of the "*Liber Regalis*" in the proceedings of Council relative to the right of Queen Charlotte, as consort, to participate in the coronation of George IV. Lord (then Mr.) Brougham requested that the "*Liber Regalis*," in the possession of the Dean of Westminster, should be inspected for entries of the coronation. This being allowed, the dean was then asked by one of the Council if there were any other books containing any similar entry, to which he replied that there was no other except the great Mass Book, which contained the ceremony used on these occasions. The missal was then sent for.

It seems that a "*Collection*" out of the "*Liber Regalis*" was printed in 1821, to the number of twelve copies only, for use at the coronation of George IV., consisting of eight pages folio.

I have before me "*A Collection out of the Book called LIBER REGALIS, remaining in the Treasury of the Church of Westminster, touching the Coronation of the King and Queen together, according to the usual form,*" printed in 1661. This was for the coronation of Charles II. The pamphlet consists of twelve pages, small 4to, and is roughly printed.

additions. The oath is changed, and it also implies that the consecration was not considered a mere ceremony, but an act absolutely necessary to complete the king's authority. It also states that "the Gospel being properly read, the King shall approach the altar, and through the hands of the Metropolitan or Bishop, shall make an offer of bread and wine, in imitation of Melchizedec."

It is stated that in the library founded by Dr. Williams, in Red Cross Street, Cripplegate, were many manuscripts, which were burnt, and among them the pompous and curious book of the ceremonies of the coronation of the kings of England.

Among the valuable manuscripts in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland are—"Narratives of Coronations, Funerals, and other Ceremonies and orders of the Royal Household and Court. Paper; folio, sixteenth century." This manuscript, which was bought at Anstis's sale, contains several accounts of the royal coronations, funerals, etc., and collections of the articles and orders made for the regulation of the royal household, and for the arrangement of divers ceremonies. It was injured by fire, but has been restored as far as possible. The contents are as follows:—"Heere followeth the coronation of Kyng Richard the Thyrd and Queene Anne, the first yeare of their noble raigne"—a curious and minute description by an eyewitness.

"1st June 25 Henry VIII. The order of the ceremonye for the coronation dinner of Henry VIII. and Anna Boleyn. A list of the offices of carvers, cup-bearers, servers, &c., &c., and of the noblemen who were to fill them, down to the kitchen boilers, marshalls, and ushers; a list of the guests, and yeoman ushers."

"The Marshall's office in the ordering and drawinge of the sur-nape at the coronation of Q. Anne."

An account of the coronation of Edward IV. "Another account of the same ceremony." It ends, however, abruptly.

Among the rich manuscripts belonging to the Marquis of Bath is a folio paper: "Proporcion for the coronacion of Henry VII. at Westminster. At the palace of the Bishop of London, &c. Claims at the coronation."

In the possession of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., at Stow Hall, county Norfolk, is a vellum roll, eighteen inches long (*temp.* Henry VIII.), containing an account of the dinner in Westminster Hall on the coronation of Henry VI.

Among the curious manuscripts belonging to the Marquis of Lothian, at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, is a folio volume, paper, containing a miscellaneous collection in writing of the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. It contains, amongst other things, "The Order of the Coronation of our late kyng of famous memorye, Kyng Henrye the Eyghte, who was crowned the 23. of June 1509" (three leaves).

In the possession of W. Bromley-Davenport, Esq., M.P., is a folio volume, paper, of the seventeenth century, containing amongst other curious matters, "Forma coronacionis regum et reginarem Angliæ," beginning "Imprimis princeps noster coronandus ante diem coro-

nationis suæ nobili et decentissimo cultu appareatur, equitando a Turri Londoniensi usque ad palatium regium Westmonasterii," etc. (two leaves).

CORONATION ANTHEMS.—The celebrated anthems of Handel were produced for the coronation of George II., in 1727. These are, "Let thy hand be strengthened;" "Zadoc the Priest;" "The King shall rejoice;" "My heart is inditing." For the coronation of James II., Purcel composed, "I was glad" and "My heart is inditing;" Dr. Blow, "Behold, O Lord," and "God spake sometimes;" Dr. Child, the "Te Deum;" Henry Lawes, "Zadoc the Priest;" and Turner, "The King shall rejoice."

ANCIENT CORONATIONS AND REGALIA.—Geoffrey of Monmouth, who lived in the early part of the twelfth century, in his "*Historia Britonum*"—a work from which nearly all our great vernacular poets have drawn the materials of some of their noblest works of fiction and characters of Romance, and a production full of fables—gives the following fanciful account of the royal pomp at the CORONATION OF KING ARTHUR:—

"Upon the approach of the feast of Pentecost, Arthur resolved, during that season, to hold a magnificent court, to place the crown upon his head, and to invite all the Kings and dukes under his subjection to the solemnity. And when he had communicated his design to his familiar friends, he pitched upon [the City of] Legions as a proper place for his purpose. For besides its great wealth above the other cities, its situation, which was in Glamorganshire, upon the river Uske, near the Severn Sea, was most pleasant, and fit for so great a solemnity.

"When all were assembled together in the city, upon the day of the solemnity, the Archbishops were conducted to the palace, in order to place the crown upon the King's head. Therefore Dubricius, inasmuch as the court was kept in his diocese, made himself ready to celebrate the office, and undertook the order of everything that related to it. As soon as the King was invested in his royal habiliments, he was conducted in great pomp to the metropolitan church, supported on each side by two Archbishops, and having four Kings, viz. of Albania, Cornwall, Demetia, and Venedotia, whose right it was, bearing four golden swords before him. He was also attended with a concert of all sorts of music, which made most excellent harmony. On another part was the Queen, dressed out in her richest ornaments, conducted by the Archbishops and bishops to the Temple of Virgins; the four Queens, also, of the Kings last mentioned, bearing before her four white doves according to ancient custom; and after her there followed a retinue of women, making all imaginable demonstrations of joy. When the whole procession was ended, so transporting was the harmony of the musical instruments and voices, whereof there was a vast variety in both churches, that the knights who attended were in doubt which to prefer, and therefore crowded from one to the other by turns, and were far from being tired with the solemnity, though the whole day has been spent in it. At last, when divine service was over in both churches, the King and Queen

put off their crowns, and putting on their lighter ornaments, went to the banquet; he to one palace with the men, and she to another with the women. For the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy, by which the men and women used to celebrate their festivals apart. When they had all taken their seats according to precedence, Caius, the sewer, in rich robes of ermine, with a thousand young noblemen, all in like manner clothed in ermine, served up the dishes. From another part, Bedver, the butler, was followed with the same number of attendants, in various habits, who waited with all manner of cups and drinking vessels. In the Queen's palace were innumerable waiters, dressed with a variety of ornaments, all performing their respective offices; which, if I should describe particularly, I should draw out the history to a tedious length. . . .

"As soon as the banquets were over, they went into the fields without the city, to divert themselves with various sports. . . . In this manner were the first three days spent, and on the fourth, all who, upon account of their titles, bore any kind of office at this solemnity, were called together to receive honours and preferments in reward of their services, and to fill up the vacancies in the government of cities and castles, archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and other posts of honour."

Lydgate, in his "Fall of Princes," says—

"He [Arthur] is a King y-crowned in Faërie,
With sceptre and pall, and with his regality
Shallè resort, as lord and sovereigne
Out of Faerie, and reignè in Bretaine
And repair again, the ouldè Roundè Table."

THE ANCIENT SOVEREIGNS OF WALES.—From the laws of Howel the Good, enacted about 950, we learn the duties and privileges of the twenty-four officers of the king's palace; sixteen of whom were attached to the person of the king, and eight to that of the queen. They were the master of the household, domestic chaplain, steward of the household, judge of the palace, falconer, chief groom, chief huntsman, steward of the household to the queen, queen's chaplain, domestic bard, crier, doorkeeper of the hall, doorkeeper of the chamber, page of the chamber, chambermaid, groom of the rein, torch-bearer, butler, mead brewer, officers of the palace, cook, foot-holder, physician, groom of the rein to the queen.

About the year 500 the Welsh were so rude and unpolished that there was a necessity for making a law "that none of the courtiers should give the Queen a blow, or snatch anything with violence out of her hand, under the penalty of forfeiting her Majesty's protection."

In the year 574, Aidan, the son of Gauran, became, on the death of Conal, KING OF THE BRITISH SCOTS, and it is mentioned as a proof of the general veneration in which St. Colomba was then held, as well by sovereigns as by the clergy and the people, that he was the person selected to perform the ceremony of the inauguration on the accession

of the new king. Colomba, it appears, was unwilling to act on this occasion, but an angel, as his biographers say, appeared to him during the night, holding a book, called "The Glass Book of the Ordination of Kings," which he put into the hands of the saint, and ordered him to ordain Aidan king, according to the directions of that book. This "Liber Vitreus" is supposed to have been so called from having its cover encrusted with glass or crystal.

It is rather remarkable that Martene refers to this inauguration of Aidan by St. Colomba, as the most ancient instance he had met with, in the course of his reading, of the benediction of kings in Christian times: "Quorum (regum) benedictio haud minoris antiquitatis est quam imperatorum. Antiquissima omnium quas inter legendum mihi reperire licuit, ea est quæ à Columba Abbate Hiensi facta est, jussu Angeli, in Aidanum Scotocorum regem" ("De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.," lib. ii. cap. 10).

It is stated in the introduction to the Roxburghe Club edition of the "Liber Regalis" (1871) that "the earliest coronation of a Christian prince within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland is generally supposed to be that of Dermot or Diarmid, supreme monarch of Ireland, by his relative, Columba" (*circa* 560), but this is merely an inference from the close relation between the two parties, not an ascertained historical fact.

It is said, on the authority of tradition only, that Donchad, son of the Irish king, Brian Borhu (assassinated 1014), went, in the year 1064, to Rome, carrying with him the crown, harp, and other regalia of Brian Borhu, which he laid at the feet of the pope. These regalia were, it is said, deposited in the Vatican till the reign of Henry VIII., when the pope sent the harp to that monarch, with the title of "Defender of the Faith," but kept the crown, which was of massive gold.* Setting no value on the harp, Henry gave it to the first Earl of Clanrickard, in whose family it remained until the beginning of the present century, when it came, by a lady of the De Burgh family, into that of Mac Mahon, of Clenagh, in the county of Clare. In 1782 it was presented to the Right Hon. William Conynham, who deposited it in the museum of Trinity College. There is a tolerably full list in the earlier editions of Haydn of the Irish kings from Hereinon (B.C. 1300) to Roderick O'Connor (A.D. 1168-1172), the last of the kings before Ireland was given to the Norman king of England, Henry II., by Pope Adrian.

* Whether the kings of Ireland wore any sort of crown whatever has been a matter of doubt with antiquarians. In the preface to Keating's "History" there is an account given of a golden cap, supposed to be a provincial crown, which was found in 1692 in the county of Tipperary. "This cap, or crown, it is said, weighs about five ounces; the border and the head is raised in chased work, and it seems to bear some resemblance to the close crown of the Eastern Empire, which was composed of the helmet, together with the diadem, as Selden observes in his 'Titles of Honour.'"

Giraldus Cambrensis ("Topog. Hibern.," iii. 25) has a story which has been vehemently denied by writers upon Celtic history, but is supported by independent testimony from the chronicles of the Pictish kingdom. The story is generally told as if it must necessarily relate to the great family of the "Hy Nyall," whose kings were crowned at Tara. But Giraldus only said that in one part of their dominions was a nation which practised a barbarous rite in their mode of electing a king. A white mare, or a cow by another account, was sacrificed in the midst of the people; the candidate was forced to crawl in on all-fours, and to lap the broth and taste the flesh, with several degrading ceremonies.

That some similar practice long remained among the Picts is known from the words of a contemporary chronicler; for David I. of Scotland, who led the Scottish and Pictish forces to the Battle of the Standard (A.D. 1153), was said to have been so disgusted at the customary rites of subservience, that the bishops could hardly persuade him to accept the kingly office.

Selden remarks that "when King Richard II., in 1395, made a royal tour in Ireland, he was met in Dublin by the four provincial kings, whom he intended knighting; but they declined this compliment, each having received that honour from his father at seven years old."

Some scanty notices are recorded in history regarding the inauguration ceremonies of the ancient KINGS OF SCOTLAND. Thus we read that in 1249 Alexander II., while on his way to chastise Angus, the Lord of Argyle, for refusing him homage, died, and according to the customs of the times his son, Alexander III., then a boy only in his eighth year, was seated on the royal chair, or sacred stone of Scone, which stood before the cross in the eastern division of the chapel. Immediately before his inauguration the Bishop of St. Andrews knighted him by girding him with the belt of knighthood, and explained to him, first in Latin, then in Norman French, the nature of the compact he and his subjects were about to enter into. The crown, after the king had been seated, was placed on his head, and the sceptre in his hand. He was then covered with the royal mantle, and received the homage of the nobles on their knees, who, in token of submission, threw their robes beneath his feet. On this occasion, agreeably to ancient practice, a Gaelic sennachie, or bard, clothed in a red mantle, and venerable for his great age and hoary locks, approached the king, and in a bended and reverential attitude recited from memory in his native language the genealogy of all the Scottish kings, deducing the descent of the youthful monarch from Gathetus, the fabulous founder of the nation. The bard, after pronouncing a blessing in his native tongue, was dismissed with handsome presents.

In former times the island of Islay (Western Islands of Scotland) formed an important part of the possessions of the MacDonalds, Lords of the Isles, who were accustomed to be crowned as independent

sovereigns by the bishops of Argyle, at a place pointed out in Islay. On these occasions the insular lords stood upon a large square stone, in which were hollows to receive their feet, and which still exists for the gratification of the antiquarian inquirer. The stone was seven feet square, and the MacDonald was crowned King of the Isles standing on this stone, and swearing that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do equal justice to all his subjects, and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The Bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him king in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the isles and continent, and were his vassals; at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors, etc.

CORONATION MEDALS.—The first medal coined in England distinct from money was that of Henry VIII., on his taking the title of "Head of the Church under Christ;" *Caput supremum, Londini, 1545*, which is expressed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Small figures of a rose, harp, fleur-de-lys, and portcluse, each crowned, are introduced. The king is represented in a furred robe or gown; on his shoulders a collar of rubies, and on his head the bonnet usually portrayed as worn by him.

This legend was perpetuated in like manner under Edward VI., whose medallion (the *first coronation medal*) in silver represents the youthful prince, half length, in armour—in his right hand a sword; in his left, the orb and cross. The diadem is on his head, and the legend gives the date of the coronation, and his age, ten. From the word "Lambhith" above the inscription, on the reverse, it is believed to have been struck in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth by his Grace's coiners, usually employed at his mint in Canterbury. It is of great rarity, and in some distinguished cabinets the absence of the original is supplied by casts in silver most delicately tooled and chased. These chasings, from their beautiful effect, are highly valued.

Mary I. had no coronation medal. The gold sovereigns of this queen, weighing two hundred and forty grains each, were scattered at her inauguration. On their obverse Mary is represented in her regalia, seated on her throne. On the reverse, a full-blown rose; in the centre of the expanded flower are the arms of England with motto, *A Dno factum est istud et est mira in oculis nostris* ("It is the work of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes").

There is no coronation medal of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I., caused a small silver medal to be thrown among the spectators at his coronation. On the obverse is his bust clad in armour, the head laureated, looking to his left, with name and title: *Jac: I. Brit: Cæ: Aug: Hæ: Cæsarum, D.D.* ("James the First of Britain, *Cæsar Augustus*, Cæsar, heir of Cæsars, by the gift of God"). This medalet is prettily engraved. On the reverse is a lion rampant, crowned, bearing in his right paw a beacon with fire, and in his left a wheat-sheaf, with the modest legend, *Ecce phaos populiqve salus* ("Behold the beacon and health of the people").

Charles I. ordered two medals to be engraved by Briot, firstly, on

his coronation in England, and secondly, in Scotland. On the former is seen the bust of the king in his coronation robe, decorated with the collar of the Garter, his neck encircled with a ruff, and on his head the diadem; the face towards his left, surrounded by name and title. On the reverse an arm with gauntlet and sword issuing from a cloud; the legend—*Donec pax reddita terris* ("Till peace be restored to the earth"), Charles being, at this time at war with Spain. In the exergue—*coron. Feby. 2, 1626.*

The Scottish coronation medal represents the bust of the king, splendidly habited, with lace collar. The bust is adorned with the order of the Thistle as well as the Garter, the former taking precedence, the head surmounted by a crown different in form from the one on the English medal; the whole encircled with name, etc., as King of Scotland and England, in this instance unlike the legend on the other, where he is styled King of Great Britain. On the reverse is a thistle; the inscription—*Hinc nostræ crevere rosæ* ("Hence our roses have grown"). Some few of these medals were struck in gold found in that country. In the exergue—*Coron. Junii. 18. 1633. B.* This medal was struck at Edinburgh, and is remarkable as being the first made in Britain with a legend on the edge. Specimens of this medal in gold are very scarce.*

Charles II.'s medal recording his coronation on New Year's Day, 1652, at Scone, in Scotland, is now very scarce. On the obverse is the bust robed, and decorated with the collar of the Garter; the face, rather youthful, is turned to the left, with name and title, in addition to which is. *Coron. Scon. 1651.* On the reverse, a lion rampant, bearing a thistle with three heads; inscription *Nemo : me : impune : lacesset* ("No one shall injure me with impunity.") This piece is of inferior work.

Ten years afterwards, on his restoration, a small but finely executed medal was distributed when the same ceremony took place in England; it is from the graver of Thomas Simon (to whom also the medals of the Commonwealth are due). The obverse has his bust in his coronation robe, with the collar of the order of the Garter, the George pendant, the diadem on his head, and the whole encircled with his name and style. The portrait of the sovereign is splendid. On the reverse the king is seated, an angel crowning him; the legend—*Everso : missus : succurrere seculo : xxiii. April 1661* ("Sent to restore a fallen age," 23 April, 1651).

Another medal, rather larger, was struck, the obverse of which presents a bust of Charles as before, but looking the opposite way,

* Oliver Cromwell would doubtless have been delighted with the chance of striking a coronation medal, but, however desirable, the experiment was too hazardous; still he reigned more feared under his assumed title of Protector of the Liberties of England, than the majority of our legitimate monarchs. We find none struck on his investiture.

with name, etc., and the addition of the word *Coronatus* under the bust. On the reverse the figure of the king as a shepherd amidst a flock of sheep; the legend—*Dixi custodiam* ("I have said that I will keep them," 23 April, 1661).

The coronation medal of James II. was engraved by George Bower. Obverse, the bust of the sovereign, the head laureated, and with name, etc. On the reverse, a splendid antique chair, on which is placed the British crown; beside the chair the figure of an angel, bearing in the right hand a flaming sword, and in the left a branch; legend—*Tutamen ab alto* ("Protection from on high"). This medal is very rare.

The coronation of William III. and Queen Mary was the subject of many medals, some of which were made to be thrown amongst the people on the day of the solemnity; others to be given to persons who assisted in the solemnity; and, lastly, others were struck, as well in England, the United Provinces, as elsewhere, either in remembrance of the day, or to the praise of the king and queen. The first was distributed to such persons as by the duties of their offices were obliged to assist at the coronation. It has on one side the busts of the king and queen, with this legend: *Gulielmus et Maria: Rex et Regina*. On the other, Phaeton struck with thunder by Jupiter, with this inscription: *Ne Totus Absumatur* ("Lest the world should be destroyed"). The day of the coronation is in the exergue mentioned according to the old style, *Inaugurati 11. Aprilis 1689*.

The second coronation medal has busts of the king and queen crowned with laurel, with this inscription, *Gulielmus et Maria, Rex et Regina Britannia*. The reverse represents England under the figure of a woman sitting upon the poop of a ship, under the shade of an orange and a rose tree, whose interwoven trunks go through a crown. She embraces a horn of plenty; in her left hand she holds a pike, at the end of which is a cap of liberty; and in the right a cross and balance, the symbols of liberty restored to religion and the laws. Round it is this verse, *Aurea Florigeris Duccrescunt Poma Rosetis* ("And golden fruit with roses grow")—an allusion to the establishment of the house of Orange in England, where the white and red roses were formerly used in the devices of the royal family. The legend of the exergue is, *Securitas Britannia Restituta*, 1689 ("The security of Great Britain restored, 1689").

The third coronation medal has the same busts, with this different legend: *Guilielmus et Maria, Dei Gratia, Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Rex et Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c.* ("William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, etc"). Reverse, Andromeda fastened to a rock; the legend taken from Ovid, "Metam.," l. iv. ver. 739—*Pretiumque et Causa Laboris* 1689 ("The reward and cause of the enterprise").

The fourth coronation medal has the same busts, with this legend: *Gulielmus Et Maria, Dei Gratia, Angliae, Franciae, Et Hiberniae Rex Et Regina, Fidei Defensores*. Reverse: the statue of the king, dressed

after the Roman manner, and crowned with laurel, holding a sword in one hand and a sceptre in the other. It is raised on a pedestal, on which are these words, *Ære Perennius* ("More durable than brass"). On one side of the medal is Time, and on the other History, with these words round the medal, *Cælo Dilabitur Alto* ("He comes from heaven").

The fifth coronation medal has busts crowned with laurel, and the inscription, *Gulielmus Rex, Maria Regina, Fidei Defensores, Pii. Augusti* ("King William and Queen Mary, Defenders of the Faith: pious, august." Reverse: a heap of church ornaments used by the Papists; a yoke, the symbol of slavery, and some serpents, half hid, are consumed by the fire of heaven. These words are round the top of the medal, from Virgil, *Hæc Summa Dies* ("This is their last day"), that is, for popery and slavery. The date alluded to is in the exergue: *Inauguratis Majestatibus* $\frac{1}{21}$ *Aprilis* 1689.

The sixth medal has a bust of the king, *Gulielmus III., Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britannicæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex*, 1689. Reverse: a terrestrial globe floating on the sea, of which the part containing England is illuminated by the sun; *Cætera Lustrabit* ("He will visit the rest"), that is, he will diffuse his salutary influence over the rest of the earth, as he diffused it over England by his coronation. In the exergue, *Coronatione Invicti Wilhelmi Henrici, Libertatis vindicis* ("By the coronation of the invaluable William Henry, the asserter of liberty."

The seventh medal has busts of the king and queen, with these different titles—*Gulielmus Et Maria, Dei Gratia, Britannorum Rex Et Regina, Fidei Defensores*. Reverse: an eagle throwing out those of her young that cannot look fixedly upon the sun, which is seen on the top of the medal. The words round it are, *Non Patitur Supposititios* ("She dares not suffer a spurious issue"). In the exergue, *Jure Regni Vindicato* MDCLXXXIX. ("The right of the kingdom asserted, 1689").

The eighth medal has the busts of the king and queen, each upon a separate circle, or festoon, formed by branches of the orange and rose trees. They are fastened together by a cordon, and over them are four sceptres and a crown, above which appears an eye surrounded with rays of light, the symbol of divine Providence. Legend, *Aurea Poma Mixta Rosis* ("Golden fruits mixed with roses"). The busts are supported on the cap of liberty, placed upon the book with the seven seals, sustained by another book, upon the leaves of which is this inscription, *Leges Angliæ* ("The laws of England"). The whole is supported by two horns of plenty, out of one of which issues crowns and branches of laurels, and out of the other fruits. A little higher is the legend *Salus Regni* ("The safety of the State"), and *Felicitas Publica* ("Public happiness"). The latter is in the exergue: *Defensores Fidei Angliæ, Wilhelmus Henricus Et Maria, Magnæ Britannicæ Reges* ("Defenders of the Faith of England, William Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Great Britain"). Reverse: an old oak, rooted up and thrown down, and a flourishing orange-tree planted in its stead;

Meliorem Lapsa Locavit ("Its place is filled by a better"). In the exergue, *Inauguratione Majestatem Peracta Londini 11. Aprilis 1689* ("Their Majesties crowned in London, April 11, 1689").

The ninth medal has busts of the king and queen: *Gulielmus Et Maria, Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britannicæ, Franciæ Et Hiberniæ, Rex Et Regina* ("William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland"). Reverse: the port of Torbay seen at a distance. The word "Britannia" is inscribed on the top of the medal. Below is the Belgic lion crowned, holding a bundle of seven arrows and a sword passed through a crown. He supports his right paw behind upon a Bible, and with the left he crushes a serpent. Beside the lion is a crown thrown down, and round the medal, *In Tactiōnem Religionis Protestantium* ("For the defence of the Protestant religion").

The tenth medal was given to the persons who assisted in the ceremony of the coronation. The busts of the king and queen are on one side, with the legend, *Gulielmus Et Maria, Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britannicæ, Franciæ, Et Hiberniæ, Rex Et Regina*. Reverse: the king and queen sitting on a throne, with sceptres in their hands, and two English bishops supporting a royal crown over their heads; legend, *Idolatria Servitutēq. Profligatis: Religione, Legibus Libertateque Restitutis* 1689 ("Idolatry and slavery put to flight; religion, laws, and liberty restored, 1689").

The eleventh medal has busts of the king and queen facing each other, with these words over them: *Majus Par Nobile Sceptris* ("Sceptres are less great than this illustrious pair"). In the exergue, *Gulielmus Henricus Et Maria, Principes Auranicæ, Magnæ Britannicæ Reges*. 1689. Reverse: England, under the emblem of a woman crowned and magnificently dressed, embraces a female warrior, symbolizing the aid of the Dutch. She bears on her shield the arms of the prince, surrounded with the collar and device of the order of the Garter. On the side of England are her arms and a pillar, on which is the cap of liberty. The Dutch fleet is seen at a distance. Legend, *Magna Britannia Expeditione Navali Batavorum Liberata, Restituta, Asserta* ("Great Britain delivered, reinstated, and secured by the naval expedition of the Dutch").

The twelfth medal has busts of the king and queen. On the reverse are the arms of both, with a royal crown over them, fastened to two sceptres across each other, with this legend on the two sides, *Gulielmus Et Maria, Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britannicæ, Franciæ Et Hiberniæ Rex Et Regina, Princeps Auranicæ Et Nassaviæ Huicque Terræ Letitia* ("William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Prince and Princess of Orange and Nassau, the delight of these realms").

The coronation medal of Queen Anne was the work of John Croker. On the obverse a bust of her Majesty, with drapery, the hair encircled with a fillet, and without any ornament, the legend bearing the name and title. The reverse represents Pallas darting a thunderbolt at a two-headed monster, the body covered with scales, from which, as at

her feet, issue serpents; the inscription, *Vicem gerit illa tonantis* ("She bears the office of the thunderer"). In the exergue, *Inaugurat. XXII April MDCCL.**

Another medal represents a heart crowned in the middle of a garland, around which is the inscription, "Entirely English."† In the rim, *Atavis Regibus* ("From a race of Kings") (Hor., lib. i. od. 1). Exergue, *Inaugurat XXII April MDCCL.*

The coronation medal of George I. was the work of Croker. On the obverse is the bust of the sovereign in armour, over which is the toga, the head laureated, and the hair in long flowing curls. This medal is of very fine work, the portrait very like, and much higher in relief than the medals of either of the king's two immediate predecessors. The reverse exhibits the king gorgeously attired, with the collar of the Garter, and seated in an antique chair, Britannia placing on his head his newly acquired diadem. There is no legend. On the exergue is, *Inaugurat XX Oct. MDCCXIII.*

An extraordinary coronation medal of this monarch, being upwards of five inches in diameter and of great weight, was engraved in Hanover by Shelandier, having the sovereign's bust on the obverse, the name and title formed by animals and emblems. The reverse represents the king at full length, and crowned by an angel from above. He is accompanied by the figures of Justice, Britannia, etc. This medal is of white metal and of extreme rarity.

Another, by Hannibal, struck likewise abroad, has the bust of the king on the obverse. On the reverse he is pourtrayed as attended by the figure of Liberty, who is crowning him with laurel, while a female at his feet, intended to represent Britannia, is offering to him the crown. She is accompanied by Piety, who is on his right hand. The legend, *Princ. opt. religionis et libertatis custodi.* In the exergue, *Publica auctoritate proclamato Aug. anno MDCCXIII.* ("Our excellent prince proclaimed by public authority the guardian of religion and liberty").

* In the *Postman* (April 4, 1702) it is stated, "We hear that the Queen had lately her picture drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in order to engrave an impress by, for the coronation medals and coin."

This portrait is inserted into the panels of the gallery of St. George at Windsor Castle. It is a fine specimen of Kneller's genius.

In another paper of the same time (the *Postboy*, No. 1077) is the following news:—"We hear there is struck to the value of £12,000 or more, in coronation medals of 50s. apiece, to be distributed in Westminster Hall among those of quality."

† This is derived from the speech of Queen Anne on the first opening of Parliament, which she thus concluded: "As I know my own heart to be *entirely English*, I can very sincerely assure you that there is not anything you can expect, or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England, and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."

The coronation medal of George II., also by Croker (the chief engraver at the Mint), is of high relief, the head laureated, and the hair long and flowing; the bust in armour with the toga, the name, etc., in the legend. The king is seated in St. Edward's chair, a female standing before him, who, leaning against what appears to be intended for the *fascies*, with her right hand places the diadem on his head, supporting on her left arm a cornucopia; the inscription, *Volentes per populos* ("By the wishes of the people"). In the exergue, *Coron. XI Octob. MDCCXXVII.*

The medal of Queen Caroline, consort of George II., represents, on the obverse, a fine bust of her Majesty, with drapery, her hair ornamented with pearls. On the reverse are three figures; that in the centre intended for the queen, the figure on her right hand Religion or Piety, and the other on her left Britannia, with legend, *Hic amor, hæc patria* ("This is my love, this is my country"). In the exergue, *Coron. 11. Octob. MDCCXXVII.*

The inauguration medals of George III. and Queen Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz were the work of Lawrence Natter. The king is represented as clothed in armour, with the ribbon of the Garter, laureated, and with a very youthful countenance, the legend having his name, etc. On the reverse Britannia is seen crowning the king, who is habited as a Roman commander and seated beside the British lion, with the orb of sovereignty in his paws; the legend, *Patriæ ovanti* ("To our exulting country"). In the exergue, *Coron. 22 Sept. 1761.*

The head of Queen Charlotte on her coronation medal partakes of the same character as the last, fidelity of portrait, but coarse work. The queen is elegantly attired, with a string of pearls interwoven in the hair. On the top is an ornament likewise set with pearls, and surrounded as usual with name and title. The reverse presents a tall, ungainly figure, intended for her Majesty, standing by an altar, while a winged Victory is crowning her; the inscription, "*Quæsitum meritis*" ("Sought for by merit"). In the exergue, "*Coron. 22 Sept. 1761.*" Some are found having the bust of the king on one side, and that of the queen on the other.

The coronation medal of George IV., by Pistrucci, "has," observes Till, "its beauties and defects. The laureated head of the king, on the obverse, has no similitude to that of his late Majesty; it is without bust, and the hair to one unaccustomed to the frequent observance of medallic engraving, would look beautiful, but it is too wiry; each hair is, as it were, too much defined; the head is surrounded by the legend, indicating name and title." On the reverse is portrayed a splendid figure of the king, seated and habited in the Roman costume, having the baton of command in his right hand; behind him a Victory with the imperial diadem, about to place it on his head; before him are three figures, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland, placing their right hands on an altar; they are recognized by their several emblems of the rose, the thistle, and shamrock, minutely engraved on their helmets. The inscription is, *Proprio*

jam jure animo paterno ("Now in his own right, with his father's mind").*

William IV. and Queen Adelaide had only one coronation medal for both, the work of Wyon. The head of the king is portrayed true to nature, while on that of the queen is a splendid tiara, with the rose, thistle, and shamrock introduced. The legend on the obverse, in plain English, records, *William the Fourth, crowned Sept. 8. 1831*, while the legend on the reverse mentions the same ceremony taking place with the queen.

The coronation medal of Queen Victoria, by Pistrucci, was subjected at the time to severe criticism, not only in the public journals, but in Parliament. The artist himself was sensible of its imperfections, but two months previous to the completion of the work had been almost entirely deprived of sight. On the obverse her head is portrayed, but the face is much too old; the hair, with the exception of the knot behind, which is of better work, would disgrace the first essay of any Birmingham die-sinker's apprentice. On the back of the head, and lower part of the neck, is a kerchief or slight veil, probably in imitation of the consecration veil which appears on the coins of the Roman empresses. On the forehead is a circlet or band of gold, plain, without other ornament; the whole encircled with the legend, *Victoria, D.G. Britanniarum regina. F.D.*

At the first glance the reverse has a pleasing appearance, but on looking into it, it will be observed to be very defective. The queen is seated on an estrade or dais, having in her right hand the orb, and in her left the sceptre. Behind her, a lion grasps in its right paw the thunder of Jupiter; the left leg is defective, having no claw attached to it. There is something pretty in the appearance of the queen; the face is as round as a ball, and the artist has to a certain extent preserved the likeness. But what a falling off from the portrait on the reverse of the coronation medal of George IV.! Opposite to her Majesty are three female figures, representatives of the United Kingdom, offering to her an imperial diadem. The crown differs from any one ever worn by a British sovereign. The figures have helmets, and may have emblems on them, but it is puzzling to make out for what they are intended. The drapery on the figures is of an unique description, unlike any engraved before. The sides of the steps of the dais are badly cut: the whole is altogether most slovenly and unfinished. The legend is, *Erimus tibi nobile regnum* ("We will be to thee a noble kingdom"). In the exergue is, *Inaugurata die Junii MDCCCXXXVIII.*"

* According to the report of the proceedings for this coronation, the gold medal was to be of the value of one ounce of fine gold, and, including the expenses of workmanship, the total cost of each gold medal was to be £4 6s.; for every hundred medals, £430. The silver medal was to be of the value of fifteen pennyweights of fine silver, and, including the expenses of workmanship, the total cost of each silver medal was to be 4s. 4d.; for every hundred silver medals, £21 13s. 4d.

NOTABILIA CONNECTED WITH CROWNS AND CORONATIONS.—A singular event is recorded in ancient history of an unborn infant being proclaimed King of Persia. On the death of Hormisdas II. (A.D. 309), his son, Prince Hormisdas, thought to succeed him, but having incurred the displeasure of the nobles, he was thrown into a dungeon, where it was intended he should remain for the rest of his life. The nobles themselves took the direction of affairs, but finding that though their late king had left behind him no other son, yet that one of his wives was pregnant, they proclaimed the unborn infant king, and even with the utmost ceremony proceeded to crown the embryo by suspending the royal diadem over the womb of the mother. A real interregnum must have followed, but it did not extend beyond a few months. The pregnant widow of Hormisdas fortunately gave birth to a boy, and the difficulties of the succession were thereby ended. All classes acquiesced in the rule of the infant monarch, who received the name of Sapor—whether simply to mark the fact that he was believed to be the late king's son, or in the hope that he would rival the glories of the first Sapor, is uncertain.

Among the instances of coronations at a very early age, we have that of Matilda, daughter of our Henry I., who was asked in marriage at the age of *seven* by Henry V., Emperor of Germany, a monarch old enough to be her father, and the alliance being approved, she was sent in the following year to Germany, escorted by a splendid train of knights. At Utrecht she was met by her future lord, and the ceremonies of the betrothal took place. Her coronation was solemnized almost immediately afterwards at Mayence; the Archbishop of Trèves “reverently” holding the child in his arms, while the Archbishop of Cologne, surrounded by all the dignitaries of the empire, placed upon her brow the imperial diadem of the Cæsars.

Another instance of infant coronations is that of James V. of Scotland, who, on the death of his father at Flodden Field, was crowned at Scone, in Scotland. It was called the “mourning” coronation, for the ancient crown of Scotland being held over the baby brow of the royal infant, most of the witnesses and attendants at the ceremony burst into an “infectious passion” of tears. They wept, not only for their own losses on the battle-field, but for the late monarch, who was, as Buchanan says, “dear to all men while living, and mightily lamented by his people.” James V. was not eighteen months old at his father's death.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was crowned in Stirling Church, September 9, 1543. The ceremonies of the coronation were those generally used at the inauguration of the kings of Scotland, which, according to Sadler, “were not very great.” In her case they were probably curtailed, because, by reason of her tender age, she could not perform all that was required of the sovereign on such occasions. Mary had barely completed her ninth month when she was taken from her cradle, enveloped in regal robes, and borne from her nursery sanctuary in Stirling Castle by her lord keeper and officers of state in solemn

procession across the green, into the stately church adjacent, where she was presented to her people to be publicly recognized by the three estates as sovereign lady of Scotland and the Isles, and to receive the investiture of the glittering symbols of her fatal inheritance. The crown was carried in the procession by the Earl of Arran, the lord governor, as the first prince of the blood-royal of Scotland, and acknowledged heir of the realm. The Earl of Lennox, Mary's future father-in-law, the rival claimant of that dignity, was induced by his passion for the beautiful queen-mother to waive the question of his right on that occasion, and condescended to bear the sceptre as next in degree. Further particulars of the programme have been lost, perhaps purposely destroyed by the traitors who violated their oaths to the sovereign, whom on that day they solemnly swore to defend at the peril of life and limb. It is, however, certain that some one must have acted as sponsor for the little queen in pronouncing the words of the coronation oath, which her innocent lips had no power to utter. Some one must have held her on the throne while the office of consecration was performed by Cardinal Beaton, who placed the crown on her infant brow, and the sceptre in the tiny hand which could not grasp it, and girded her with the sword of state, as the representative of the warlike monarch of Scotland. Touching sight, that tender, helpless babe, burdened and surrounded with panoply so ill suited to her sex and age! And the babe wept. It was observed with superstitious terror that she ceased not to shed tears during the whole of the ceremony.

The saddest prognostics attended the career of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots. Her coronation, with that of Francis II., was called "black" from the sombre character of the ceremonial, which took place at Rheims in 1559. Out of respect to his father's memory, the king issued orders that no lady, save the Queen of Scotland, his consort, should presume to appear in gold, jewels, or embroidery, or wear any other dress than black velvet or black silk made very plainly.*

* At the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scotland, to the Dauphin (afterwards Francis II.) of France, April 24, 1558, of which the particulars are given in a contemporary French tract, printed at Rouen ("*Cérémonies du Mariage de M. le Dauphin avec la Roynie d'Ecosse—Régistre de l'Hôtel-de-Ville*"), Mary, to denote her rank as a sovereign queen, wore a crown royal far more costly than any previous monarch of Scotland could boast. The estates of Scotland had positively refused to allow their regalia to be carried over to France. This crown was probably made expressly for her, at the expense either of the King of France, or her wealthy uncle, the Cardinal de Lorraine, and is described in the Rouen contemporary record of the ceremonial as being composed of the finest gold, and of most exquisite workmanship, set with diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds of inestimable worth, having in the centre a pendent carbuncle, the value of which was computed at five hundred thousand crowns. About her neck hung a matchless jewel, suspended

To the list of "mourning" coronations may be added that of Louis XIII., King of France. When he entered into Rheims on the eve of his coronation in 1610 (he was not crowned until after the funeral of his father), he was in mourning, plainly dressed; his robe was only a violet-coloured serge, without the least garniture. He entered mounted on a white horse, with a violet housings and equipage (the mourning colour of the kings of France). All the princes and lords were in black, even on the day of the coronation, and only the heralds appeared in colours and embroidery.

In 1344, soon after the discovery of those islands now known as the Canaries, but then called by their ancient title, "The Fortunate," Lewis of Spain, the eldest son of Alfonso, King of Castile, applied to Pope Clement IV. for the government of the Fortunate Islands. The request was granted; and Clement crowned Lewis at Avignon with all possible magnificence, and placing the sceptre in his hand, ordered him to walk in procession through the streets of Avignon, bearing his splendid regalia, and attended by a most brilliant train. Unfortunately, this pompous march was disturbed and utterly disarranged by a tremendous thunderstorm, which deluged all the gay company, and turned an august ceremony into a jest. The new king, abandoned by all his court, arrived at his palace wet to the skin—a true prognostic, says Petrarch, who relates the story, that he would reign over nothing but fogs. In truth, Lewis gained nothing by this election but the golden crown and the nominal title of the King of the "Fortunates."

The pope, who was fond of king-making, determined that Don Sancho of Spain should be a monarch as well as his brother, and accordingly proclaimed him by a messenger King of Egypt! Don Sancho, who did not understand the Latin tongue, asked the interpreter, who accompanied him, what was the reason of those shouts of applause. "Sire," replied he, "the pope has created you King of Egypt." "We must not be ungrateful," returned the prince. "Go thou and proclaim the Holy Father Caliph of Bagdad!"

Henry VI., in one of his capricious moods, crowned with his own hand the young Duke of Warwick as KING OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT. "One cannot easily conceive," observes Walpole, "a more ridiculous circumstance than a man who had lost the kingdom of France, amusing himself with bestowing the diadem of the little Isle of Wight." The "kingdom," however, did not outlive its first sovereign, whose regal honours died with him. Selden, in his "Titles of Honour,"

by chains of precious stones, which, from its description, must have been no other than that well known in Scottish records by the familiar name of the "Great Harry." This was not one of the crown jewels, but her own personal property, having been derived from her royal English great-grandfather, Henry VII., by whom it was presented to her grandmother, Queen Margaret Tudor.

observes that "the Lords of Man had withal the name of king, and might use also, a crown of gold."

Many old customs, offices, ceremonies, and words have fallen into disuse in the ISLE OF MAN. The ceremony once witnessed on Tinwald Day is no longer to be seen. "You shall come thither," that is, to the Hill of Tinwald, in the centre of the island, says the old constitution with reference to the sovereign lord, the Earl of Derby—"you shall come thither in your royal array, as a King ought to do by the prerogatives and royalties of the Land of Man. And upon the Hill of Tynwald sitt in a chaire, covered with a Royall Clooth and Cushions, and your visage towards the East, and your sword before you, holden with the point upward; your Barrons in the third degree sitting beside you, and your beneficed men and your Deemsters before you sitting, and your Clarke, your Knights, Esquires, and Yeomen about you in the third degree; and the worthiest men in your Land to be called in before your Deemsters, if you will ask anything of them, and to hear the Government of your hand, and your will; and the Commons to stand without the Circle of the Hill with three Clearkes in their Surplises. And your Deemsters shall make call in the Coroner of Glenfaba" (one of the six "sheadings," or shires, into which the island is divided), "and he shall call in all the Coroners of Man, and their yards in their hands, with their weapons upon them, either sword or axe," etc.

This picturesque ceremony survives only in the pages of Manx law books. Barons and commons no longer troop to Tinwald Mount and the Hill of Rineurling to do fealty, and to produce the charters by which they hold their lands. The coroners are not the powerful officers they once were. The deemsters no longer administer an arbitrary form of equity, quaintly described in the old ordinances as "breast law." The defendants in actions are not now cited to appear by the delivery of a piece of stone or slate, upon which the deemster scratches the first letters of their name. No longer does the command go forth twice a year, enjoining that "all men, both rich and poor, deaf and dumb, halt, lame, and blind, do come thither, upon horseback or on foot, to be drawn thither upon car or cart, that they may know the King of Man, his pleasure and his officers, and the law of the country."

The Peruvians believed that there were two birds, spotted with black and white, who lived by the Lake of Tongasuca, who never bred, and were themselves immortal. At the coronation of an Inca, thousands of the people went to the mountains where these two birds made their abode, and hunted them till they caught them, took a feather from each, and then let them go. To offer them any other injury at any time was a capital offence.

The *uautu*, one of the distinguishing insignia of the Incas of Peru, consisted of a band with a fringe, an inch and a half or two inches long, which passed two or three times round the forehead, the fringe

depending nearly to the eyebrows. The royal *ayllos*, or families, were privileged to wear the *uautu*, but of black colour. The immediate descendants of the Inca were permitted to wear it of a yellow colour; only that of the Inca was red. He also wore a sort of ball of the same colour on his forehead, surmounted by two of the long wing-feathers of the *coricanque*, or Andean eagle.

Purchas, in "his Pilgrimage," alluding to Vitzilonitli, the second King of Mexico, observes that the name signifies a feather: he was anointed with an ointment, which they called divine, being the same with which the idol they worshipped was anointed.

"Lopez de Gamaria saith that this coronation was done by the high priest, attired in his pontificalibus, attended with many others in surplices; the ointment was as black as ink. They blessed him, and sprinkled him four times with holy water made at the time of the consecration of their god. Then they put upon his head a cloth, painted with the bones and skulls of dead men, clothed him with a black garment, and upon that a blue, both painted with figures of skulls and bones. Then did they hang on him laces and bottles of powders, whereby he was delivered from diseases and witchcraft. Then did he offer incense to Vitzilonitli, and the high priest took his oath for the maintenance of their religion, to maintain justice and the laws, to cause the sun to give his light, and the clouds to rain, and the earth to be fruitful. Lastly, followed the acclamations of the people, crying, 'God save the king,' with dances, etc."

At the coronation of Montezuma, the fifth King of Mexico, "he was conducted to the Temple with a great train, where before the Divine Hearth (so called in regard of the continual fire there kept) they enthronized him. The King there drew blood from his ears and legs with a Griffin's talons, as a sacrifice, and was congratulated with many speeches by the priests, ancients, and captains. And whereas before they had accustomed in their elections to make feasts and dances, and wasted many lights, he brought in the custom, personally to make war in some province, thence to procure sacrifices to feast their gods and men."

In 1228 Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, constituted himself King of Jerusalem. He put the crown on his own head because no priest would even read Mass, in consequence of his excommunication by Pope Gregory IX., for having failed in attempting the first crusade in 1227. In the following year, however, he set out on a fresh crusade, but the pope, who had not expected this, and considered it improper for a prince under the ban of excommunication to go to the holy war, commanded the Patriarch of Jerusalem to oppose him.

A "mock" coronation is mentioned in the annals of Venice (1148), when the Venetians attacked and burnt the Greek ships. Having captured the imperial galley itself, they decorated the state cabin with

drapery of cloth of gold and rich purple tapestries ; and selecting a vagabond Ethiopian, distinguished for his ugliness and crimes, as a representative of Manual Comnenus, the occupier of the Greek throne, they carried him in mock triumph around the fleet, and celebrated his coronation. The ridicule was chiefly directed against Manual's swarthiness of complexion.

A notable instance of a sham coronation is recorded in the case of Lambert Simnel, the impostor, who was proclaimed king in Dublin, under the title of Edward VI., by nobles in the York interest. The lord deputy assisted with the others at his coronation in Christ Church, May 2, 1487, where the ceremony was performed with great solemnity, the chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lovel, Jenico Mark, Mayor of Dublin, and several other persons of rank attending. The crown used on this occasion was borrowed from an image of the Virgin Mary. John Pain, Bishop of Meath, preached the coronation sermon, and the pretender was subsequently conveyed upon the shoulders of Darcy, of Platen, a person of extraordinary height, to the castle of Dublin, amidst the shouts of the populace.

In the Middle Ages people saw nothing improper, much less farcical, in trying a dummy. In 1465 the Castilian nobility, in a great assembly at Avila, solemnly tried Henry IV., King of Castile, for misgovernment. A spacious theatre was erected in a plain near the town ; an image representing the king was seated on a throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against the king was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced in the presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article, the Archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image ; at the close of the second, the Conde de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side ; at the close of the third, the Conde de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand ; at the close of the last, Don Diego Lopes de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the same instant Don Alfonso was proclaimed King of Castile and Leon in his stead.

In 1541 the King of Ceylon, Bhuwaneka Bahoo VII., finding that the succession of his adopted son and intended successor would be disputed, determined to place him under the protection of the King of Portugal, and in furtherance of this object two Cingalese ambassadors were sent to Europe, bearing with them the *figure* of the young prince and a golden crown. With much pomp and ceremony, in the hall of the palace at Lisbon, the effigy was crowned by the Portuguese monarch.

A festival among the Persians was that which was called the sack-feast. Dio Chrysostom introduces Diogenes in conversation with Alexander : "Have you never noticed the sack-feast which they celebrate among the Persians? On this day they take a malefactor who has deserved death, and seat him on the kingly throne ; in short, they

play the game of king with him. They attired him in kingly robes, and suffered him to take his fill of all kinds of pleasures; he was not even withheld from taking his pleasure with the king's concubines. But as soon as this game was finished, they scourged him severely with rods, and ended by hanging him."

This feast was conducted exactly like the saturnalia of the Greeks and Romans.

In the castle of Rosenborg, at Copenhagen, is a small picture commemorative of the coronation of Frederick IV., King of Denmark. A negro boy is represented holding by a chain a huge mastiff, the king's favourite dog. It is related that the page had orders to hold the animal during the ceremony, but dazzled by the splendour of the scene, he stared around, forgetful of his charge. Suddenly, at the moment when the primate was going to place the crown upon the brow of the king, the dog, fancying that some mischief was intended to his master, sprang from his keeper, and to the consternation of those present, rushed to the throne, and placing his forepaws on the knees of the sovereign, growled defiance to all the court, displaying his sharp white teeth, ready to devour the bishop at the first movement made to continue the ceremony. It required the authority of the king himself to pacify the mastiff, and to induce the frightened officials to proceed with the coronation.

Eleanor Ulfeld was the sister-in-law of Sophia Amelia, consort of Frederick III. of Denmark. It is related that some days previous to the coronation, Eleanor, when in the queen's dressing-room, in a gay mood, took up the crown, which had just arrived from Paris, and placed it, girl-like, on her own head, admiring herself in the polished mirror before her. "Be quick! take it off," exclaimed one of the attendants, "the queen! the queen!" Eleanor, in her agitation, let the crown fall, and unluckily one of the *fleurons* was broken. No one in Copenhagen was found capable of mending it, and there was no time to send it to Paris, so Queen Sophia was compelled to wear it, patched up, and clumsily too, for the damage was plainly visible to the eyes of the bystanders.

The romantic circumstances attending the rise and fall of RIENZI, the tribune of Rome in the fourteenth century, are well known. Intoxicated with his wonderful accession of power, he assumed the pomp and splendour of royalty. His dress was of velvet and satin, lined with furs and embroidered with gold. The rod of justice which he carried in his hand was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the holy rood. He rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty. The ceremony attending his assumption of knighthood was magnificent. He received the sword, and having thrice brandished it to the three parts

of the world, exclaimed exultingly, "And this too is mine!" On the day of his coronation in 1347, *seven* crowns of different leaves, or metal, were successively placed on his head by the clergy; these represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.

I have alluded to the crowns placed by devotees on the figures of the virgin; saints have also had these symbols of spiritual authority conferred upon them. A late instance occurred (July, 1877) in the crowning of the archangel St. Michael, at Mont St. Michel, in Normandy. Attended by a multitude of pilgrims, the Bishop of Coutances placed upon the head of the statue of the saint on the steeple, a crown given by the late Pope Pius IX., and afterwards the Cardinal de Bonnechose laid in front of the statue (which was placed in the church for these purposes) another crown, made from a public subscription for that purpose. The former consists of an enormous aqua marina between two large wings of gold, as a typical trophy of the victory obtained by the archangel Michael over Lucifer. Above, in the centre of a large topaz, is a cross encrusted with brilliants, emblematic of the incarnation of the Word and the motive for the combat. The battle-cry of St. Michael (*Quis ut Deus*) is inscribed on the rim of the crown, which is adorned by nine choirs of angels, represented by topazes and jacinths, surrounded by a *nimbus*, or glory, of brilliants, and surmounted by two outspread wings. The whole is in a number of rays round the head, interspersed by arches in amethysts, and nine rainbows bearing the name of each celestial hierarchy.

To distinguish the St. Michael of the Mont-Tombe from that venerated in Italy as Monte-Gargan, ornaments have been introduced consisting of fleurs-de-lys and shells, which form the arms of the abbey:

Tradition says that Mont St. Michael, in Normandy, was a temple of Belenus, served by Druid priestesses, who wore crowns of gold and had quivers of golden arrows, which last had the power of allaying tempests, if shot by a youth who had never known the passion of love. The legends say that sailors went to the mount to purchase these arrows, and if the result was successful, the youth who had shot the arrow was sent to the priestesses, laden with gifts; and if he found favour in their eyes, was rewarded with the love of the fairest among them, who sewed golden shells on his garments.

At the commencement of the eleventh century, the Turkmans won great victories in the East. After the overthrow of the Sultan Massoud at the battle of Zendecan, the Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalized in the greatness of his posterity.

The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

In the heroic age of Scandinavia it was an ancient custom at the royal inauguration, which always took place at the funeral of the deceased prince, for the next heir to seat himself on the lowest step of the vacant throne, in the midst of the grandees, until presented with a huge ox-horn filled with wine. After taking the usual oaths, he drank off the liquor, mounted the chair of state, and was proclaimed amidst the shouts of the people.

This initiatory rite a King of Sweden, Ingiald Illrada (died 623 A.C.), accompanied with the additional ceremony of swearing, before drinking the mystic cup, that he would either double the extent of his kingdom or perish in the attempt. The fulfilment of his vow led to those acts of treachery and murder which procured him the name of Illrada ("the Deceitful"), and ultimately occasioned his own destruction.

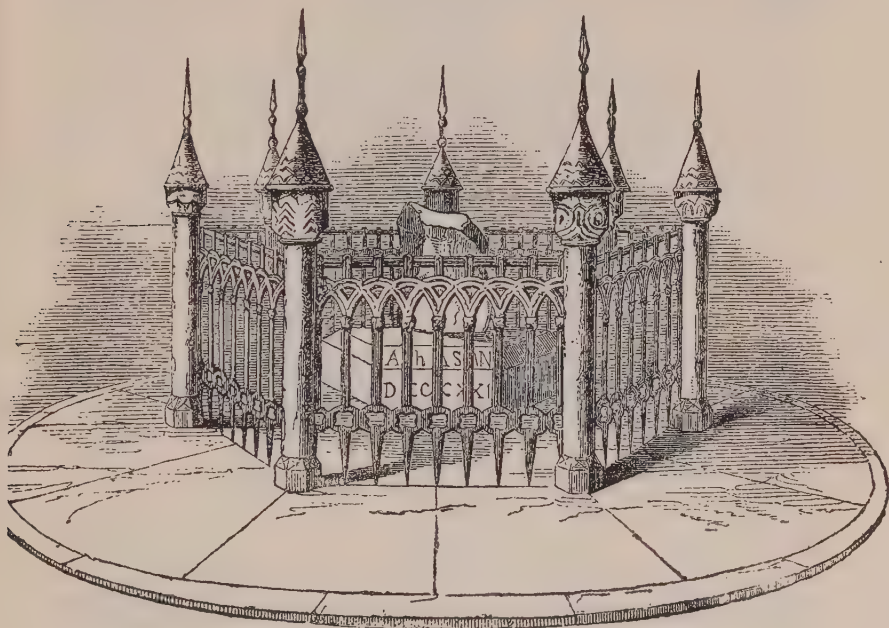
Eric the Victorious (Segersäll) sat at Upsala when the Christian faith first dawned in Sweden. He was a great wizard, and had learned from Odin many things no other man could know. Feeling he would be the last heathen king in Sweden, he sacrificed in old Upsala's temple to know how many Christian kings would fill the northern throne. He dreamed a dream, and straightway broke open the tomb of King Sverker, where he found a tablet covered with gold and costly gems. On one side was an oblong table, encircled by three times nine crowns marked with the names of kings; on the other, a three-cornered table with thrice seven crowns. Each crown was painted in colours, marking the country of the respective owner—blue for the native Swede, red for the Dane, green for the Norwegian, yellow for the German. This tablet was preserved, with other treasures of the realm, until Archbishop Trolle carried it to Denmark.

A pleasing and singular instance of a crown purchased from the proceeds of industry is related of the great and virtuous John Ducas Vataces, sovereign of the Greek empire of Nicæa (which lasted from 1204 to 1261). The calamities of the times had wasted the numbers and the substance of the Greeks; the motives and the means of agriculture were extirpated, and the most fertile lands were left without inhabitants and cultivation. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command and for the benefit of the emperor. A powerful hand and a vigilant eye supplied and surpassed, by a skilful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer; the royal domain became the garden and granary of Asia; and, without impoverishing the people, the sovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive wealth.

Vataces presented to the empress a crown of diamonds and pearls, and informed her, with a smile, that this precious ornament arose from the sale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry!

THE KINGSTON CORONATION STONE.—I must refer the reader for the particulars relating to one of the most interesting of our English antiquities, the Kingston Coronation Stone—commemorated in the accompanying illustration—to the chapter on the “CORONATION CHAIR AND THE KINGSTON STONE,” page 103.

In the introduction and other parts of this work I have alluded to the strange vicissitudes attendant upon royalty at various epochs of the world's history. No monarch of modern times passed through so many changes in his eventful career as the late LOUIS PHILIPPE,



Coronation Stone at Kingston-upon-Thames.

King of the French. One episode—perhaps the most critical of his life—was his escape, together with the queen, Marie Amélie, from France at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848. The particulars of the royal flight were given in the *Quarterly Review* (March, 1850), by the late John Wilson Croker.

The escape from Honfleur, in which the author of this book had the melancholy satisfaction of assisting, in conjunction with others, is thus mentioned:—

“Every one who has sailed in front of Honfleur, must have remarked a little chapel situated on the top of a wooded hill that overhangs the town. It was dedicated by the piety of the sailors of ancient days to

Notre Dame de Grâce, as was a similar one on the opposite shore. From it, M. de Perthuis's cottage is commonly called La Grâce, and we can easily imagine the satisfaction of the royal guests at finding themselves under the shelter of a friendly roof with a name of such good omen.

"On Thursday, 2nd March [1848], just at daybreak, the inmates of La Grâce were startled by the arrival of a stranger, who, however, turned out to be Mr. Jones, the English Vice-Consul at Hâvre, with a message from the Consul, Mr. Featherstonhaugh, announcing that the *Express* steam-packet had returned and was placed entirely at the King's disposal, and that Mr. Jones would concert with his Majesty the means of embarkation. He, also, brought news, if possible, more welcome,—a letter announcing that the Duke de Nemours, his little daughter the Princess Marguerite, and the Princess Clementine with her husband and children, were safe in England. This double good news reanimated the whole party, who were just before very much exhausted both in body and mind. But the main difficulty still remained; how they were to get to the *Express*.

"Escape became urgent, for not only had the Procureur de la République of the district hastened to Trouville with his gendarmes, to seize the *stranger* (who, luckily, had left it some hours), but having ascertained that the stranger was the King, and that M. de Perthuis was in his company, that functionary concluded that his Majesty was at La Grâce, and a domiciliary visit to the Pavilion was subsequently made.

"The evening packet (from Hâvre to Honfleur) brought back M. Besson and Mr. Jones, with the result of the council held on the other side of the water, which was that the whole party should instantly quit La Grâce, and taking advantage of the dusk of the evening, embark in the same packet by which these gentlemen had arrived (the *Courier*) for a passage to Hâvre, where there were but a few steps to be walked between leaving the Honfleur boat and getting on board the *Express*.

"The Queen was still to be Madame Lebrun, but the King, with an English passport, had become Mr. William Smith. Not a moment was to be lost. The King, disguised as before, with the addition of a coarse greatcoat, passed with MM. de Rumigny and Thuret through one line of streets; Madame Lebrun, leaning on her *nephew's* (M. Besson) arm by another. There was a great crowd on the *quai* at Honfleur, and several gendarmes; but Mr. Smith soon recognized Mr. Jones, the Vice-Consul, and after a pretty loud salutation in English (which few Mr. Smiths speak better) took his arm and stepped on board the packet, where he sat down immediately on board one of the passengers' benches. Madame Lebrun took a seat on the opposite side. The vessel (the *Courier*) happened to be one that the King had employed the summer before at Tréport. M. Lamartine, who mistakes even the place, and all the circumstances of this embarkation, embroiders it with a statement that the King was recognized by the crew, who, with the honour and generosity inherent in all Frenchmen, would not betray

him. We are satisfied that there are very few seamen who would have betrayed him; but the fact is that he was not recognized; and when the steward went about to collect the fares, and some gratuity for the band, Mr. Smith shook his head as if understanding no French, and his friend Mr. Jones paid for both.

"On landing at the *quai* of Hâvre, amidst a crowd of people and the *crieurs* of the several hotels, was Mr. Featherstonhaugh, who addressing Mr. Smith as his uncle, whom he was delighted to see, con-



Cottage of La Grâce, Honfleur, where King Louis Philippe and Queen Marie Amélie were concealed, March, 1848.

ducted him a few paces further on, into the *Express* lying at the *quai* with her steam up; Madame Lebrun following."

I find among my notes taken on this memorable occasion, that the first words uttered by the king on entering the saloon of the steamer that was to convey him to Newhaven were, "THANK GOD, I AM UNDER THE ENGLISH FLAG!"—expressions that have been echoed by many a grateful heart, kingly or otherwise, seeking a refuge from trouble in our hospitable country.

Finis coronat Opus.

INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE
Abdication of Richard II. ...	207	Anne, Queen, oath of ...	281
Abyssinia, coronation of the		— Queen of Denmark ...	268
King of	433	Anointing, 285, 296, 327, 338, 342, 378, 382	
— crown of	444	— of Anglo-Saxon kings	289
— Abuna of	444	— of the Austrian emperors	296
Adelaide, Queen, crown of ...	252	— of King David	286
— coronation medal of	529	— of King Joash	287
Aidan, King of the British		— of Henry IV. of France	296
Scots	519	— mention of, in Holy	
Aix-la-Chapelle, coronations		Writ	286
at	343	— oil, composition of the	287, 292
Alexander the Great, omen		— of King Pepin of France	289
relating to	334	— of King Richard I. ...	290
— II. of Russia, coronation		— of King Richard II. ...	307
of	380, 382	— of the Russian emperors	296
— III. of Russia, corona-		— of King Saul	286
tion of	384	— of King Solomon	287
Alfred, King, crown of	29	Anthems, coronation ...	518
— coronation of	183	Antony, Mark, coronation of	
Almoner, the Grand, of Eng-		Cleopatra	333
land	118	“Apostolic Majesty,” title of	393
Ampouille, la Sainte	289	Arms, College of	482
— ceremonies connected		— of England	466
with	294	— of Hungary	397
— legend of	293	— King-of-	479
An pulla, or golden eagle ...	72	— of the Champion of	
Ancient coronations and re-		England	137
galia	518	Arthur, King, coronation of	518
— crowns	1	Ashantee, state umbrella of	445
— origin of coronation rites	175	— the gold axe of	445
Anglo-Saxon rulers	177	Assyrian inscriptions relating	
— kings, head ornament		to coronations	329
of	28	— king, robes of an ...	492
— kings at Kingston	105	— queen, dress of an ...	492
— royal robes of	493	— throne	483
— sceptres	490	Athelstan, King, coronation	
Anne, Queen, coronation of		of	184
— medal of	243, 320 526		

	PAGE		PAGE
Athelstan, King, crown of ...	30	Caroline, Queen, crowning of, refused ...	324
Austria, imperial eagle of ...	394	Catherine, Queen, procession from Tower of ...	149
— inauguration of the emperors of ...	392	Cetewayo, King of the Zulus	446
Babylon, robes of the kings of ...	491	Chairs, inaugural, on stones	105
Barber, the king's ...	127	Champion, the, of England	128, 132, 318
Barons of the Cinque Ports	116, 322	Charlemagne, coronation of	338
Bath, Knights of the ...	143	— imperial robes of ...	339
Bavaria, coronations in ...	354	— sceptre of ...	490
Becket, Thomas à, legend of	292	— talisman of ...	341
Bees, the Napoleonic ...	365	— throne of ...	341
Belgium, crown of the Queen of ...	371	Charles I., coronation medal of	522
— installation of the King of ...	371	— oath of ...	278
Bishops at coronations ...	121	— II., procession from Tower of ...	171
Blessing the cramp-rings ...	474	— V. of France, coronation of ...	355
Blood's attempt to steal the crown ...	61	— X. of France, coronation of ...	367
Bodleian library, formularies of coronations ...	516	Charlotte, Queen ...	528
Bohemia, coronation of the King of ...	398	China, inauguration of sovereigns ...	432
— crown of ...	399	Chrisn, composition of the	292
Boleyn, Anne, coronation of	264	Claims, Court of	108, 123, 201
— procession from the Tower of ...	149	Clement, Pope ...	407
Bonnet of the Doge of Venice	411	Clovis, King of France ...	354
Brabant, inauguration of the dukes of ...	371	Cock-crower, the king's ...	127
Bracelets in the regalia ...	75	College of Arms ...	482
Brazil, coronation of the Emperor of ...	420	Colobium sindonis, the ...	500
— crown of the Emperor of ...	421	Commonwealth, regalia during the ...	58, 60
Bridal crowns ...	478	Coronation of Alexander II. of Russia ...	380
Britain, Great, origin of title	465	— of Alexander III. of Russia ...	384
<i>Bulle d'or</i> , the ...	343, 347	— Grand Almoner of England at the ...	118
Burmah, inauguration of the King of ...	434	— of King Arthur ...	518
— throne of ...	435	— banquets, 193, 206, 211, 221, 227, 236, 242, 251, 266, 320, 346, 385, 504	
Butler, the Chief, of England	115	— of the King of Bohemia	398
Caaba stone, the ...	103	— of the Emperor of Brazil	420
Calabar, King of Old ...	448	— Chief Butler at the ...	115
Canterbury, metropolitan chair of ...	120	— of Catherine I. of Russia	378
Carinthia, the dukes of ...	399	— of the kings of Castile	415
		— of King Charles V. of France ...	354
		— of King Charles of Roumania ...	427

	PAGE		PAGE
Coronation chair and King-		Coronation of English Sove-	
ston stone	94, 539	reigns: George II. ...	246, 321
— of Cleopatra	333	— — George III. ...	246, 321
— of Clovis, King of France	354	— — George IV. ...	248, 324
— Constable of England		— — William IV. ...	252
at the	111	— — Victoria ...	255, 325
— cup	508	— female tenures at the	122
— cup-bearer at the ...	119	— of Frederick IV. of Den-	
— dapifer at the	118	mark	536
— dresses of the nobility	114	— herb-strewer at the ...	119
— Earl Marshal at the ...	112	— of a Hindoo rajah ...	429
— of English sovereigns	173	— of the kings of Hungary	395
— — Ethelred II. ...	179	— of the kings of Italy ...	410
— — Alfred the Great	183	— of Justin II.	337
— — Athelstan	184	— of the kings of Kandy	442
— — Edwin	185	— chief lardiner at the ...	119
— — Edgar	185	— of Leopold II. of Ger-	
— — Edward the Mar-		many	346
tyr	186	— of Louis XVI. of France	358
— — Edward the Con-		— Lord of the Isle of Man	
fessor	187	at the	114
— — Harold II.	188	— of Maximilian, Emperor	
— — William I.	191	of Mexico	419
— — William II.	192	— Mayor of Oxford at the	115
— — Henry I.	192	— medals	522
— — Stephen	193	— of Mexican monarchs ...	418
— — Henry II.	193	— “Napier,” the, at the	119
— — Richard I.	194	— of Napoleon I. at Milan	366
— — John	196, 305	— of Napoleon I. at Paris	363
— — Henry III.	197, 305	— of Nicholas I. of Russia	380
— — Edward I.	199, 306	— of Numa Pompilius ...	334
— — Edward II.	199, 306	— oath	271
— — Edward III.	200, 306	— Grand Pannettier at the	119
— — Richard II.	200, 307	— of Petrarch	475
— — Henry IV.	206	— play of the	502
— — Henry V.	209, 307	— of the kings of Portugal	417
— — Henry VI.	210, 307	— of Ptolemy Philadel-	
— — Edward IV.	212, 308	phus	331
— — Richard III.	213, 308	— of queens consort ...	260
— — Henry VII.	216	— of Rienzi	536
— — Henry VIII.	220	— ring and James II. ...	78
— — Edward VI.	221, 309	— ring, legend of the ...	77
— — Mary	224, 310	— rites, ancient origin of	174
— — Elizabeth	227, 310	— robes, 239, 260, 264, 268, 491,	
— — James I.	229, 311	495, 501	
— — Charles I.	230, 311	— roll, the	284
— — Charles II.	233, 316	— Serjeant of the Silver	
— — James II.	238, 317	Scully at the	123
— — William III. and		— service, early notice of	
Mary	242, 319	the	178
— — Anne	243, 320	— sham	535
— — George I.	244, 321	— of the kings of Siam ...	435

	PAGE		PAGE
Coronation of the kings of		Crown of Athelstan	30
Spain	414	— Belgian	371
— of Voltaire	476	— Blood's attempt to steal	
— Dean and Chapter of		the	61
Westminster at the	120	— Bohemian	399
— of William I. of Prussia	349	— of Canute the Great	31
Coronations, ancient, and re-		— of Charles I.	43
galia	518	— of Charlemagne	18
— Assyrian inscriptions re-		— close, of English sover-	
lating to	329	eigns	40
— in Bavaria	534	— of Constantine the	
— of the kings of Denmark	376	Great	9
— "Diligroust" served at	115	— of King Edgar	30
— in early ages	530	— of Edward the Confessor	31
— Eastern customs at	337	— of Edward the Martyr	31
— formularies of	515	— of Edward II.	36
— of the emperors of Ger-		— of Edward IV.	39
many	342	— of Edward VI.	41
— gloves presented at	116	— of Queen Elizabeth	41
— knights created at		— at Gelatry, in the	
French	144	Crimea	17
— in Mexico	533	— of George IV.	44
— mourning	532	— of the German Empire	352
— omens and incidents at	298	— of the German empress	353
— of the ancient Persians		— of the Hapsburgs	394
	332, 429	— of Harold II.	31
— in Peru	533	— "the Harry"	38
— prices of seats at	508	— of Hawaii	452
— processions from the		— in a hawthorn bush	39, 216
Tower at	141	— of Henry I.	34
— religious character of	174	— of Henry III.	35
— Russian	377	— of Henry IV.	37
— Scriptural allusions to		— of Henry V.	37
	285, 327	— of Henry VI.	39, 307
— of the kings of Sweden		— of Henry VIII.	40
and Norway	373	— of Hungary	24
— "wafers" presented at	115	— the Imperial	9
— Walpole, Horace, on	173	— of an Indian rajah	429
— at Westminster Abbey	175	— Iron, of Lombardy	22, 366
Coronet of the Prince Imperial		— of James I.	40
of Germany	353	— of Japan	440
— of the Prince of Wales	70, 459	— jewels, keeper of the	53
Coronets of nobles	113	— jewels of France	368
— of the Royal family	462	— of King John	34
Cramp-rings	474	— of Kandy	443
Crescent, the, in Turkey	426	— of King-of-Arms	481
Cromwell, wax effigy of	512	— of Queen Mary	41, 310
Crosses in the Russian Trea-		— of St. Michael	537
sury	391	— Monomachus	387
Curtana, the sword	74	— of Pedro the Cruel	38
Crown, Abyssinian	444	— Persian	430
— of Alfred the Great	29	— Prussian	351

	PAGE		PAGE
Crown of Richard I. ...	34	Diadem, the 1, 9, 10, 13, 14, 70	
— of Richard II. ...	36	Doge of Venice, bonnet of the	411
— of Richard III. ...	39	— inauguration of the ...	410
— of the Holy Roman		— ring of the ...	411
Empire ...	18	Dogaressa of Venice ...	413
— of Roumania ...	427	Drontheim, coronations at ...	374
— of the Russian emperor	387	Dunstan, St. ...	185
— of Scotland ...	81	Dymokes, the, champions of	
— of Stephen ...	34	England ...	129, 318
— of Spain ...	416		
— of Vataces, King of			
Nicaea ...	538	Eagle, the golden, or ampulla	72
— of Queen Victoria ...	45	— imperial, of Austria ...	394
— White, or Atef ...	7	East, emperors of the ...	10, 336
— of William the Con-		Eastern coronation, custom at	337
queror ...	32	— potentates, thrones of the	485
Crowns, ancient ...	4, 328	Edinburgh, visit of George	
— Biblical mention of ...	1	IV. to ...	89
— bridal ...	478	Egbert, Archbishop, pontifi-	
— and coronations in all		cale of ...	178
ages and countries ...	327	Edward IV., procession from	
— of Danish kings ...	376	the Tower of ...	146
— of England ...	28	— VI., procession from the	
— of the Egyptian Pha-		Tower of ...	155
raohs ...	4	— I., state robes of ...	493
— of France ...	370	— II., state robes of ...	493
— Hispano-Gothic votive	18	— III., state robes of ...	493
— of Ireland ...	520	Edwards, Talbot, keeper of	
— in the Irish coinage ...	469	the regalia ...	61
— of the Emperor Napo-		Egypt, kings of ...	330
leon I. ...	365	Egyptian days of ill-luck ...	304
— pledged ...	37, 52	— sceptres ...	488
— radiated ...	7	Election of popes of Rome ...	402
— Russian ...	389	— of sovereigns ...	177
— turreted ...	9	Elizabeth, Queen, coronation	
— votive, in France ...	370	robes of ...	494
		— wax effigy of ...	511
Dagobert, King, throne of ...	485	Emanuel, Victor, King of	
Dalmatica, the ...	496	Italy ...	409
Dart, on Westminster Abbey	176	England, Grand Almoner of	118
David, King, anointing of ...	286	— arms of ...	466
"Defender of the Faith,"		— Chief Butler of ...	115
origin of ...	465	— Grand Carver of ...	119
"Dei Gratia," origin of ...	466	— Lord Chamberlain of ...	122
Denmark, coronations in	376, 536	— Champion of ...	128
— crowns of ...	376	— Constable of ...	111
— silver lions of ...	377	— coronation medals of ...	522
Derivation of "Hatti huma-		— crowns of ...	28
youn" ...	427	— Cup-bearer of ...	119
— of "Ottoman" ...	423	— Dapifer, or Sewer, of ...	118
— of "Pontiff" ...	402	— Chief Lardiner of ...	119
— of "Sublime Porte" ...	426	— lions, the, of ...	467
		— Earl Marshal of ...	112

	PAGE		PAGE
England, first medal coined in	522	German Empire, crown of the	352
— Napier of	119	Glove presented at coronations	116
— Grand Pannettier of ...	119	Greek sceptre	489
— poets-laureate of ...	125	Green vaults at Dresden ...	353
— roses of	469	Gregory the Great, Pope ...	407
— Royal Standard of ...	469		
— Lord High Steward of ...	108	Hapsburg, origin of the word	394
— Union Jack of	470	Hawaii, installation of the King of	450, 451
English sovereigns, coronation of	173	Harp in the arms of Ireland	469
Eric the Victorious, dream of	538	Henrietta Maria, coronation robes of	239
Extraordinary coronation dress	503	Henry IV., procession from the Tower of	145
		— VII., procession from the Tower of	146
Female tenures at coronations	122	— VIII., procession from the Tower of	149
Fleur-de-lys, legendary history of the	470	— II., buried in royal robes	51
Formularies of coronations ...	515	Heralds, wand of the ancient	481
Fortunate Islands, king of the	532	Hindoo rajah, coronation of a	428
Fragmenta Regalia	455	Homage, the kiss of	219
France, coronation banquets in	505	Humbert, King of Italy, installation of	410
— coronation of Charles V. of	354	— antiquity of the name	410
— coronation of Charles X. of	367	Hungary, arms of	397
— coronation of Clovis of	354	— coronation of the kings of	395
— coronation of Louis XVI. of	358	— crown of	24
— coronation of Napoleon I. of	364		
— Louis Philippe elected king in	368	Incidents and omens at coronations	298, 380, 397
— crown jewels of	368	India, Empress of	455
— crowns of	370	— imperial Order of the Crown of	459
— the oriflamme of	470	Indian commemoration medal	456, 458
— the royal touch in	473	Installation of King Aidan	519
— vicissitudes of the kings of	367, 541	— of the emperors of Austria	392
— waxen effigies of the kings of	513	— of the King of Belgium	371
		— of the dukes of Brabant	371
Garlands	482	— of the King of Burmah	434
Gaveston, Piers	307	— of the King of Old Calabar	448
George I., coronation medal of	527	— of the dukes of Carinthia	399
— II., coronation medal of	528	— of Cetewayo, King of the Zulus	447
— III., coronation medal of	528	— of Chinese monarchs ...	432
— IV., coronation medal of	528	— of the Doge of Venice	410
Germany, emperors, coronation of	342		

	PAGE		PAGE
Installation of the sovereigns		Kingston stone	103, 106, 539
of the East	336	Kiss of homage	129
— of the King of Hawaii	450	Knights of the Bath ...	143
— of the ancient Irish kings	520	Kremlin, the, at Moscow ...	381
— of the King of Italy ...	409		
— of the popes of Rome ...	400	Lambeth Palace	516
— of the Roman emperors	334	Legend of the Sainte Ampoule	293
— in Scandinavia 372,	536	— of the coronation chair	96
— of the kings of Scotland	521	— of the fleur-de-lys ...	470
— of the King of Servia	428	— of the consecrated oil ...	292
— of the King of Tahiti ...	432	— of the oil of St. Martin	296
— of the King of Tartary	441	— of the coronation ring	77
— of Turkish monarchs ...	422	Leo, Pope, inauguration of ...	402
Inventories of the regalia	55, 58	Liber regalis	201, 515
Investiture by the sceptre ...	491	“Lifting” a king 184, 335,	337
Ireland, harp in the arms of	469	Lions of England	467
— shamrock, the badge of	469	— silver, of Denmark ...	377
Irish coinage, crowns in the	469	Lombardy, iron crown of	22, 336
Iron crown of Lombardy ...	366	London, Lord Mayor of, at	
Isle of Man, lord of the ...	114	coronations	117
Italy, kingdom of	409	Louis Philippe, King of the	
		French	368, 539
James II., coronation medal of	524		
— coronation robes of		Majesty, origin of the word	464
... ..	495, 498, 499	Mantles, royal 493, 495,	498
Japan, coronations in ...	438	Mary, Queen, procession from	
— tycoon of	439	the Tower of	155
Java, regalia of	440	Medals, coronation	522
Jewel-house in the Tower ...	55	Mitre of the high priest ...	1
Jewels, keeper of the crown		Monomachus, crown of ...	389
... ..	53, 54, 60, 61	— imperial orb of	391
— lent for coronations ...	241	Monuments, regal	513
— of Queen Isabella of		Mycenæ, discoveries at 14,	488
Spain	416	Muscovite Czars, magnifi-	
— crown, of Persia	431	cidence of the	379
— in the Russian Treasury	392		
— crown, of Turkey	425	Nadir, throne of the Shah ...	487
John, an unlucky name ...	305	Napoleon I., bees adopted by	
Julian the Apostate	334	the Emperor	365
Justice, the hand of	344	— coronation at Milan ...	366
		— coronation at Paris ...	363
Katherine, Queen, coronation		— crown of the Emperor	365
of	263, 506	Nine worthies, the	212
Keys, the Papal	409	Norway and Sweden, corona-	
King-of-Arms	479	tions in	373
— origin of the title	464	Notabilia	530
— the “white”	312	Numa Pompilius, coronation	
King’s barber	127	of	334
— Bench	102		
— cock-crower	127	Oath at coronations	271
Kings, Anglo-Saxon, head-		Oil, legends of the consecrated	296
dress of	28		

	PAGE		PAGE
Omens and incidents at Coronations	298	Ring of the Doge of Venice	411
Oriflamme of France	470	Rites, antiquity of coronation	174
"Orloff" diamond	388	Robes, mistress of the	500
Ostrich feathers	460	Roll, the coronation	284
Othman, dream of	423	Roses, the, of England	469
Oude, throne of the King of	487	Roumania, King Charles of	427
Paleologus, Theodore, tomb of	336	Royal circlets	13
Pax, the	229	— effigies in wax	509
"Peacock" throne	487	— progresses from the Tower	143
Petrarch, coronation of	475	— Standard of England	469
Persia, regalia of ancient	8, 483, 488	— touch, the	471
Play of the coronation	502	— visit to the jewel-house	55
Poet-laureate of England	125	Russia, coronations in	377
Poland, crown of	389	— crowns of 387, 389, 390	
Pontiff, derivation of the word	402	— thrones of	486
Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert	178, 289	Sandals, the royal	499, 501
Priestly character of sovereigns	383	Sceptres 71, 89, 388, 391, 488	
Prince consorts, monuments of	515	Scotland, coronations in 232, 237, 314, 536	
Processions from the Tower	141	— coronation medals of	523
Proclamation of the Empress of India	455	— sovereigns of	521
Queen consort, crown of	70	— thistle, the, a badge of	468
— origin of the word	464	Sham coronation	535
Queens consort, monuments of	514	Shamrock, the, a badge of Ireland	469
Radiated crowns	7	Siam, coronation of the kings of	435
Rajah, coronation of a Hindoo	428	— throne of the kings of	486
Recognition, the, at coronations... ..	222, 225	Solomon, robes of	491
Regal monuments	513	— throne of	482
Regalia, ancient	518	Sovereigns of Ireland	520
— of Cyrus	332	— royal vestments of	491
— of England	49	— of ancient Wales	519
— loss of King John's	35	Spear, the, a symbol of authority	489
— of Persia	430	Stone, coronation	96, 103, 539
— robbery of the	52	Taylor, Jeremy, on Westminster Abbey	176
— of Russia	387, 455	Teneriffe, sovereign of	417
— of the King of Saxony	353	Tenures	109, 128
— of Scotland	79	Thrones	482
— in the Tower	51	Tiara, Babylonian	3
Regalis, the Liber	201, 515	— the papal	405, 407
Rheims, coronations at	358	Title of "Apostolic Majesty"	393
Rienzi, coronation of	537	Tower, wardrobe in the	56
Ring, cramp	474	Treasury of England	49
		Troy, diadems found at	13
		Turreted crowns	9

	PAGE		PAGE
Umbrella, the, a symbol of sovereignty ...	434, 445	Wales, creation of a Prince of	461
Unicorn, the, a royal sup- porter ...	467	— ancient sovereigns of	519
Union Jack, the ensign of England ...	470	Wand of the ancient heralds	481
Upsala, coronations at ...	374	Wardrobe of George IV. ...	503
— royal tombs at ...	376	— master of the ...	503
Vataces, King of Nicea, crown of ...	538	Wax, royal effigies in ...	509
Victoria, Queen, coronation medal of ...	529	"We," origin of the royal ...	463
Visigoths, election of chiefs by the ...	327	Weather, the queen's ...	326
Voltaire crowned with laurel	476	Wight, King of the Isle of ...	532
		William III., coronation medal of ...	524
		— IV., coronation medal of ...	529
		Zulus, Cetewayo, King of the ...	446

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